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A

Complete History

OF

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ENGLAND:

WITH THE

LIVES

OF ALL THE

KINGS and QUEENS

THEREOF;

S.66

From the Earliest Account of Time, to the Death of His late Majesty King *WILLIAM* III.

CONTAINING

A Faithful RELATION of all AFFAIRS of STATE Ecclesiastical and Civil.

The Whole Illustrated with Large and Useful NOTES, taken from divers Manuscripts, and other good Authors: And the EFFIGIES of the KINGS and QUEENS from the Originals, Engraven by the best Masters.

In Three VOLUMES, with *Alphabetical Indexes* to each.

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VOL. I.

I. Beginning with the HISTORY of *BRITAIN* to WILLIAM the *Conqueror*. By Mr. *John Milton*.
II. From the Conquest to the End of King EDWARD III. By *Samuel Daniel*, Esq;
III. The Reigns of King RICHARD II. King HENRY IV, V, and VI. All new Writ in Mr. *Daniel*'s Method.
IV. The Reign of King EDWARD IV. By *John Habington*, Esq;
V. The *Lives* of King EDWARD V. and RICHARD III. By Sir *Tho. Moore*. Translated from the *Latin* Original.
VI. The Life of King RICHARD III. By *George Buck*, Esq;
VII. The Life of King HENRY VII. By *Francis* Lord *Bacon*.

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PREFACE.

THO' Hiſtory wants not the moſt ſolid Arguments that can be to recommend it to the Eſteem of all, who wou'd attain a competent Knowledge of Mankind and the Affairs of the World, yet the Pleaſure it affords is the general Inducement of its Readers, who for the moſt part are well enough content if they are but agreeably amuſed. That buſie Humour which makes People curious to know what others have done, or are doing, which furniſhes common Converſation, and puts every Body upon Enquiries after News, invites Men of Leiſure and Taſt to *ſearch the* Records of their own and former Ages. But whatever be the Motive, *'tis hardly* poſſible but the Time thus employ'd will be rewarded with ſome *real Improvement*; and he that reads will have no Cauſe to complain, if in the Event he find his Judgment increas'd, tho' perhaps he only intended that his Fancy ſhou'd be entertain'd.

This is a conſiderable Advantage which Hiſtory has in laying hold of Mens Natural Curioſity, and employing uſefully a Paſſion which is not only exerciſed for the moſt part frivolouſly, and to no good, but often to very ill Purpoſes. The Riſe and Fall of Empires, the gradual Changes in their Laws, Manners, Arts and Government, the ſurpriſing Events and Revolutions in their Story, and the Conduct and Fortunes of particular Men, have all that can be to entertain a curious Mind; and there are few of ſo little Penetration, but are capable of drawing from ſuch a Variety of Matter many proper Reflections, which may be ſerviceable in a private as well as publick Life. Beſides which, 'tis no vain Suppoſition, that Mens Morals may be ſometimes improv'd together with their Underſtandings; and that the diſtinguiſh'd Characters of Vertue, which they find upon Record, may have ſomewhat of an aſſimilating Influence: For what we admire *we are eaſily diſpoſed to imitate*; and let every one conſult his own Breaſt, whether he does not feel it touch'd *with a generous Sentiment of thoſe Men who are repreſented to* have accompliſh'd great and worthy Deſigns, to have been the Authors of wiſe and good Counſels, or to have expoſed their Lives, and ſacrificed their Fortunes for the publick Good and Security.

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The mean and imperfect Performances of our moſt common Hiſtorians, is certainly the Reaſon why Many are more negligent of reading our Story than they would perhaps have been, if they had met with it better related. For tho' the Matter of Hiſtory is the firſt thing to recommend it, the Form, which depends wholly on the Writer, is almoſt of equal Conſequence: Now the Laws and Rules which the Criticks have preſcrib'd for it, are ſo endleſs and refin'd, that it may reaſonably be queſtion'd, Whether the Character of a *perfect Hero*, or that of a *perfect Hiſtorian*, be the greater Chimæra; and 'twill be eaſily allow'd by thoſe who well conſider the Compariſon, that to Record great Actions in the fineſt manner is a Task no leſs difficult than to perform 'em.

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in the Expectations, not ſo prepoſſeſs'd by any great Names, as to look for what a Judge of Writing has ſtil'd on another Occaſion,

A Faultleſs Monſter that the World ne'er ſaw.

And whether a perfect Hiſtorian is not to be thought ſuch, let it appear by this ſhort Deſcription. He is requir'd to be a Man born with all the Felicities of a lively penetrating Wit, and unbounded Genius: Form'd by great Study, Experience and Practice in the World; one that is both a Scholar and a Man of Buſineſs; a good Geographer, Chronologiſt, Antiquary, Linguiſt; converſant in Courts, Councils, Treaties, in Affairs Military as well as Civil, and in ſhort in every thing that is the Subject of Hiſtory; furniſh'd with all proper Materials and Records, and a perfect Maſter of all the Graces of the Language he writes in. This is a great deal, but not enough, for what is yet more extraordinary, he muſt have no Paſſions or Prejudices, but be a kind of Deity that from a Superior Orb looks unmov'd on Parties, Changes of State, and grand Revolutions. And you are to ſuppoſe him bleſs'd with Health, Leiſure, and eaſie Fortune, and a ſtedfaſt Application to his Subject. After which, the Perfections requiſite in his Performance are almoſt innumerable; a judicious Proportion of all the Parts of his Story; a beautiful Simplicity of Narration; a noble, yet unaffected Stile; few and ſignificant Epithets; Deſcriptions lively, but not Poetical; Reflections ſhort and proper; and laſtly, beſides a multitude of Particulars which cannot be mention'd here, a good Conduct thro' the whole, and an animating Spirit that may engage the Reader in every Action as if perſonally concern'd, and give him the firm Aſſurance that he ſees things in their own Light and Colours, and not in thoſe which the Art or Miſtake of the Writer has brought upon 'em.

'Twould be eaſie to enlarge this Diſcourſe; the Laws of Hiſtory are all but the Dictates of good Senſe, drawn out and methodiz'd in Rules; of which a long detail may be found in * Books written purpoſely on this Subject. But what is here only touch'd, may ſuffice to repreſent the extream Difficulty of writing Hiſtory. And the Difficulty much increaſes, when the Subject is of ſo large a Scope as the General Hiſtory of any Nation, which is eſteem'd of all the ſeveral Kinds, the greateſt, as an Epick Poem is in Poetry. And as ſome will ſcarce allow, that there have been more than two Epick Poets, *Homer* and *Virgil*; ſo the Name and Honour of General Hiſtorians have been reſtrain'd by the Criticks to almoſt the ſame Number. *Livy* among the Ancients, and *Mariana* among the Moderns, are plac'd in the higheſt Rank, tho' others have their Parties and Favourers, and are allow'd many Beauties, which every one magnifies or leſſens, according to his particular Reliſh.

* *Lucian. Le Moyne. Rapin. Le Clerc's Parrhaſiana.*

But it has been a long Complaint, that whatever be the Difficulty of compiling a General Hiſtory, other Nations have maſter'd it better than our own, which yet all the World knows has not been unfruitful of very great Men, in all Capacities, both of acting and Writing. Some Attempts have indeed been made, but with what Succeſs is too well known; for 'tis not a tedious Chronicle fill'd with a world of frivolous Matter and minute Circumſtances, tho' ever ſo true and faithful, nor a laborious Plunder of Libraries, Manuſcripts, publick Rolls and Records, tho' put together by many Years Application, in a cold and barren Stile, that will be valu'd as a Hiſtory. No body, that is acquainted with our Performances in other Parts of Learning and Wit, in all which we are allow'd to equal moſt of our Neighbours, and in ſome to excel 'em, or that conſiders the Solidity and Vigor of Genius, which is the known Character of the *Engliſh*, can doubt but that we have had many among us of Qualifications for ſuch a Work, equal at leaſt with any other Nation. But whether a modeſt Diſtruſt of themſelves, or want of Leiſure and Encouragement, or whatever elſe has been the Impediment, it muſt be own'd we have not yet ſeen it done with Approbation; and if we may ever hope for it, 'tis perhaps a Happineſs in reſerve, till the many Wonders of Her Majeſty's moſt Wiſe, Juſt, and Fortunate Reign, ſhall have made the Glory of the *Engliſh* Annals compleat.

|| *Preface to* Nicholſon's *Engliſh Hiſtorical Library.*

However, 'tis thought a Deſign of ſuch Conſequence cannot be well executed by one Man; and therefore || ſome have wiſh'd to ſee it carry'd on by a Society or *Club of Men of Parts and Learning, ſome whereof are Maſters of our ancient Languages, and others of the Modern; ſome vers'd in the Writings of the old* Britons, Romans, Saxons, Danes, *and others thoroughly acquainted with the Hiſtorians ſince the Conqueſt; ſome that know the Geography, and others the Law of the Realm; ſome that have been bred at Court, and others in the Camp; and that it ſhou'd be an Engagement generouſly enter'd into by Men of Leiſure and Fortune.* This indeed is a rational Project, and might probably ſucceed, if the Gentlemen cou'd be found, who are both willing and fit to engage in it. But few are drawn to laborious Tasks, or have Conſtancy enough to ſtruggle with great Difficulties, when they are not animated by ſome other Motive than raiſing a Reputation to themſelves, and doing a Service to the Publick.

In

In the mean time, the preſent Collection is the neareſt ſuch a Deſign of any thing that has appear'd; for we are not ſo entirely at a Loſs for a Hiſtory of *England*, but that we have already many Parts of it by ſeveral Hands, in juſt Eſteem; and theſe are the ſtanding Authorities and Guides to which all Attempters in this Way muſt ever have Recourſe. Many of 'em anſwer the Characters mention'd in that imaginary Society, and ſome had the additional Advantage of living in or near the Times they deſcribe, ſo that theirs may be reckon'd Pictures by the Life, which have uſually the moſt of Spirit as well as the trueſt Likeneſs; whereas ſucceeding Hands, tho' they copy ever ſo ſkilfully, can ſcarce avoid loſing much of the Force, and Juſtneſs, and Grace of the Original.

Their Reputation, as was hinted before, is not now to be made in the World, which is generally ſlow and ſparing, and diſagreed in diſtributing its Applauſe to Books even of the higheſt Merit, if their Authors are living. The procuring 'em ſeverally was formerly found troubleſome and expenſive; ſome of 'em were ſcarce, and others had ſuffer'd by the multiplying of Editions and wanted a careful Correction; the Deſign of Printing 'em in this Method, ſo as to compoſe a compleat Hiſtory of our Affairs, has been for ſeveral Years recommended, and the Undertakers encourag'd to it by Letters from Eminent Hands in many Parts of the Kingdom; and to give it all proper Advantages, Care has been taken to procure many Manuſcripts and Papers of Value, by means of which, and other Helps, ſuch Additions have been made as were thought neceſſary for a Supplement or Illuſtration of the Hiſtory. The Stiles of the *Engliſh* Authors, tho ſome of 'em a little *antiquated*, are preſerv'd according to their Originals, but the *Latin* Lives, Papers, *Verſes, &c.* are tranſlated for the Benefit of common Readers. If any one imagines the Difference of Stiles an Objection, others are of a contrary Opinion, and think that this Variety may divert and relieve the Mind, which is often tir'd by Voluminous Works by one Hand, tho' written ever ſo elegantly.

For the Times before *William* the Firſt, tho' the Views of 'em have been left leſs diſtinct than the reſt, and in ſome Places look like Scenes of Fairy-Land, yet ſo much as cou'd be trac'd and put into order, has been admirably done by Mr. *John Milton*, with whoſe Book this Collection begins. His great natural and acquir'd Parts, and his excelling in ſo many different kinds of Learning, beſides his daring and uncommon Genius in Poetry, have made him generally look'd upon as one of the moſt extraordinary Perſons that the laſt Age produc'd: And even the greateſt Admirers of Antiquity have a particular Reaſon to rank him with moſt of the Ancients, whom he ſo nearly reſembles. For this ſeems to be his diſtinguiſhing Character, and is agreeable to what Monſieur * *Fontenelle obſerves, That* "The Wit of one Climate more eaſily ſuffers tranſplanting into ano- "ther, than *its* Trees and Fruit; *and that tho' 'tis ſaid there's more Diverſity among* "Wits than Faces, yet one Face by ſtedfaſtly regarding another cannot take a new Re- "ſemblance, but Wit may. And 'tis thus, that People do not always retain the Turn of "Thought which they derive from their Native Climate, but by reading *Greek* Books, "become as it were ally'd to the *Greeks*.

* *Digreſſion ſur les Anciens, &c. dans le diſcours ſur la Nature d'Eglogue.*

Mr. *Milton*'s Hiſtory, as well as his Poetical Works, proves this; where, in his Thoughts and Language, he appears with the Majeſtick Air of old *Greece* or *Rome*. This makes him indeed look particular, and perhaps to ſome uncouth, like the *Roman* Architecture heretofore, when the *Gothick* was in Faſhion. But whether his or the more Modern *Diction be the beſt*, let the Controverters of old and new Books decide as they pleaſe. 'Tis ſufficient if his Hiſtory, as was ſaid, be the beſt Draught of thoſe rude Times he choſe to deſcribe. His Abilities and Diligence to perform that Part were unqueſtionable, and his Impartiality too, which would not have been, if he had written the Hiſtory of later Times. Sir *William Temple*, tho' he has very ingeniouſly treated the ſame Subject, is not particular enough, and ſeems ſo much in haſte to come to his Favourite Character of *William* the *Norman*, that the reſt of his Book is indeed but *an Introduction*.

Mr. *Daniel*'s Hiſtory follows next, containing the Reigns of *William* I, and II. *Henry* I. King *Stephen*, *Henry* II. *Richard* I. King *John*, *Henry* III. *Edward* I, II, and III. The Author had a Place at Court in the Reign of King *James* I. being Groom of the Privy Chamber to the Queen, and ſeems to have taken all the Refinement a Court could give him. 'Tis ſaid he had a good Vein in Poetry, and 'tis certain he has ſhewn great Judgment in keeping it, as he did, from infecting his Proſe, and deſtroying that Simplicity which is a principal Beauty in the Stile of an Hiſtorian. His Narration is ſmooth and clear, and carries every where an Air of good Senſe and juſt Eloquence, and his *Engliſh* is much more modern than *Milton*, tho' he liv'd before him: But Mr. *Milton* choſe to write (if the Expreſſion may be allow'd) a hundred Years backward, whereas 'tis particularly to be admir'd how Mr. *Daniel* could ſo long ago, expreſs himſelf with the ſame Purity and Grace as our moſt ſenſible Writers do now, tho' we flatter our ſelves that we have conſiderably improv'd the Language.

The Continuation of his Hiſtory thro' the Reigns of *Richard* II. *Henry* IV, V, and VI. was ſo meanly perform'd by Mr. *Truſſel*, and the Stile ſo wretched, that there was a Neceſſity

ceſſity to have thoſe Reigns new writ, which have therefore been done much larger and more exact, and after Mr. *Daniel*'s Method. In this, and the former Work, and ſo throughout the Firſt Volume, is added at the end of every Reign an Account of Eminent Men, and Remarkable Occurrences, from *Hollingſhead* and others. That the like Method is omitted in the ſucceeding Volumes, is becauſe 'twas thought unneceſſary; for the Hiſtorians are larger, and have not omitted any worth mentioning, and the Index ſupplies it once for all.

The next Author is Mr. *Habington*, whoſe Hiſtory is the beſt extant of *Edward* IV. No Reign afforded a Proſpect of more ſurpriſing Turns and Reverſes of Fortune than this, all which he has largely and eloquently deſcrib'd; yet to ſpeak impartially, he ſeems to Moralize too much; and if he had been more ſparing of his General Remarks and Sentences, the Thread of his Story would have run off evener: But this by the way, and with the utmoſt Deference to his excellent Performance, in which he has highly merited by painting in ſuch lively Colours thoſe Times of moſt remarkable Confuſion.

Sir *Thomas Moor*, that learned Lord Chancellor of *England*, writ his Hiſtory of the Short and Unhappy Reign of King *Edward* V. and of the Beginning of King *Richard* III. in *Latin*: His Maſterly Command of the Delicacies of that Language, conſiderably help'd to ſpread his Fame all over *Europe*; but to render the Work more uniform, and of more general Uſe, there was a Neceſſity to have this carefully tranſlated. Nothing can be ſaid to add to the Author's great Reputation; his high Employments were conferr'd on him as well in Reward of his Learning as of his other Merit, by a King, who was known chiefly to value himſelf upon being a Scholar and a Judge of Books. In this Reign the Intrigues of the Protector and his Creatures againſt the young Princes, are related with wonderful Clearneſs and Judgment in the Affairs of State; the Speeches are ſenſible, and the Deſcriptions proper; that of King *Richard*'s guilty Terrors after the Murther of his Nephews, is admirable, which is mention'd here, becauſe 'tis certain, Deſcription in Hiſtory as well as in Poetry is a dangerous Part to manage, and the ſooneſt betrays an affected and injudicious Writer.

Sir *Thomas Moor* left the Reign of *Richard* III. unfiniſh'd; the Supplement to it is therefore extracted out of *Hall* and *Hollingſhead*; after which follows *George Buck*'s Life of the ſame King, which makes this Part of the Hiſtory compleat. His Relation is particular, and very remarkable for the Pains he takes to wipe off the bloody Stains upon King *Richard*'s Character, and to vindicate from common Imputation one of the blackeſt Reigns in all our Story. Whether he has done it with Reaſon or not, let the Reader judge; for there are various Opinions about it, and 'tis upon this Account that the Bookſellers were adviſ'd to Print it. His Book indeed, tho' it were all Truth, is much too looſely writ for a Hiſtory; 'tis pedantick and full of Harangue, and may more properly be call'd *a Defence of King Richard* than any thing elſe; yet as he is the only Advocate of Note that has appear'd in ſo odd a Cauſe, 'tis well worth the while to give him a Place here, tho' among ſo many of his Betters. In ſome things 'tis highly probable he has done that King but Juſtice; yet 'tis ſtrange that he'll neither allow him to have had any Deformity in Mind or Body; for he is angry to find him deſcrib'd by others crook-back'd, and of an ill Viſage, and ſeems to be for reverſing his Character throughout. 'Twas not fit to let this Work paſs without ſome Animadverſions; and to ſet all things as much in the Light as poſſible, Mr. *Stripe*, an induſtrious Antiquary, has added large Notes and Remarks, from an Authentick Manuſcript which he had by him, and from other Authors.

We come now to one of the moſt applauded Pieces of Hiſtory that has ever been writ in our own or any other Language, either Ancient or Modern, the incomparable Lord *Bacon*'s Life and Reign of King *Henry* VII. which, with the Reverence due to ſo great a Man, is Printed here in his own Stile without the Alteration of a Word. 'Tis impoſſible to exceed in his Praiſe: One may obſerve in him all the Depth of a Stateſman and Philoſopher, all the Ornament of a diſcreet Orator, and the Conduct of a juſt Hiſtorian. From him alone might ſufficiently be learn'd the Idea of that true Sublime which enobles Hiſtory; which conſiſts rather in a Greatneſs of Thinking than in a Pomp of Expreſſion, and is therefore reconcileable with that Simplicity requir'd too, tho' theſe are Beauties rarely ſeen united. He traces things with extraordinary Judgment, relates 'em with Clearneſs of Senſe and good Connexion, and has the Secret of making every Part of the Story inſtructive, without ſprinkling it over with perpetual Adages and Obſervations, which retard it, and are the falſe Jewels for which Coquet Writers affect to be admir'd. Another maſterly Excellence in him is, that he does not content himſelf with a ſuperficial Narration, but enters deeper into his Subject, and diſcovers the Motives of Affairs, which every where ſeem true Repreſentations, and not fanciful Conjectures; this is the more worthy of notice, becauſe *Tacitus*, who is much admir'd for it by many, is by others thought to have over-acted the* Politician, and by too nice a Subtilty to have expounded the

* *Sa maniere de critiquier eſt fine par elle-meme: Mais elle devient groſſiere, par l'envie qu'il a de critiquier tout.* Rapin. Reflex. *C'eſt plus la Politique que la Verité qui le fait parler.* Ibid.

the ſimpleſt Actions in the World into Deſign and Artifice. But as nothing is more improving than this Way of Writing when well manag'd, ſo it ſeems to be the Talent of a wiſe rather than of a cunning Head.

'Tis remarkable that three of our Hiſtorians of greateſt Fame (of whom two have their Works in this Collection) have been Lords High-Chancellors of *England*; and 'tis certain, the Qualifications which properly recommend Men to that Truſt and Honour, are ſuch as make 'em likewiſe better capable than moſt others of writing a good *Engliſh* Hiſtory.

The Notes which are added to the Lord *Bacon*'s Book, are chiefly extracted from that which was written by Sir *James Ware*, in Relation to the Affairs of *Ireland*, which was publiſh'd firſt in *Latin* at the End of the *Antiquitates Hibernicæ*, in *8vo*, and afterwards turn'd into *Engliſh*, and Printed lately with his other Works in Folio at *Dublin*. And this concludes the Account of the Hiſtorians in the Firſt Volume.

The Second begins with the Ingenious Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury*'s Life of King *Henry* VIII. which for its great Reputation may well be compar'd with the Lord *Bacon*'s. Theſe two Hiſtorians ſeem by their Senſe as well as Quality, of a Rank ſuperiour to moſt others; for few beſides have the Art of being particular in their Narration without growing flat and tireſome, and of making Remarks which are always worth the Reader's attending to, and no where offend by an unnatural or ambitious Air. The Lord *Herbert*, to qualifie him for this Undertaking, had an Education Military as well as Learned, the Improvement of Travel, and the Advantage of great Employments. He was of the Council to King *James* I. who, after he had employ'd him five Years in an Embaſſy to *Louis* XIII. of *France*, made him Baron of *Caſtle-Iſland* in *Ireland*. He afterwards ſerv'd King *Charles* I. both in the Field and in Council, and was by him created an *Engliſh* Peer. In order to write King *Henry* VIII's Life, he made a vaſt Collection of Manuſcripts and other Materials; of which the *Athenæ Oxonienſes* mentions four thick Folio Volumes Vol. II. which that Author ſays he has ſeen. The Original Copy of his Hiſtory, written by his own Hand, is in the Poſſeſſion of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, to which he preſented it. 'Tis large and copious, as the multiply'd Affairs of a buſie Reign requir'd; and as all *Europe* was concern'd in the Intrigues of thoſe Times, the Politicks then were ſo intricate and variable, and of ſuch an unuſual Turn, that 'twas not poſſible for a common Hand to trace 'em; nor can we imagine that any one beſide himſelf could ſo happily have conquer'd the Difficulty he complains of, *viz. To write that Prince's Hiſtory, of whom no one thing might conſtantly be affirm'd; and to draw his Picture well, who had ſeveral Countenances.*

In this Edition the Pope's Bulls, the Letters, and other Pieces, which were in in *Latin* before, are Printed both in *Latin* and *Engliſh*.

The Life and Reign of King *Edward* VI. was written by Sir *John Hayward*, Doctor of Laws, and Hiſtoriographer to King *James* I. The ſame Hand had written the Reign of King *Henry* IV. but this of King *Edward* was publiſh'd after the Author's Death. 'Tis here Printed with large Notes from a valuable Collection of Papers relating to the Reformation. 'Tis no Wonder, that in thoſe Party-Times, the Characters of many Perſons and Circumſtances of Affairs were left ſo variouſly and doubtfully repreſented as might miſlead even a diligent Writer; wherefore an impartial Cenſure of this Author is prefix'd to his Book by Mr. *Stripe*, to which the Reader is referr'd.

The next is the Annals of Queen *Mary*, written originally by *Francis Godwin* Lord Biſhop of *Hereford*, who together with this wrote likewiſe the Reigns of King *Henry* VIII. and King *Edward* VI. in *Latin*, for the Uſe of Foreigners. His Stile is grave and ſuccinct, and he appears to have been a good Maſter of that Language, and a faithful and ſenſible Hiſtorian. His Son *Morgan Godwin*, Doctor of Laws, publiſh'd this Book afterwards in our own Tongue, with ſome Enlargements by the Author's Conſent. That which is here Printed is new tranſlated in more modern *Engliſh*; and Mr. *Stripe*, who has a large Manuſcript of this Queen's Reign, has likewiſe perform'd his Part by adding Notes, and has inſerted ſome few Paſſages in the Margin, which he has obſerv'd to be in the former *Engliſh* Edition.

The long and happy Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* is deſcrib'd at large with the utmoſt Exactneſs by the Learned Mr. *Cambden*, call'd frequently *the Prince of modern Antiquaries.* This elaborate Work was begun at the Inſtigation of his great Patron the Lord Treaſurer *Burghley* in 1597, the ſame Year that Mr. *Cambden* was made *Clerenceux* King at Arms; but that Nobleman had only the Satisfaction and Honour of laying the firſt Stone of the Building, without living to ſee it in any Forwardneſs, for he dy'd the next Year. This Loſs much afflicted Mr. *Cambden*, and interrupted his Deſign; and the Queen herſelf dying about five Years after, it remain'd for ſome time at a ſtand; but, in the Year 1608, he fell to it again with great Application, and never perhaps had any Man more univerſal Qualifications or greater Advantages. He had premeditated it many Years, his chief Study had long before been the Antiquities of his Native Country, and the Tranſactions

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he was now to record were ſuch as paſs'd in his own Time; he began it ſlow, and after his Studies were ripe, and his Judgment in full Maturity; for his *Britannia* was firſt compleated, which left him wholly at Liberty, and better inſtructed for this Undertaking. He wanted no Helps from Men of the greateſt Learning in *England*, who were proud of ſupplying him with Papers and Books; all Libraries were open to him, and if he had not been Maſter of an admirable Judgment for ſeparating, chuſing and digeſting his Materials, the Variety muſt have put him in Confuſion. The Queen's Collection of Writings, Letters, and Memorials, had been imparted to him by the Lord *Burghley*, who likewiſe furniſh'd him with his own, and he afterwards receiv'd great Aſſiſtance from his friend Sir *Robert Cotton*, all which he mentions in his Preface; but nothing could equal his own Induſtry and indefatigable Study, which was indeed wonderful.

For the Moral Qualifications of an Hiſtorian, ſuch as Fidelity, Diſintereſt, and a ſincere Affection to Truth, he has given all the Proofs of 'em that can be deſir'd; For beſides the Air of Probity, which is ſeen in his Annals, 'tis remarkable that he at firſt deſign'd they ſhould not be publiſh'd in his Life-time, but had bequeath'd 'em by Will to the Famous *Thuanus*, with whom he had a particular Friendſhip. However, he was prevail'd on to alter this Reſolution, and in the Year 1615, came out the firſt Volume reaching to the Year 1589. It had the natural Effect of a well-writ Piece of Modern Hiſtory, for it gain'd him much Applauſe, and many Enemies; which laſt, tho' a good Proof of his Merit, was a ſevere one, and diſcourag'd him from venturing abroad his Second Volume till the Year 1625, and then it was in a manner extorted from him by Importunity, after it had lain finiſh'd for a conſiderable time.

The Affairs of *Spain*, *France*, and *Scotland*, were much interwoven with thoſe of *England* in that Queen's Reign, and conſequently Mr. *Cambden* has given 'em their proper Place in his Compoſure. 'Twas his Character to leave nothing imperfect that his Art or Labour cou'd compleat. In his manner of relating he rather choſe to be Exact than Ornamental, and diſpos'd his Matter into the plain Form of *Annals*, by that to excuſe himſelf from all ſuperfluous Finery. His Preface gives a very good Idea of his Book; and for the Particulars of his Life, the Reader may find 'em in *Latin* by Dr. *Smith*, Printed with the Collection of *Cambden*'s Letters, *&c.* and in *Engliſh* by Mr. *Gibſon*, prefix'd to the laſt Edition of his *Britannia*. Several Tranſlations have been made of theſe Annals from the Original *Latin*; but 'twas thought neceſſary to have 'em new tranſlated, examin'd and corrected, in a juſt Regard to the Author's Reputation. His Sketch of the Annals of King *James*, tho' conſiſting only of ſhort Heads, is likewiſe added in *Engliſh*, that nothing from ſo great a Hand ought to be omitted.

The laſt Hiſtorian, in the Second Volume, is Mr. *Wilſon*, who wrote the Life of King *James* I. The Learned Dr. *Welwood* has been prevail'd with to add ſome Notes and Obſervations of his own upon it, and has furniſh'd ſome few Original Papers relating to that Reign, which hitherto never ſaw the Light; all which Notes and Obſervations are Printed at the bottom of the Pages. At the Beginning the Author has given us in courſe Rhime what he calls his own Picture, but in the Note there added, the Reader will find it drawn with a truer Likeneſs than that which he drew himſelf, and with better Skill than can be done in this Preface.

For what remains to be ſaid concerning the Third Volume, the Judicious and Accompliſh'd Writer of it, has thought fit in his own Words to addreſs the Publick as follows.

To the READER.

THIS Third and Laſt Volume of our Engliſh Hiſtory *requires but a ſhort and eaſie Introduction to it. For here is no* Collection *of Writers, that need a Character and Account of them, as in the two former Volumes. This Continuation is a* New *Work done by a particular Hand, with a ſtrict Regard to Truth and Juſtice.*

Since the Period of the Second Volume, the Death of King James I. *no one Reign hath been ſo exactly written, or at leaſt brought into ſo juſt a Compaſs, as to deſerve to be here intirely inſerted. And therefore it was thought more fair and reaſonable to draw up all the following Reigns into a* New *Proſpect, juſt and proportionable, and not deceiving the Eye. The Perſon who draws it is not ſo delighted with it, as to value himſelf on the Performance: He did it for his own Diverſion, rather than for the Satisfaction of the World. For he knows, that of all things* Hiſtory *is leaſt underſtood by the Generality of Mankind: And what is very ſtrange, People are for the moſt part leaſt able to judge of the Hiſtory of their* own Times: *They have imperfect Remembrances, they have confuſed Notions, they have a Partiality to one ſide, and a Prejudice to another, they have their Preſumptions, and their Conjectures, and like ſome diſtemper'd Heads have a* Sight *ſo uncertain, that it deceives them more than* Blindneſs *itſelf could do. For this Reaſon, no prudent Writer would ſet a Name to the Hiſtory*

ſtory of his own Times; for it is impoſſible to pleaſe, or to be thought impartial, till Poſterity find out his plain and honeſt Dealing.

Therefore the Hand chiefly concern'd in thoſe Papers withdraws it ſelf from the Notice of the World, and does reſt ſatisfied with its own Intention; which was to hold an Even Balance, *and to let nothing turn it but Truth and Juſtice. A great Regard has been had to the excellent Hiſtory written by my Lord* Clarendon, *which is far from ſerving any one Side only; and the* Characters *which are the beſt Part of it are moſt of them here tranſcrib'd. The following Reigns are done with ſome few Diſcoveries of what had not been before publiſh'd in the general and common Affairs; the Story is told according to the beſt Writers, and very often in their very Words.*

ADVERTISEMENT.

SINCE this Book was near finiſh'd, it has been thought proper to add an Appendix to Mr. *Cambden*'s Life of Queen *Elizabeth*, in order to give farther Light into ſome weighty Matters. And there being nothing of it mention'd in the Index, a Catalogue of the Papers contain'd is here printed for the Reader's Satisfaction.

1. A Declaration of the Cauſes moving the Queen of *England* to give Aid to the Defence of the People afflicted and oppreſſed in the *Low-Countries*, Vol. II. (654)

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5. The Petition of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal to Her Majeſty, upon the two great Matters of Marriage and Succeſſion, deliver'd by the Lord Keeper in Parliament, *Nov.* 5th, 1566. (661)

6. Her Majeſty's Anſwer. (663)

7. *The Queen's Speech at the* Diſſolution of the Parliament, on *Thurſday, January* 2d, 1566. Ibid.

8. Reaſons to prove the Queen's Majeſty bound in Conſcience to proceed with Severity in the Caſe of the late Queen of *Scots*. (664)

9. An humble Petition to Her Majeſty, and the Reaſons gather'd out of the Civil Law, by certain appointed by Authority in Parliament to prove that it ſtandeth not only with Juſtice, but alſo with Her Majeſty's Honour and Safety, to proceed criminally againſt the pretended *Scotch* Queen. (667)

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14. The Queen's Speech at the Diſſolution of the Parliament, *April* 10th, 1593. (672)

15. The Speaker's Speech to the Queen in the Council-Chamber, *Nov.* 30th, 1601. and the Queen's Anſwer. (673)

16. The Manner of the Execution of the Earl of *Eſſex* in the Tower of *London*, *Feb.* 25th, 1600. with his Speech and Behaviour at the ſame. (674)

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THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

Continu'd to the

Norman Conqueſt.

By Mr. *JOHN MILTON.*

BOOK I.

THE Beginning of Nations, thoſe excepted of whom Sacred Books *have ſpoken,* is to this Day unknown. Nor only the *Beginning*, but the Deeds alſo of many ſucceeding Ages, yea, Periods of Ages, either wholly unknown, or obſcur'd and blemiſh'd with Fables. Whether it were that the Uſe of Letters came in long after, or were it the Violence of barbarous Inundations, or they themſelves, at certain Revolutions of Time, fatally decaying, and degenerating into Sloth and Ignorance; whereby the Monuments of more ancient *Civility* have been ſome deſtroy'd, ſome *loſt*. Perhaps *Diſ-eſteem* and *Contempt* of the *Publick Affairs then preſent, as not* worth recording, might partly be in Cauſe. Certainly oft-times we ſee that wiſe Men, and of beſt Ability, have forborn to write the Acts of their own Days, while they beheld with a juſt Loathing and Diſdain, not only how unworthy, how perverſe, how corrupt, but often how ignoble, how petty, how below all Hiſtory the Perſons and their Actions were; who either by Fortune, or ſome rude Election, had attain'd as a ſore Judgment, and Ignominy upon the Land, to have chief Sway in managing the Commonwealth. But that any Law, or Superſtition of our old Philoſophers the *Druids*, forbad the *Britains* to write their memorable Deeds, I know not why any out of *Cæſar* ſhould alledge: He indeed ſaith, that their Doctrine they thought not lawful to commit to Letters; but in moſt Matters *elſe, both private and publick, among* which well may Hiſtory be reckon'd, [a] they us'd the Greek Tongue: And that the *Britiſh Druids*, who taught thoſe in *Gaul*, would be ignorant of any Language known and us'd by their Diſciples, or ſo frequently writing other things, and ſo inquiſitive into the higheſt, would for want of Recording be ever Children in the Knowledge of Times and Ages, is not likely. Whatever might be the Reaſon, this we find, that of *Britiſh* Affairs, from the firſt Peopling of the Iſland, to the Coming of *Julius Cæſar*, nothing certain, either by Tradition, Hiſtory, or Ancient Fame, hath hitherto been left us. That which we have of oldeſt ſeeming, hath by the greater Part of judicious Antiquaries been long rejected for a Modern Fable. *Cæſ.* lib. 6.

Nevertheleſs, there being others beſides the firſt ſuppos'd Author, Men not unread, nor unlearned in Antiquity, who admit that for approved Story, which the former explode for Fiction; and ſeeing that oft-times Relations heretofore accounted fabulous, have been after found to contain in them many Footſteps, and Relicks of ſomething true, as what we read in Poets of the Flood, and Giants little believed, till undoubted Witneſſes taught us, that all was not

 feign'd;

[a] There are ſome Objections, and thoſe not inconſiderable, againſt this Aſſertion. *Græcis Literis utuntur*, ſaith *Cæſar*: Which does not neceſſarily imply that they uſed the *Greek Tongue*, but only their *Letters*: For if he had meant the Language, he would have rather ſaid, *Græcoſermone*, or *Græcâ linguâ*. But this does not take off the Difficulty neither: For if they made uſe of the *Greek* Letters, it had been but a poor Contrivance of *Cæſar*'s, to write to *Cicero* (in *Gaul*) in the *Greek* Character, for fear the Letter ſhould be intercepted, and their Deſigns diſcovered. *Hanc Græcis conſcriptam literis mittit, ne interceptâ epiſtolâ, noſtra ab hoſtibus conſilia cognoſcantur*, ſaith *Cæſar*, lib. 5. Now if the *Druids* (the great Miniſters of State us'd the *Greek* Character in their common Buſineſs, why ſhould *Cæſar* think, that this Character would conceal his Deſigns? The learned *Selden* believes, *Græcis* to have been foiſted into that Place of *Cæſar*, where he ſpeaks of the *Druids*, (lib. 6.) and will have him mean no more, than that Religious Matters were never writ down, but in all Secular Affairs they made uſe of Writing: A Conjecture natural enough, and very probably true.

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THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

Continu'd to the

Norman Conqueſt.

By Mr. *JOHN MILTON.*

BOOK I.

THE Beginning of Nations, thoſe excepted of whom Sacred Books *have ſpoken*, is to this Day unknown. Nor only the Beginning, but the Deeds alſo of many ſucceeding Ages, yea, Periods of Ages, either wholly unknown, or obſcur'd and blemiſh'd with Fables. Whether it were that the Uſe of Letters came in long after, or were it the Violence of barbarous Inundations, or they themſelves, at certain Revolutions of Time, fatally decaying, and degenerating into Sloth and Ignorance; whereby the Monuments of more ancient Civility have been ſome deſtroy'd, ſome loſt. Perhaps Diſ-eſteem and Contempt of the Publick Affairs then preſent, as not worth recording, might partly be in Cauſe. Certainly oft-times we ſee that wiſe Men, and of beſt Ability, have forborn to write the Acts of their own Days, while they beheld with a juſt Loathing and Diſdain, not only how unworthy, how perverſe, how corrupt, but often how ignoble, how petty, how below all Hiſtory the Perſons and their Actions were; who either by Fortune, or ſome rude Election, had attain'd as a ſore Judgment, and Ignominy upon the Land, to have chief Sway in managing the Commonwealth. But that any Law, or Superſtition of our old Philoſophers the *Druids*, forbad the *Britains* to write their memorable Deeds, I know not why any out of *Cæſar* ſhould alledge: He indeed ſaith, that their Doctrine they thought not lawful to commit to Letters; but in moſt Matters *elſe*, both private and publick, among which well may Hiſtory be reckon'd, [a] they us'd the Greek Tongue: And that the *Britiſh Druids*, who taught thoſe in *Gaul*, would be ignorant of any Language known and us'd by their Diſciples, or ſo frequently writing other things, and ſo inquiſitive into the higheſt, would for want of Recording be ever Children in the Knowledge of Times and Ages, is not likely. Whatever might be the Reaſon, this we find, that of *Britiſh* Affairs, from the firſt Peopling of the Iſland, to the Coming of *Julius Cæſar*, nothing certain, either by Tradition, Hiſtory, or Ancient Fame, hath hitherto been left us. That which we have of oldeſt ſeeming, hath by the greater Part of judicious Antiquaries been long rejected for a Modern Fable. *Cæſ. lib. 6.*

Nevertheleſs, there being others beſides the firſt ſuppos'd Author, Men not unread, nor unlearned in Antiquity, who admit that for approved Story, which the former explode for Fiction; and ſeeing that oft-times Relations heretofore accounted fabulous, have been after found to contain in them many Footſteps, and Relicks of ſomething true, as what we read in Poets of the Flood, and Giants little believed, till undoubted Witneſſes taught us, that all was not

[a] There are ſome Objections, and thoſe not inconſiderable, againſt this Aſſertion. *Græcis Literis utuntur*, ſaith *Cæſar*: Which does not neceſſarily imply that they uſed the *Greek Tongue*, but only their *Letters*: For if he had meant the Language, he would have rather ſaid, *Græco ſermone*, or *Græcâ linguâ*. But this does not take off the Difficulty neither: For if they made uſe of the *Greek* Letters, it had been but a poor Contrivance of *Cæſar*'s, to write to *Cicero* (in *Gaul*) in the *Greek* Character, for fear the Letter ſhould be intercepted, and their Deſigns diſcovered. *Hanc Græcis conſcriptam literis mittit, ne interceptâ epiſtolâ, noſtra ab hoſtibus conſilia cognoſcantur*, ſaith *Cæſar*, lib. 5. Now if the *Druids* (the great Miniſters of State us'd the *Greek* Character in their common Buſineſs, why ſhould *Cæſar* think, that this Character would conceal his Deſigns? The learned *Selden* believes, *Græcis* to have been foiſted into that Place of *Cæſar*, where he ſpeaks of the *Druids*, (lib. 6.) and will have him mean no more, than that Religious Matters were never writ down, but in all Secular Affairs they made uſe of Writing: A Conjecture natural enough, and very probably true.

feign'd; I have therefore determin'd to beſtow the telling over of theſe reputed Tales; be it for nothing elſe but in Favour of our Engliſh Poets, and Rhetoricians, who by their Art will know how to uſe them judiciouſly.

I might alſo produce Examples, as *Diodorus* among the *Greeks*, *Livy* and others of the *Latines*, *Polydore* and *Virunnius* among our own Writers. But I intend not with Controverſies and Quotations to delay or interrupt the ſmooth Courſe of Hiſtory; much leſs to argue and debate long who were the firſt Inhabitants, with what Probabilities, what Authorities each Opinion hath been upheld, but ſhall endeavour that which hitherto hath been needed moſt, with plain and lightſome Brevity, to relate well and orderly things worth the noting, ſo as may beſt inſtruct and benefit them that read. Which imploring divine Aſſiſtance, that it may redound to his Glory, and the Good of the *Britiſh* Nation, I now begin.

THAT the whole Earth was inhabited before the Flood, and to the utmoſt Point of habitable Ground, from thoſe effectual Words of *God* in the Creation, may be more than conjectur'd. Hence that this Iſland alſo had her Dwellers, her Affairs, and perhaps her Stories, even in that old World thoſe many hundred Years, with much Reaſon we may infer. [b] After the Flood, and the diſperſing of Nations, as they journey'd leiſurely from the Eaſt, *Gomer*, the eldeſt Son of *Japhet*, and his Off-ſpring, as by Authorities, Arguments, and Affinity of divers Names is generally believ'd, were the firſt that peopl'd all theſe Weſt and Northern Climes. But they of our own Writers, who thought they had done nothing, unleſs with all Circumſtance they tell us when, and who firſt ſet foot upon this Iſland, preſume to name out of fabulous and counterfeit Authors a certain *Samothes* or *Dis*, a fourth or ſixth Son of *Japhet*, whom they make about two hundred Years after the Flood, to have planted with Colonies, firſt the Continent of *Celtica*, or *Gaul*, and next this Iſland: Thence to have nam'd it *Samothea*, to have reign'd here, and after him lineally four Kings, *Magus*, *Saron*, *Druis*, and *Bardus*. But the forg'd *Beroſus*, whom only they have to cite, no where mentions that either he, or any of thoſe whom they bring did ever paſs into *Britain*, or ſend their People hither. So that this out-landiſh Figment may eaſily excuſe our not allowing it the Room here ſo much as of a *Britiſh* Fable.

That which follows, perhaps as wide from Truth, though ſeeming leſs impertinent, is, That theſe *Samotheans*, under the Reign of *Bardus*, were ſubdu'd by *Albian* a Giant, Son of *Neptune*, who call'd the Iſland after his own Name, and rul'd it forty four Years: Till at length paſſing over into *Gaul*, in Aid of his Brother *Leſtrygon*, againſt whom *Hercules* was haſting out of *Spain* into *Italy*, he was there ſlain in Fight, and *Bergion* alſo his Brother.

Sure enough we are that *Britain* hath been anciently term'd *Albion*, both by the *Greeks* and *Romans*. And *Mela* the Geographer makes mention of a ſtony Shoar in *Languedoc*, where by Report ſuch a Battel was fought. The reſt, [c] as his giving Name to the Iſle, or ever landing here, depends altogether upon late Surmiſes. But too abſurd, and too unconſcionably groſs is that fond Invention that wafted hither the fifty Daughters of a ſtrange *Diocleſian* King of *Syria*; brought in doubtleſs by ſome illiterate Pretender to ſomething miſtaken in the common Poetical Story of *Danaus* King of *Argos*, while his Vanity, not pleas'd with the obſcure Beginning which trueſt Antiquity affords the Nation, labour'd to contrive us a Pedigree, as he thought, more noble. Theſe Daughters, by Appointment of *Danaus* on the Marriage-Night, having murder'd all their Husbands, except *Linceus*, whom his Wife's Loyalty ſav'd, were by him, at the Suit of his Wife their Siſter, not put to Death, but turn'd out to Sea in a Ship unmann'd; of which whole Sex they had incurr'd the Hate; and as the Tale goes, were driven on this Iſland: Where the Inhabitants, none but Devils, as ſome write, or as others, a lawleſs Crew left here by *Albion* without Head or Governor, both entertain'd them, and had Iſſue by them a ſecond Breed of Giants, who tyranniz'd the Iſle till *Brutus* came.

The eldeſt of thoſe Dames in their Legend they call *Albina*; and from thence, for which Cauſe the whole Scene was fram'd, will have the ſame *Albion* deriv'd. Incredible it may ſeem, ſo ſluggiſh a Conceit ſhould prove ſo ancient, as to be authoriz'd by the elder *Ninnius*, reputed to have lived above a thouſand Years ago. This I find not in him, but that *Hiſtion* ſprung of *Japhet*, had four Sons, *Francus*, *Romanus*, *Alemannus*, and *Britto*, of whom the *Britains*; as true, I believe, as that thoſe other Nations whoſe Names are reſembled, came of the other three; if theſe Dreams give not juſt Occaſion to call in doubt the Book it ſelf, which bears that Title. *Holinſhed.*

Hitherto the Things themſelves have given us as a warrantable Diſpatch to run them ſoon over. But now of [d] *Brutus* and his Line, with the whole Progeny of Kings, to the Entrance of *Julius Cæſar*, we cannot ſo eaſily be diſcharg'd; Deſcents of Anceſtry, long-continu'd Laws and Exploits, not plainly ſeeming to be borrow'd, or deviſ'd, which on the common Belief have wrought no ſmall Impreſſion; [e] defended by many, denyed utterly by few. For what though *Brutus*, and the whole *Trojan* Pretence were yielded up, ſeeing they who firſt deviſ'd to bring us from ſome [f] noble Anceſtor, were content at firſt with *Brutus* the Conſul, till better Invention, although not willing to forgo the Name, taught them to remove it higher, into a more fabulous Age, and by the ſame Remove lighting on the *Trojan* Tales, in Affectation to make the *Britain* of one Original with the *Roman*, pitch'd there, yet thoſe old and inborn Names of ſucceſſive Kings, never any to have been real Perſons, or done in their Lives, at leaſt ſome Part of what ſo long hath been remember'd, cannot be thought without too ſtrict an Incredulity. A. M. 2855.

For

[b] Concerning the firſt Peopling of *Britain*, Mr. *Cambden* has given us as diſtinct an Account, as can be drawn from probable Conjectures, and as the great diſtance of Time and want of Records will allow. See his *Britannia*, the Engliſh Edition, *p.* 10.

[c] 'Tis poſſible enough he might give Name to the Iſle, though he never landed here. *Pliny* tells us, it was call'd *Albion*, to diſtinguiſh it from the Iſlands round *Britain*, which went under the general Name of *Britannicæ*: And this likely enough was done by the *Greeks*, who delighted ſo much in fabulous Names.

[d] That Romantick Story of *Brutus* and his Poſterity, is fairly confuted by Mr. *Cambden*, Engliſh Edit. *p.* 6.

[e] *Leland* has publiſhed a Vindication of the Story; and the *Welſh* are generally very unwilling to give it up for fabulous.

[f] If the *Britains* are ſo fond of a *Trojan* Original, Mr. *Cambden* has pointed out a much better Claim to it, than the Story of *Brutus* can give them: For the *Romans* (deſcended from the *Trojans*) by their long Continuance in this Iſland, could not but have many Inter-marriages with the *Britains*; whereby a great many *Britains* at this Day muſt be of *Roman*, and, by Conſequence, of *Trojan* Extraction.

2855. For theſe, and thoſe Cauſes above-mention'd, that which hath receiv'd Approbation from ſo many, I have choſen not to omit. Certain or uncertain, be that upon the Credit of thoſe whom I muſt follow; ſo far as keeps aloof from impoſſible and abſurd, atteſted by ancient Writers from Books more ancient, I refuſe not, as the due and proper Subject of Story. The principal Author is well known to be *Geoffry* of *Monmouth*; what he was, and whence his Authority, who in his Age, or before him have deliver'd the ſame Matter, and ſuch like general Diſcourſes, will better ſtand in a Treatiſe by themſelves. All of them agree in this, that *Brutus* was the Son of *Silvius*, he of *Aſcanius*, whoſe Father was *Æneas* a *Trojan* Prince, who at the burning of that City, with his Son *Aſcanius*, and a collected Number that eſcap'd, after a long Wandring on the Sea, arriv'd in *Italy*: Where at length by the Aſſiſtance of *Latinus* King of *Latium*, who had given him his Daughter *Lavinia*, he obtain'd to ſucceed in that Kingdom, and left it to *Aſcanius*, whoſe Son *Silvius* (though *Roman* Hiſtories deny *Silvius* to be the Son of *Aſcanius*) had married ſecretly a Niece of *Lavinia*.

Henry of Huntingdon. Matthew of Weſtminſter.

She being with Child, the Matter became known to *Aſcanius*: Who commanding his *Magicians to enquire by Art, what Sex the Maid had conceiv'd?* had Anſwer, *That it was one who ſhould be the Death of both his Parents; and baniſh'd for the Fact, ſhould after all in a far Country attain to higheſt Honour.* The Prediction fail'd not, for in Travail the Mother dy'd: And *Brutus* (the Child was ſo call'd) at fifteen Years of Age, attending his Father to the Chace, with an Arrow unfortunately kill'd him.

Baniſh'd therefore by his Kindred, he retires into *Greece*: Where meeting with the Race of *Helenus*, King *Priam*'s Son, held there in ſervile Condition by *Pandraſus*, then King; with them he abides: For *Pyrrhus*, in Revenge of his Father ſlain at *Troy*, had brought thither with him *Helenus*, and many others, into Servitude. There *Brutus*, among his own Stock ſo thrives in Vertue, and in Arms, as renders him belov'd by Kings, and great Captains, above all the Youth of that Land. Whereby the *Trojans* not only begin to hope, but ſecretly to move him, that he would lead them the Way to Liberty. They alledge their Numbers, and the promis'd Help of *Aſſaracus*, a Noble *Greekiſh* Youth, by the Mother's Side a *Trojan*; whom for that Cauſe his Brother went about to diſpoſſeſs of certain Caſtles bequeath'd him by his Father. *Brutus* conſidering both the Forces offer'd him, and the Strength of thoſe Holds, not unwillingly conſents.

Firſt therefore, having fortify'd thoſe Caſtles, he, with *Aſſaracus*, and the whole Multitude, betake them to the Woods and Hills, as the ſafeſt Place from whence to expoſtulate; and in the Name of all ſends to *Pandraſus* this Meſſage; *That the* Trojans *holding it unworthy their Anceſtors to ſerve in a Foreign Kingdom, had retreated to the Woods; chuſing rather a ſavage Life, than a ſlaviſh: If that diſpleas'd him, that then with his Leave they might depart to ſome other Soil.*

As this may paſs with good Allowance, that the *Trojans* might be many in theſe Parts; for *Helenus* was by *Pyrrhus* made King of the *Chaonians*, and the Sons of *Pyrrhus* by *Andromache*, *Hector*'s Wife, could not but be powerful through all *Epirus*; ſo much the more it may be doubted how theſe *Trojans* could be thus in Bondage, where they had Friends and Country-men ſo potent. But to examine theſe things with Diligence, were but to confute the Fables of *Britain* with the Fables of *Greece* or *Italy*; for of this Age, what have we to ſay, as well concerning moſt other Countries, as this Iſland, is equally under Queſtion. Be't how it will, *Pandraſus* not expecting ſo bold a Meſſage from the Sons of Captives, gathers an Army; and marching toward the Woods, *Brutus*, who had notice of his Approach nigh to a Town call'd *Sparatinum*, (I know not what Town, but certainly of no *Greek* Name) over Night planting himſelf there with good part of his Men, ſuddenly ſets upon him and with Slaughter of the *Greeks*, purſues him to the Paſſage of a River, which mine Author names *Akalon*, meaning perhaps *Achelous*, or *Acheron*; where at the Ford he overlays them afreſh. This Victory obtain'd, and a ſufficient Strength left in *Sparantinum*, *Brutus* with *Antigonus*, the King's Brother, and his Friend *Anacletus*, whom he had taken in the Fight, returns to the reſidue of his Friends in the thick Woods: While *Pandraſus* with all ſpeed recollecting, beſieges the Town. *Brutus* to relieve his Men beſieg'd, who earneſtly call'd him, diſtruſting the Sufficiency of his Force, bethinks himſelf of this Policy: Calls to him *Anacletus*, and threatning inſtant Death elſe both to him and his *Antigonus*, enjoyns him, that he ſhould go at the ſecond Hour of Night to the *Greekiſh* League, and tell the Guards he had brought *Antigonus* by ſtealth out of Priſon to a certain Woody Vale, unable through the Weight of his Fetters to move further; entreating them to come ſpeedily and fetch him in. *Anacletus*, to ſave both himſelf and his Friend *Antigonus*, ſwears this; and at a fit Hour ſets out alone toward the Camp: Is met, examin'd, and at laſt unqueſtionably known. To whom, great Profeſſion of Fidelity firſt made, he frames his Tale, as had been taught him: And they now fully aſſur'd, with a credulous Raſhneſs leaving their Stations, far'd accordingly by the Ambuſh that there awaited them. Forthwith *Brutus* dividing his Men into three Parts, leads on in Silence to the Camp; commanding firſt each Part at a ſeveral Place to enter, and forbear Execution, till he with his Squadron poſſeſs'd of the King's Tent, gave Signal to them by Trumpet. The Sound whereof no ſooner heard, but huge Havock begins upon the ſleeping and unguarded Enemy; whom the beſieged alſo now ſallying forth, on the other ſide, aſſail. *Brutus* the while had ſpecial Care to ſeize and ſecure the *King*'s Perſon; whoſe Life ſtill within his Cuſtody, he knew was the ſureſt Pledge to obtain what he ſhould demand. Day appearing, he enters the Town, there diſtributes the *King*'s Treaſure, and leaving the Place better fortify'd, returns with the King his Priſoner to the Woods. Strait the ancient and grave Men he ſummons to Counſel, what they ſhould now demand of the *King*.

2855.

After long Debate, *Mempricius*, one of the graveſt, utterly diſſuading them from Thought of longer ſtay in *Greece*, unleſs they meant to be deluded with a ſubtle Peace, and the awaited Revenge of thoſe whoſe Friends they had ſlain, adviſes them to demand firſt the *King*'s *Eldeſt Daughter Innogen* in Marriage to their Leader *Brutus*, with a rich Dowry, next Shipping, Mo-

, *Nennius*, who liv'd in the 7th Century, makes the Iſland to be firſt inhabited by *Brito*, Son to *Aſcanius* and Grandſon to *Æneas*; who, as he ſuppoſes, reign'd in *Britain* at the Time when *Eli* judg'd *Iſrael*, about the Year of the World, 2830. *Sigebertus Gemblaſenſis*, a *French* Monk, who liv'd 20 Years before *Geoffry* of *Monmouth*, writes, that *Brute* paſt from *Gaul* into *Britain*; and *Henry Huntingdon*, Contemporary with *Geoffry*, is of Opinion that *Britain* was peopled by *Brute*.

2855. ney, and fit Proviſion for them all to depart the Land.

This Reſolution pleaſing beſt, the King now brought in, and placed in a high Seat, is briefly told, that on theſe Conditions granted, he might be free; not granted, he muſt prepare to die.

Preſs'd with Fear of Death, the *King* readily yields, eſpecially to beſtow his Daughter on whom he confeſs'd ſo Noble and ſo Valiant: Offers him alſo the Third part of his Kingdom, if they like to ſtay; if not, to be their Hoſtage himſelf, till he had made good his Word.

The Marriage therefore Solemniz'd, and Shipping from all Parts got together, the *Trojans* in a Fleet, no leſs written than three hundred four and twenty Sail, betake them to the wide Sea; where with a proſperous Courſe, two Days and a Night bring them on a certain Iſland, long before diſpeopl'd and left waſt by Sea-Rovers; the Name whereof was then *Leogecia*, now unknown. They who were ſent out to diſcover, came at length to a ruin'd City, where was a Temple and Image of *Diana* that gave Oracles: But not meeting firſt or laſt ſave wild Beaſts, they return with this notice to their Ships: Wiſhing their General would enquire of that Oracle what Voyage to purſue.

Conſultation had, *Brutus* taking with him *Gerion* his Diviner, and twelve of the Ancienteſt, with wonted Ceremonies before the inward Shrine of the Goddeſs, in Verſe, as it ſeems the manner was, utters his Requeſt, *Diva potens nemorum*, &c.

Goddeſs of Shades, and Huntreſs, who at will
Walk'ſt on the rowling Sphere, and thro' the Deep,
On thy third Reign the Earth look now and tell
What Land, what Seat of Reſt thou bidſt me ſeek,
What certain Seat, where I may worſhip thee
For aye, with Temples vow'd, and Virgin Quires.

To whom ſleeping before the Altar, *Diana* in a Viſion that Night thus anſwer'd, *Brute, ſub occaſum Solis*, &c.

Brutus, *far to the Weſt, in th' Ocean wide*
Beyond the Realm of Gaul, *a Land there lies:*
Sea-girt it lies, where Giants dwelt of old,
Now void, it fits thy People; thither bend
Thy Courſe, there ſhalt thou find a laſting Seat,
There to thy Sons another Troy *ſhall riſe,*
And Kings be born of thee, whoſe dreaded Might
Shall awe the World, and conquer Nations bold.

Theſe Verſes, originally *Greek*, were put in *Latin*, ſaith *Virunnius*, by *Gildas* a *Britiſh* Poet, and him to have liv'd under *Claudius*. Which granted true, adds much to the Antiquity of this Fable; and indeed the *Latin* Verſes are much better, than for the Age of *Geoffery* ap *Arthur*, unleſs perhaps *Joſeph* of *Exeter*, the only ſmooth Poet of thoſe Times, befriended him. In this *Diana* over-ſhot her Oracle thus ending, *Ipſis totius terræ ſubditus orbis erit*, That to the Race of *Brute*, Kings of this Iſland, the whole Earth ſhall be ſubject.

But *Brutus* guided now, as he thought, by Divine Conduct, ſpeeds him towards the Weſt; and after ſome Encounters on the *Afric* Side, arrives at a Place on the *Tyrrhene* Sea, where he happens to find the Race of thoſe *Trojans*, who with *Antenor*, came into *Italy*; and *Corineus*, a Man much fam'd, was their Chief: Though by ſurer Authors it be reported, that thoſe *Trojans* with *Antenor*, were ſeated on the other ſide of 2855. *Italy* on the *Adratic*, not the *Tyrrhene* Shoar. But theſe joyning Company, and paſt the *Herculean Pillars*, at the Mouth of *Ligeris* in *Aquitania* caſt Anchor. Where after ſome Diſcovery made of the Place, *Corineus* hanting nigh the Shoar with his Men, is by Meſſengers of the King *Goffarius Pictus* met, and queſtion'd about his Errand there. Who not anſwering to their Mind, *Imbertus*, one of them, lets fly an Arrow at *Corineus*, which he avoiding, ſlays him: And the *Pictavian* himſelf hereupon levying his whole Force, is overthrown by *Brutus* and *Corineus*; who with the Battle-Ax, which he was wont to manage againſt the *Tyrrhene Giants*, is ſaid to have done Marvels. But *Goffarius* having drawn to his Aid the whole Country of *Gaul*, at that time govern'd by *Twelve Kings*, puts his Fortune to a ſecond Trial, wherein the *Trojans*, over-born by Multitude, or driven back, and beſieg'd in their own Camp, which by good Foreſight was ſtrongly ſituate. Whence *Brutus* unexpectedly iſſuing out, and *Corineus* in the mean while, whoſe Device it was, aſſaulting them behind from a Wood, where he had convey'd his Men the Night before, the *Trojans* are again Victors, but with the Loſs of *Turon* a valiant Nephew of *Brutus*; whoſe Aſhes left in that Place, gave Name to the City of *Tours*, built there by the *Trojans*. *Brutus* finding now his Powers much leſſen'd, and this yet not the Place foretold him, leaves *Aquitain*, and with an eaſie Courſe, [a] arriving at *Totneſs* in *Devonſhire*, quickly perceives here to be the the promis'd End of his Labours. *Brutus lands at Totneſs.*

The Iſland not yet *Britain*, but *Albion*, was in a manner deſart and inhoſpitable; kept only by a Remnant of *Giants*; whoſe exceſſive Force and Tyranny had conſum'd the reſt. Them *Brutus* deſtroys, and to his People divides the Land, which with ſome Reference to his own Name, he thenceforth calls *Britain*. To *Corineus*, *Cornwall*, as we now call it, fell by Lot; the rather by him lik'd, for that the hugeſt Giants, in Rocks and Caves were ſaid to lurk ſtill there; which kind of Monſters to deal with was his old Exerciſe.

And here, with Leave beſpoken, to recite a grand Fable, though dignify'd by our beſt Poets; while *Brutus* on a certain Feſtival Day, ſolemnly kept on that Shoar where he firſt landed, was with the People in great Jollity and Mirth, a Crew of theſe Savages breaking in upon them, began on the ſudden another ſort of Game than at ſuch a Meeting was expected. But at length by many hands overcome, *Goemagog* the hugeſt, in height twelve Cubits, is reſerv'd alive; that with him *Corenius*, who deſir'd nothing more, might try his Strength; whom in a Wreſtle the Giant catching aloft, with a terrible Hugg broke three of his Ribs: Nevertheleſs *Corenius* enrag'd, heaving up by main Force, and on his Shoulders bearing him to the next high Rock, threw him headlong all ſhatter'd into the Sea, and left his Name on the Cliff, called ever ſince *Langoemagog*, which is to ſay, the Giant's Leap.

After this, *Brutus* in a choſen place builds [b] *Troja Nova*, chang'd in time to *Trinovantum*, now *London*, and began to enact Laws; *Heli* being then High-Prieſt in *Judæa*; and having govern'd the whole Iſle 24 Years, dy'd, and was buried in his new *Troy*. His three Sons, *Locrine*, *Albanact* and *Camber*, divide the Land by Conſent. *Locrine* had the middle part *Loegria*; *Camber*

[a] The Time of his Landing is ſuppos'd to be about 1200 Years after the Flood, *A. M.* 2830.
[b] He gives it a *Latin* Name, tho' that Language was not then us'd in *Italy*.

2855. *Camber* poſſeſs'd *Cambria* or *Wales*; *Albanact*, *Albania*, now *Scotland*. But he in the end by *Humber*, King of the *Hunns*, who with a Fleet invaded that Land, was ſlain in Fight, and his People driven back into *Loegria*. *Locrine* and his Brother go out againſt *Humber*; who now marching onward, was by them defeated, and in a River drown'd, which to this Day retains his Name. Among the Spoils of his Camp and Navy were found certain young Maids, and *Eſtrildis*, above the reſt, paſſing fair, the Daughter of a *King* in *Germany*, from whence *Humber*, as he went waſting the Sea-Coaſt, he led her Captive: Whom *Locrine*, though before contracted to the Daughter of *Corineus*, reſolves to marry. But being forc'd and threaten'd by *Corineus*, whoſe Authority and Power he fear'd; *Guendolen* the Daughter he yields to marry, but in ſecret loves the other; and oft-times retiring as to ſome private Sacrifice, through Vaults and Paſſages made under Ground; and ſeven Years thus enjoying her, had by her a Daughter equally fair, whoſe Name was *Sabra*. But when once his Fears was off by the *Death* of *Corineus*, not content with ſecret Enjoyment, divorcing *Guendolen*, he made *Eſtrildis* now his Queen. *Guendolen* all in Rage departs into *Cornwall*, where *Madan*, the Son ſhe had by *Locrine*, was hitherto brought up by *Corineus* his Grand-father. And gathering an Army of her Father's Friends and Subjects, gives Battle to her Husband by the River *Sture*; wherein *Locrine* ſhot with an Arrow ends his Life. But not ſo ends the Fury of *Guendolen*, for *Eſtrildis*, and her Daughter *Sabra* ſhe throws into a River; and to leave a Monument of Revenge, proclaims, that the Stream be thenceforth call'd after the Damſel's Name; which by length of time is chang'd now to *Sabrina*, or *Severn*.

Fifteen Years ſhe governs in behalf of her Son, *then reſigning to him at Age*, retires to her Fa-
2909. ther's *Dominion*. *This*, ſaith my *Author*, was in the Days of *Samuel*. *Madan* hath the Praiſe to have well and peacefully rul'd the Space of 40 Years; leaving behind him two Sons, *Mem-*
2949. *pricius* and *Malim*. *Mempricius* had firſt to do with the Ambition of his Brother, aſpiring to ſhare with him in the Kingdom; whom therefore at a Meeting to compoſe Matters, with a Treachery which his Cauſe needed not, he ſlew.

Nor was he better in the ſole Poſſeſſion, whereof ſo ill he could endure a Partner, killing his Nobles, and thoſe eſpecially next to ſucceed him; till laſtly given over to unnatural Luſt, in the twentieth of his Reign, hunting in a Foreſt, he was devour'd by Wolves.

2969. His Son *Ebranc*, a Man of mighty Strength and Stature, reign'd 40 Years. He firſt after *Brutus* waſted *Gaul*; and returning rich and proſperous, builded *Caerebranc*, now *York*; in *Albania*, *Alclud*; *Mount Agned*, *or the Caſtle of Maidens*, now *Edinburgh*. He had 20 Sons and 30 Daughters by 20 Wives. His Daughters he ſent to *Silvius Alba* into *Italy*, who beſtow'd them on his Peers of the *Trojan* Line. His Sons under the leading of *Aſſaracus* their Brother, won them Lands and Signiories in *Germany*, thence call'd, from theſe Brethren, *Germania*: a Derivation too haſtily ſuppos'd, perhaps before the Word *Germanus* or the *Latin* Tongue was in uſe. Some who have deſcrib'd *Henault*, as *Jacobus Bergomas*, and *Leſſabeus*, are cited to affirm, that *Ebranc* in his War there was by *Brunchildis Lord of Henault* put to the worſe.

Brutus therefore, ſirnamed *Greenſhield*, ſucceeding to repair his Father's Loſſes, as the ſame *Leſſabeus* reports, fought a ſecond Battle in *Henault* with *Brunchild* at the Mouth of *Scaldis*, and encamp'd on the River *Hania*. Of which 3000.
our *Spencer* alſo thus ſings:

Let Scaldis *tell, and let tell* Hania,
And let the Marſh of Eſthambruges *tell*
What Colour were their Waters that ſame Day,
And all the Moor 'twixt Elverſham *and* Dell,
With Blood of Henelois *which therein fell;*
How oft that Day did ſad Brunchildis *ſee*
The Greenſhield *dy'd in dolorous Vermeil*, &c.

But *Henault*, and *Brunchild*, and *Greenchild*, ſeem newer Names than for a Story pretended thus ancient.

Him ſucceeded *Leil*, a Maintainer of Peace 3022.
and Equity; but ſlacken'd in his latter End, whence aroſe ſome civil Diſcord. He built in the North *Caerlel*, in the Days of *Solomon*.

Rudhuddibras, or *Hudibras*, appeaſing the Com- 3043.
motions which his Father could not, founded *Caerkeynt* or *Canterbury*; *Caerguent*, or *Wincheſter*; and *Mount Paladur*, now *Septonia* or *Shaftsbury*: But this by others is contradicted.

Bladud his Son built *Caerbadus* or *Bath*, and 3085.
thoſe Medicinal Waters he dedicated to *Minerva*, in whoſe Temple there he kept Fire continually burning. He was a Man of great Invention, and taught Necromancy: Till having made him Wings to fly, he fell down upon the Temple of *Apollo* in *Trinovant*, and ſo dy'd, after Twenty Years Reign.

Hitherto from Father to Son the direct Line 3105.
hath run on: But *Leir*, who next reign'd, had only three Daughters, and no Male Iſſue: Govern'd laudably; and built *Caer-Leir*, now *Leiceſter* on the Bank of *Sora*. But at laſt, failing through Age, he determines to beſtow his Daughters, and ſo among them to divide his Kingdom. Yet firſt to try which of them lov'd him beſt (a Trial that might have made him, had he known as wiſe how to try, as he ſeem'd to know how much the trying behov'd him) *he reſolves a ſimple Reſolution, to ask them ſolemnly in order; and which of them ſhould profeſs largeſt, her to believe. Gonoril*, the Eldeſt, apprehending too well her Father's Weakneſs, makes anſwer, invoking Heaven, *That ſhe lov'd him above her Soul, Therefore*, quoth the old Man over-joy'd, *ſince thou ſo honoureſt my declined Age, to thee and the Huſband whom thou ſhalt chuſe, I give the third part of my Realm*. So fair a Speeding for a few Words ſoon utter'd, was to *Regan* the ſecond, ample Inſtruction what to ſay. She on the ſame Demand ſpares no proteſting, and the Gods muſt witneſs, that otherwiſe to expreſs her Thoughts ſhe knew not, but that *ſhe lov'd him above all Creatures*; and ſo receives an equal Reward with her Siſter. But *Cordeilla* the youngeſt, though hitherto beſt belov'd, and now before her Eyes the rich and preſent Hire of a little eaſie ſoothing, the Danger alſo, and the Loſs likely to betide plain Dealing, yet moves not from the ſolid Purpoſe of a ſincere and vertuous Anſwer. *Father*, ſaith ſhe, *my Love towards you is as my Duty bids; what ſhould a Father ſeek? What can a Child promiſe more? They who pretend beyond this, flatter.* When the old Man, ſorry to hear this, and wiſhing her to recall thoſe Words, perſiſted asking; with a Loyal Sadneſs at her Father's Infirmity, but ſomething on the ſudden harſh, and glancing rather at her Siſters, than ſpeaking her own Mind, *Two ways only*, ſaith ſhe, *I have to anſwer what you require me; the former, your Command is, I ſhould recant; accept then this other which is left me; look how much you have, ſo much is your Value, and ſo much I love you. Then hear thou*, quoth *Leir*, now all in a Paſſion, *what thy*

Ingratitude

3105. *Ingratitude hath gain'd thee; becauſe thou haſt not reverenc'd thy aged Father equal to thy Siſters, part in my Kingdom, or what elſe is mine reckon to have none.* And without delay gives in Marriage his other Daughters, *Gonoril* to *Maglaunus* Duke of *Albania*, *Regan* to *Henninus* Duke of *Cornwall*; with them in preſent, half his Kingdom; the reſt to follow at his Death. In the mean while Fame was not ſparing to divulge the Wiſdom and other Graces of *Cordeilla*, inſomuch that *Aganippus* a great King in *Gaul* (however he came by his *Greek* Name) ſeeks her to Wife; and nothing alter'd at the Loſs of her Dowry, receives her gladly in ſuch manner as ſhe was ſent him. After this, King *Leir*, more and more drooping with Years, became an eaſie Prey to his Daughters and their Husbands; who now by daily Encroachment had ſeiz'd the whole Kingdom into their Hands, and the old King is put to ſojourn with his Eldeſt Daughter, attended only by threeſcore Knights. But they in a ſhort while grudg'd at, as too numerous and diſorderly for continual Gueſts, are reduc'd to Thirty. Not brooking that Affront, the old King betakes him to his ſecond Daughter: But there alſo Diſcord ſoon ariſing between the Servants of differing Maſters in one Family, five only are ſuffer'd to attend him. Then back again he returns to the other; hoping that ſhe his Eldeſt could not but have more Pity on his grey Hairs: But ſhe now refuſes to admit, him unleſs he be content with one only of his Followers. At laſt the Remembrance of his youngeſt, *Cordeilla*, comes to his Thoughts; and now acknowledging how true her Words had been, though with little Hope from one he had ſo injur'd, be it but to pay her the laſt Recompence ſhe can have from him, his Confeſſion of her wiſe Fore-warning, that ſo perhaps his Miſery, the Proof and Experiment of her Wiſdom, might ſomething ſoften her, he takes his Journey into *France*. Now might be ſeen a Difference between the ſilent and downright ſpoken Affection of ſome Children to their Parents, and the talkative Obſequiouſneſs of others; while the Hope of Inheritance over-acts them, and on the Tongues end enlarges their Duty. *Cordeilla* out of mere Love, without the Suſpicion of expected Reward, at the Meſſage only of her Father in Diſtreſs pours forth true filial Tears. And not enduring either that her own, or any other Eye ſhould ſee him in ſuch forlorn Condition as his Meſſenger declar'd, diſcreetly appoints one of her moſt truſty Servants, firſt to convey him privately toward ſome good Sea Town, there to array him, bath him, cheriſh him, furniſh him with ſuch Attendants and State, as beſeem'd his Dignity. That then, as from his firſt Landing, he might ſend word of his Arrival to her Husband *Aganippus*. Which done with all mature and requiſite Contrivance, *Cordeilla* with the King her Husband, and all the Barony of his Realm, who then firſt had News of his paſſing the Sea, go out to meet him; and after all honourable and joyful Entertainment, *Aganippus*, as to his Wife's Father, and his Royal Gueſt, ſurrenders him, during his abode there, the Power and Diſpoſal of his whole Dominion: Permitting his Wife *Cordeilla* to go with an Army, and ſet her Father upon his Throne. Wherein her Piety ſo proſper'd, as that ſhe vanquiſh'd her impious Siſters with thoſe Dukes, and *Leir* again, as ſaith the Story, three Years obtain'd the Crown. To whom dying, *Cordeilla* with all Regal Solemnities gave Burial in the Town of *Leiceſter*. And then as right Heir ſucceeding, and her Husband dead, rul'd the Land five Years in Peace; until *Margan* *ganus* and *Cunedagius*, her two Siſters Sons, not bearing that a Kingdom ſhould be govern'd by a Woman, in the unſeaſonableſt time to raiſe that Quarrel againſt a Woman ſo worthy, make War againſt her, depoſe her, and impriſon her; of which impatient, and now long unexercis'd to ſuffer, ſhe there, as is related, kill'd her ſelf. The Victors between them part the Land: But *Margan* the Eldeſt Siſter's Son, who held by Agreement from the North-ſide of *Humber* to *Cathneſs*, incited by thoſe about him, to invade all his own Right, wars on *Cunedagius*, who ſoon met him, overcame, and overtook him in a Town of *Wales*, where he left his Life, and ever ſince his Name to the Place.

3105. 3169.

Cunedagius was now ſole King, and govern'd with much Praiſe many Years, about the time when *Rome* was built. [a] Him ſucceeded *Rivallo* his Son, wiſe alſo and fortunate; ſave what they tell us of three Days raining Blood, and Swarms of ſtinging Flies, whereof Men dy'd. In order then *Gurguſtius*, *Jago* or *Lago*, his Nephew; *Siſillus*, *Kinmarcus*. Then *Gorbogudo*, whom others name *Gorbodego*, and *Gorbodion*, who had two Sons, *Ferrex* and *Porrex*. They in the old Age of their Father falling to contend who ſhould ſucceed, *Porrex* attempting by Treachery his Brother's Life, drives him into *France*; and in his return, though aided with the Force of that Country, defeats and ſlays him. But by his Mother *Videna*, who leſs lov'd him, is himſelf, with the Aſſiſtance of her Women, ſoon after ſlain in his Bed: With whom ended, as is thought, the Line of *Brutus*; whereupon, the whole Land with civil Broils was rent *into Five* Kingdoms, *long time waging War* on each other; and ſome ſay 50 Years. At length *Dunwallo Molmutius*, the Son of *Cloten* King of *Cornwall*, one of the aforeſaid five, excelling in Valour and Goodlineſs of Perſon, after his Father's Deceaſe found means to reduce again the whole Iſland into a Monarchy: Subduing the reſt at Opportunities. Firſt *Imner* King of *Loegria* whom he ſlew; then *Rudaucus* of *Cambria*, *Staterius* of *Albania*, Confederate together. In which Fight *Dunwallo* is reported, while the Victory hung doubtful, to have us'd this Art. He takes with him 600 ſtout Men, bids them put on the Armour of their ſlain Enemies, and ſo unexpectedly approaching the Squadron, where thoſe two Kings had plac'd themſelves in Fight, from that part which they thought ſecureſt, aſſaults and diſpatches them. Then diſplaying his own Enſigns, which before he had conceal'd, and ſending notice to the other part of his Army what was done, adds to them new Courage, and gains a final Victory. This *Donwallo was the firſt in* Britain *that wore a Crown of Gold; and therefore by ſome reputed the firſt King.* He eſtabliſhed the *Molmutine* Laws, famous among the *Engliſh* to this Day; written long after in *Latin* by *Gildas*, and in *Saxon* by King *Alfred*; ſo ſaith *Geoffry*; but *Gildas* denies to have known ought of the *Britains* before *Caeſar*, much leſs knew *Alfred*. Theſe Laws, whoever made them, beſtow'd on Temples the Privilege of Sanctuary; to Cities alſo, and the Ways thither leading, yea to Plows granted

3203. 3248. 3287. 3364. 3420. 3477. 3480. 3530.

The Line of *Brutus* ends.

[a] *Romulus* built *Rome*, A. M. 3198. *Tall. Tab.*

[b] *Siſillus* reign'd before *Lago*, who according to Mr. *Talent*'s Chronological Tables ſucceeded him, A. M. 3336, and was ſucceeded by *Kinmarchus* or *Kinmarcus*, A. M. 3364.

[c] The Line of *Brutus* reign'd in this Iſland, according to *Geoffry* of *Monmouth*'s Account, 650 Years.

3563. granted a kind of like Refuge: And made ſuch Riddance of Thieves and Robbers, that all Paſſages were ſafe. Forty Years he govern'd alone, and was buried nigh to [a] *the Temple of Concord*; which he, to the Memory of Peace reſtor'd, had built in *Trinovant*.

His two Sons, *Belinus* and *Brennus*, contending about the Crown, by Deciſion of Friends came at length to an Accord; *Brennus* to have the North of *Humber*, *Belinus* the Sovereignty of all. But the younger not long ſo contented, that he, as they whiſper'd to him, whoſe Valour had ſo oft repell'd the Invaſions of *Ceulphus* the *Morine Duke*, ſhould now be ſubject to his Brother, upon new Deſign ſails into *Norway*; enters League and Affinity with *Elfing* that King; which *Belinus* perceiving, in his Abſence diſpoſſeſſes him of all the North. *Brennus* with a Fleet of *Norwegians* makes toward *Britain*; but encounter'd by *Guithlac* the *Daniſh* King, who laying Claim to his Bride, purſu'd him on the Sea, his Haſte was retarded, and he bereft of his Spouſe: Who from the Fight by ſudden Tempeſt, was by the *Daniſh* King driven on *Northumberland*, and brought to *Belinus*. *Brennus* nevertheleſs recollecting his Navy, lands in *Albania*, and gives Battle to his Brother in the Wood *Calaterium*; but loſing the Day, eſcapes with one ſingle Ship into *Gaul*. Mean while the *Dane*, upon his own Offer to become tributary, ſent home with his new Prize, *Belinus* returns his Thoughts to the adminiſtring of Juſtice, and the perfecting of his Father's Laws; and to explain what Highways might enjoy the foreſaid Privileges, he caus'd to be drawn out and pav'd four main Roads to the utmoſt Length and Breadth of the Iſland, and two others athwart; which are ſince attributed to the *Romans*. *Brennus* on the other Side ſolliciting to his Aid the Kings of *Gaul*, happens at laſt on *Seginus* Duke of the *Allobroges*, where his Worth and Comlineſs of Perſon wan him the Duke's Daughter and Heir. In whoſe Right he ſhortly ſucceeding, and by obtain'd Leave paſſing with a great Hoſt through the Length of *Gaul*, gets footing once again in *Britain*. Nor was *Belinus* unprepar'd; and now the Battle ready to joyn, *Conuvena* the Mother of them both, all in a Fright, throws her ſelf between, and calling earneſtly to *Brennus* her Son, whoſe Abſence had ſo long depriv'd her of his Sight, after Embracements and Tears, aſſails him with ſuch a Motherly Power, and the mention of Things ſo dear and reverend, as irreſiſtably wrung from him all his Enmity againſt *Belinus*.

Then are Hands joyn'd, Reconciliation made firm, and Counſel held to turn their united Preparations on foreign Parts. Thence that by theſe two all *Gallia* was over-run, the Story tells; and what did they in *Italy*, and at *Rome*, if theſe be they, and not *Gauls*, who took that City, the *Roman* Authors can beſt relate. So far from home I undertake not for the *Monmouth Chronicle*; which here againſt the Stream of Hiſtory, carries up and down theſe Brethren, now into *Germany*, then again to *Rome*, purſuing *Gabius* and *Porſena*, two unheard of Conſuls. Thus much is more generally believ'd, that both this *Brennus*, and another famous Captain, *Britomarus*, whom the Epitomiſt *Florus* and others mention, were not *Gauls* but *Britains*; the Name of the firſt in that Tongue ſignifying a King, and of the other a great *Britain*. However, *Belinus* after a while returning home, the reſt of his Days rul'd in Peace, Wealth, and Honour above all his Predeceſſors; building ſome Cities, of which one was *Caeroſe* upon *Oſca*, 3563. ſince *Caerlegion*; beautifying others, as *Trinovant* with a Gate, a Haven, and a Tower on the *Thames*, retaining yet his Name; on the Top whereof his Aſhes are ſaid to have been laid up in a Golden Urn. *Billingſgate.*

After him *Gurguntius Barbirus* was King, mild and juſt, but yet inheriting his Father's Courage, he ſubdu'd the *Dacian*, or *Dane*, who refus'd to pay the Tribute covenanted to *Belinus* for his Enlargement. In his Return finding about the *Orkneys* thirty Ships of *Spain*, or *Biſcay*, fraught with Men and Women for a Plantation, whoſe Captain alſo *Bartholinus* wrongfully baniſh'd, as he pleaded, beſought him, that ſome part of his Territory might be aſſign'd them to dwell in, he ſent with them certain of his own Men to *Ireland*, which then lay unpeopl'd, and gave them that Iſland to hold of him as in Homage. [b] He was bury'd in *Caerlegion*, a City which he had wall'd about. 3596.

Guitheline his Son, is alſo remember'd, as a juſt and good Prince, and his Wife *Martia* to have excell'd ſo much in Wiſdom, as to venture upon a new Inſtitution of Laws: Which King *Alfred* tranſlating, call'd *Marchen-League*, but more truly thereby is meant the *Mercian* Law; not tranſlated by *Alfred*, but digeſted or incorporated with the *Weſt-Saxon*. In the Minority of her Son ſhe had the Rule, and then, as may be ſuppos'd, brought forth theſe Laws, not herſelf, for Laws are Maſculine Births, but by the Advice of her ſageſt Counſellors; and therein ſhe might do virtuouſly, ſince it befel her to ſupply the Nonage of her Son: Elſe nothing more awry from the Law of God and Nature, than that a Woman ſhould give Laws to Men. 3615. 3656.

Her Son *Siſillius* coming to Years, receiv'd the Rule; then in order *Kimarus*; then *Danius* or *Elanius* his Brother; then *Morindus*, his Son by *Tangueſtula*, a Concubine, who is recorded a Man of exceſſive Strength, Valiant, Liberal, and Fair of Aſpect, but immanely Cruel; not ſparing in his Anger, Enemy or Friend, if any Weapon were in his Hand. A certain King of the *Morines*, or *Picards* invaded *Northumberland*; whoſe Army this King, though not wanting ſufficient Numbers, chiefly by his own Proweſs overcame; but diſhonour'd his Victory by the cruel Uſage of his Priſoners, whom his own Hands, or others in his Preſence, put all to ſeveral Deaths. Well fitted to ſuch a Beaſtial Cruelty was his End; for hearing of a huge Monſter that from the *Iriſh* Sea infeſted the Coaſt, and in the Pride of his Strength, fooliſhly attempting to ſet Manly Valour againſt a Brute Vaſtneſs, when his Weapons were all in vain, by that horrible Mouth he was catch'd up and devour'd. *Siſillius* the 2d. 3666.

Gorbonian the eldeſt of his five Sons, than whom a juſter Man liv'd not in his Age, was a great Builder of Temples, and gave to all what was their due; to his Gods devout Worſhip; to Men of Deſert, Honour and Preferment; to the Commons Encouragement in their Labours and Trades, Defence and Protection from Injuries and Oppreſſions; ſo that the Land flouriſh'd above her Neighbours; Violence and Wrong ſeldom was heard of: His Death was a general Loſs: He was buried in *Trinovant*. *Archigallo* the ſecond Brother follow'd not his Example; but depreſs'd the ancient Nobility; and by peeling the wealthier ſort, ſtuff'd his Treaſury, and took the right way to be depos'd. *Elidure* the next Brother, ſirnam'd the Pious, was ſet up in his Place; a Mind 3676. 3684. 3687.

ſo

[a] Said to be built on the Ground where *Blackwell-Hall* now ſtands. *Selden* mentions *Kinmarchus* in his *Janus Anglorum*.
[b] He is ſaid to have built *Lancaſter* and *Warwick*. And *Cambridge*, as is pretended, was now built by *Cantabar* a *Spaniard*.

3687. ſo noble and ſo moderate, as almoſt is incredible to have ever been found. For having held the Scepter five Years, hunting one Day in the Foreſt of *Calater*, he chanc'd to meet his depoſed Brother wandring in mean Condition; who had been long in vain beyond the Seas, importuning foreign Aids to his Reſtorement; and was now in a poor Habit, with only ten Followers, privately return'd to find Subſiſtence among his ſecret Friends. At the unexpected ſight of him, *Elidure* himſelf alſo then but thinly accompanied, runs to him
3690. with open Arms; and after many dear and ſincere Welcomings, conveys him to the City *Alclud*, there hides him in his own Bed-Chamber. Afterwards faining himſelf ſick, ſummons all his Peers, as about greateſt Affairs; where admitting them one by one, as if his weakneſs endur'd not the diſturbance of more at once, cauſes them, willing or unwilling, once more to ſwear Allegiance to *Archigallo*. Whom, after Reconciliation made on all ſides, he leads to *York*, and from his own Head, places the Crown on the Head of his Brother. Who thenceforth, Vice it ſelf diſſolving in him, and forgetting her firmeſt hold with the admiration of a Deed ſo Heroick, became a true converted Man, rul'd worthily ten Years, dy'd and was bury'd in *Caerlieur*. Thus was a Brother ſav'd by a Brother, to whom love of a Crown, the thing that ſo often dazles and vitiates mortal Men, for which thouſands of neareſt Blood have deſtroy'd each other, was, in reſpect of Brotherly dearneſs, a contemptible thing.
3700. *Elidure* now, in his own behalf, re-aſſumes the Government, and did as was worthy ſuch a Man to do. When Providence, that ſo great Vertue might want no ſort of tryal to make it more illuſtrious, ſtirs up *Vigenius* and *Peredure his* youngeſt Brethren, againſt him who had deſerv'd ſo nobly of that Relation, as leaſt of all by a Brother to be injur'd: Yet him they defeat, him they impriſon in the Tower of *Trinovant*, and divide his Kingdom; the North to *Peredure*, the South to *Vigenius*. After whoſe Death *Peredure* obtaining all, ſo much the better us'd his Power, by how much the worſe he got it. So that *Elidure* now is hardly miſs'd. But yet in all right, owing to his Elder the due place whereof he had depriv'd him, Fate would that he ſhould die firſt.
3715. And *Elidure*, after many Years Impriſonment, is now the third time ſeated on the Throne; which at laſt he enjoy'd long in Peace; finiſhing the interrupted Courſe of his mild and juſt Reign, as full of vertuous Deeds as Days, to the end. After
3720. theſe five Sons of *Morindus*, ſucceeded alſo their * *Matthew of Weſtminſter.* Sons in Order: * *Reign* of *Gorbonian*, *Marganus* of *Archigallo*, both good Kings. But *Enniaunus* his Brother taking other Courſes, was after ſix Years depos'd. Then *Idwallo*, taught by a near Example, govern'd ſoberly. Then *Runno*, then *Geruntius*, he of *Peredure*, this laſt the Son of *Elidure*. From whoſe Loins (for that likely is the durable and ſurviving Race that ſprings of juſt Progenitors) iſſu'd a long deſcent of Kings, whoſe Names only for many Succeſſions, without other memory, ſtands thus regiſter'd, *Catellus*, *Coilbus*, *Porrex*, *Cherin*, and his three Sons; *Fulgenius*, *Eldadus*, and *Andragius*, his Son *Urianus*; *Eliud*, *Eledaucus*, *Clotenus*, *Gurguntius*, *Merianus*, *Bleduno*, *Capis*, *Oenus*, *Siſillius*, twenty Kings in a continu'd row, 3720.
that either did nothing, or liv'd in Ages that wrote nothing, at leaſt a foul pretermiſſion in the Author of this, whether Story or Fable; himſelf weary, as ſeems, of his own tedious Tale.

But to make amends for this Silence, *Blegabredus* next ſucceeding, is recorded to have excell'd 3800.
all before him in the Art of Muſick; opportunely, had he but left us one Song of his twenty Predeceſſors doings. Yet after him nine more ſucceeded in Name; his Brother *Archimailus*, *Eldol*, *Redion*, *Rederchius*, *Samulius*, *Peniſſel*, *Pir*, *Capoirus*, [a] but *Cliguellius*, with the addition of Modeſt, Wiſe and Juſt. His Son *Heli* reign'd 3818.
forty Years, and had three Sons, *Lud*, *Caſſibelan* and *Nennius*. This *Heli* ſeems to be the ſame whom *Ninnius* in his Fragment calls *Minocan*; for him he writes to be the Father of *Caſſibelan*. *Lud* was he that enlarg'd and wall'd about *Trinovant*, there kept his Court, made it the prime City, and call'd it from his own Name *Cear-Lud*, or *Lud's Town*, now *London*. Which, as is alledg'd out of *Gildas*, became matter of great Diſſention betwixt him and his Brother *Nennius*; [b] who took 3878.
it hainouſly that the Name of *Troy*, their ancient Country, ſhould be aboliſhed for any new one. *Lud* was hardy and bold in War, in Peace a jolly Feaſter. He conquer'd many Iſlands in the Sea, ſaith *Huntingdon*, and was bury'd by the Gate *Huntingd. lib. 1.*
which from thence we call *Ludgate*. His two Sons, *Androgeus* and *Tenuantius*, were left to the tuition of *Caſſibelan*; whoſe Beauty and high Demeanor ſo wrought with the common People, as got him eaſily the Kingdom transferr'd upon himſelf. He nevertheleſs continuing to favour and 3880.
ſupport his Nephews, confers freely upon *Androgeus*, *London* with *Kent*; upon *Tenuantius*, *Cornwall*; Reſerving a Superiority both over them, and all the other Princes to himſelf; till the *Romans* for a while circumſcrib'd *his Power*. *Thus* far, though leaning only on the Credit of *Geoffrey Monmouth*, and his Aſſertors, I yet for the ſpecify'd cauſes have thought it not beneath my purpoſe to relate what I found. Whereto I neither oblige the Belief of other Perſons, nor overhaſtily ſubſcribe mine own. Nor have I ſtood with others, computing or collating Years and Chronologies, leſt I ſhould be vainly curious about the Time and Circumſtances of Things whereof the Subſtance is ſo much in doubt. By this time, like one who had ſet out on his way by Night, and travell'd thro' a Region of ſmooth or idle Dreams, our Hiſtory now arrives on the Confines, where Day-light and Truth meets us with a clear dawn, repreſenting to our View, though at a far Diſtance, true Colours and Shapes. For albeit *Cæſar*, whoſe Authority we are now firſt to follow, wanted not who tax'd him of miſreporting in his Commentaries, yea, in his Civil Wars againſt *Pompey*, much more may we think in the *Britiſh Affairs*, of whoſe little Skill in Writing he did not eaſily hope to be contradicted, yet now in ſuch variety of good Authors, we hardly can miſs from one Hand or the other to be ſufficiently inform'd, as of Things paſt ſo long ago. But this will better be referr'd to a ſecond Diſcourſe.

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[a] *Cliguellus* or *Dinellius*, the Son of *Capoire*, about eight Years after the Death of *Elidure*, in which time there had reign'd thirty Kings, came to the Crown, and is the firſt of ſo many Princes that *Geoffrey* could, or would ſay any thing of.

[b] 'Tis ſaid, this *Nennius* wrote the Hiſtory of *Britain*, which was turn'd into Latin by another *Nennius*.

THE

THE

History of ENGLAND,

Continu'd to the NORMAN CONQUEST.

By Mr. *JOHN MILTON.* Book II.

3897. I Am now to write of what befel the *Britains* from *fifty and three Years before the Birth of our Saviour*, when *firſt* the *Romans* came in, till the decay and ceaſing of that Empire; a Story of much Truth, and for the *firſt* Hundred Years and ſomewhat more, collected without much Labour. So many and ſo prudent were the Writers, which thoſe two, the Civileſt, and Wiſeſt of *European Nations*, both *Italy* and *Greece*, afforded to the Actions of that puiſſant City. For worthy Deeds are not often deſtitute of worthy Relators: As by a certain Fate great Acts and great Eloquence have moſt commonly gone hand in hand, equalling and honouring each other in the ſame Ages. 'Tis true, that in obſcureſt Times, by ſhallow and unskilful Writers, the indiſtinct Noiſe of many Battles, and Devaſtations of many Kingdoms over-run and loſt, hath come to our Ears. For what wonder, if in all Ages, Ambition and the Love of *Rapine hath ſtirr'd* up greedy and violent Men to bold Attempts *in waſting and ruining* Wars, which to Poſterity have left the Work of wild Beaſts and Deſtroyers, rather than the Deeds and Monuments of Men and Conquerors? But he whoſe juſt and true Valour uſes the Neceſſity of War and Dominion, not to deſtroy but to prevent Deſtruction, to bring in Liberty againſt Tyrants, Law and Civility among barbarous Nations, knowing that when he conquers all things elſe, he cannot conquer *Time* or *Detraction*, wiſely conſcious of this his Wants as well as of *his Worth* not to be forgotten or conceal'd, honours and hath recourſe to the Aid of Eloquence, his friendlieſt and beſt Supply; by whoſe immortal Record his noble Deeds, which elſe were tranſitory, becoming fixt and durable againſt the Force of Years and Generations, he fails not to continue through all Poſterity, over *Envy*, *Death* and *Time*, alſo victorious. Therefore when the Eſteem of Science and liberal Study waxes low in the Commonwealth, we may preſume that alſo there all civil Virtue and worthy Action is grown as low to a decline: And then Eloquence, as it were conſorted in the ſame Deſtiny, with the Decreaſe and Fail of Virtue corrupts alſo and fades; at leaſt reſigns her Office of relating, to illerate and frivolous Hiſtorians; ſuch as the Perſons themſelves both deſerve, and are beſt pleas'd with; whilſt they want either the Underſtanding to chuſe better, or the Innocence to drae invite the examining and ſearching Stile of an intelligent and faithful Writer to the Survey of their unſound Exploits, better befriended by Obſcurity than Fame. As for theſe, the only Authors we have of *Britiſh* Matters, while the Power of *Rome* reach'd hither (for *Gildas* affirms, that of the *Roman* Times no *Britiſh* Writer was in his Days extant, or if any ever were, either burnt by Enemies, or tranſported with ſuch as fled the *Pictiſh* and *Saxon* Invaſions) theſe therefore only *Roman* Authors there be, who in the *Engliſh* Tongue have laid together, as much, and perhaps more than was requiſite to a Hiſtory of *Britain*. So that were it not for leaving an unſightly Gap ſo near to the beginning, I ſhould have judg'd this Labour, wherein ſo little ſeems to be requir'd above Tranſcription, almoſt ſuperfluous. Notwithſtanding, ſince I muſt through it, if ought by Diligence may be added, or omitted, or by other diſpoſing may be more explain'd, or more expreſs'd, I ſhall aſſay. 3897.

Julius Cæſar (of whom, and of the *Roman* Free State, more than what appertains, is not here to be diſcours'd) having ſubdu'd moſt part of *Gallia*, which by a potent Faction he had obtain'd of the Senate as his Province for many Years, ſtirr'd up with a Deſire of adding ſtill more Glory to his Name, and the whole *Roman* Empire to his Ambition, ſome ſay, with a far meaner and ignobler, the Deſire of *Britiſh* Pearls, whoſe Bigneſs he delighted to balance in his Hand, determines, and that upon no unjuſt pretended Occaſion, to try his Force in the Conqueſt alſo of *Britain*. For he underſtood that the *Britains* in moſt of his *Gallian* Wars had ſent Supplies againſt him, had receiv'd Fugitives of the *Bellovaci* his Enemies, and were call'd over to aid the Cities of *Armorica*, which had the Year before conſpir'd all in a new Rebellion. Therefore *Cæſar*, though now the Summer well nigh ending, and the Seaſon unagreeable to tranſport a War, yet judg'd it would be great Advantage, only to get Entrance into the *Iſle*, Knowledge of the Men, the Places, the Ports, the Acceſſes, which then, it ſeems, were even to the *Gauls* their Neighbours almoſt unknown. For except Merchants and Traders, it is not oft, ſaith he, that any uſe to travel thither; and to thoſe that do, beſides the Sea-Coaſt, and the Ports next to *Gallia*, nothing elſe is known. But here I muſt require, as *Pollio* did, the Diligence, at leaſt the Memory of *Cæſar*: For if it were true, as they of *Rhemes* told him, that *Divitiacus*, not long before, a puiſſant King of the *Soiſons*, had *Britain* alſo under his Command, beſides the *Belgian* Colonies, which he affirms to have nam'd and peopl'd many Provinces there, if alſo the *Britains* had ſo frequently given them aid in all their Wars; if laſtly the *Druid* Learning, honour'd ſo much among them, were at firſt taught them out of *Britain*, and they who ſooneſt would attain that Diſcipline, ſent hither to learn, it appears not how *Britain* at that time ſhould be ſo utterly unknown in *Gallia*,

Suetonius: Vit. Cæſ.

Year before Chriſt. 53.

Suetonius Cæſ. Com. l. 1.

Cæſ. Com. l. 4.

3897. *lia*, or only known to Merchants, yea to them ſo little, that being call'd together from all Parts, none could be found to inform *Cæſar* of what Bigneſs the Iſle, what Nations, how Great, what Uſe of War they had, what Laws, or ſo much as what commodious Havens for bigger Veſſels. Of all which things, as it were then firſt to make Diſcovery, he ſends *Caius Voluſenus* in a long Galley, with Command to return as ſoon as this could be effected. He in the mean Time with his whole Power draws nigh to the *Morine* [a] Coaſt, whence the ſhorteſt Paſſage was into *Britain*. Hither his Navy, which he us'd againſt the *Armoricans*, and what elſe of Shipping can be provided, he draws together. This known in *Britain*, Ambaſſadors are ſent from many of the States there, who promiſe Hoſtages, and Obedience to the *Roman Empire*. Them, after Audience given, *Cæſar* as largely promiſing, and exhorting to continue in that Mind, ſends home, and with them *Comius* of *Arras*, whom he had made King of that Country, and now ſecretly employ'd to gain a *Roman* Party among the *Britains*, in as many Cities as he found inclineable, and to tell them, that he himſelf was ſpeeding thither. *Voluſenus*, with what diſcovery of the Iſland he could make from aboard his Ship, not daring to venture on the Shoar, within five Days returns to *Cæſar*: Who ſoon after, with two Legions, ordinarily amounting, of *Romans* and their Allies, to about 25000 Foot, and 4500 Horſe; the Foot in 80 Ships of Burthen, the Horſe in 18, beſides what Gallies were appointed for his chief Commanders, ſets off about the third Watch of the Night with a good Gale to Sea; leaving behind him *Sulpitius Rufus* to make good the Port with a ſufficient Strength. [b] But the Horſe, whoſe appointed Shipping lay Wind-bound eight Mile upward in another Haven, had much trouble to imbark. *Cæſar* now within Sight of *Britain*, beholds on every Hill Multitudes of armed Men, ready to forbid his Landing; and
Cic. Att. 14 Ep. 17. *Cicero* writes to his Friend *Atticus*, that the Acceſſes of the Iſland were wondrouſly fortify'd with ſtrong Works or Moles. Here from the fourth to the ninth Hour of Day he awaits at Anchor the coming up of his whole Fleet: Mean while with his Legates and Tribunes conſulting, and giving order to fit all things for what might happen in ſuch a various and floating Water-fight as was to be expected. This Place, which was a narrow Bay, cloſe environ'd with Hills, appearing no way commodious, he removes to a plain and open Shoar eight Mile diſtant, commonly
Cambden. ſuppos'd about *Deal* in *Kent*. Which when the *Britains* perceiv'd, their Horſe and Chariots, as then they uſed in Fight, ſcowring before, their main Power ſpeeding after, ſome thick upon the Shoar, others not tarrying to be aſſail'd, ride in among the Waves to encounter and aſſault the *Romans*, even under their Ships, with ſuch a bold and free Hardihood, that *Cæſar* himſelf, between confeſſing and excuſing that his Soldiers were to come down from their Ships, to ſtand in Water heavy arm'd, and to fight at once, denies not but that the Terror of ſuch new and reſolute Oppoſition made them forget their wonted Valour. To ſuccour which he commands his Gallies, a Sight unuſual to the *Britains*, and more apt for Motion, drawn from the bigger Veſſels, to row againſt the open ſide of the Enemy, and thence with Slings, Engines and Darts, to beat them back. But neither yet, though amaz'd at the ſtrangeneſs of thoſe new Sea-Caſtles, bearing up ſo near and ſo ſwiftly, as almoſt to overwhelm them, the hurtling of Oars, the battering of fierce Engines againſt their Bodies barely expos'd, did the *Britains* give much Ground, or the *Romans* gain, till *he who bore the Eagle of the Tenth Legion*, yet in the Gallies, firſt beſeeching his Gods, ſaid thus aloud: *Leap down, Soldiers, unleſs you mean to betray your Enſign; I, for my part, will perform what I owe to the Common-wealth and my General.* This utter'd, over-board he leaps, and with his Eagle fiercely advanc'd, runs upon the Enemy, the reſt heartning one another not to admit the Diſhonour of ſo nigh loſing their chief Standard, follow him reſolutely. Now was fought eagarly on both Sides. Ours, who well knew their own Advantages, and expertly us'd them, now in the Shallows, now on the Sand, ſtill as the *Romans* went trooping to their Enſigns, receiv'd them, diſpatch'd them, and with the help of their Horſe, put them every where to great diſorder. But *Cæſar* cauſing all his Boats and Shallops to be fill'd with Soldiers, commanded to ply up and down continually with Relief where they ſaw need; whereby at length all the Foot now diſembark'd, and got together in ſome order on firm Ground, with a more ſteddy Charge put the *Britains* to flight: But wanting all their Horſe, whom the Winds yet with-held from ſailing, they were not able to make Purſuit. In this confuſed Fight, *Scæva* a *Roman* Soldier, having preſs'd too far among the *Britains*, and beſet round, after incredible Valour ſhewn ſingle againſt a Multitude, ſwom back ſafe to his General; and in the Place that rung with his Praiſes, earneſtly beſought Pardon for his raſh Adventure againſt Diſcipline: Which modeſt confeſſing after no bad Event, *for ſuch a Deed wherein Valour and Ingenuity ſo much out-weigh'd Tranſ-* *The Romans land in Britain.* *Valer. Max. Plutarch.*
greſſion, eaſily made amends, and preferr'd him to be a Centurion [c]. *Cæſar* alſo is brought in by *Julian*, attributing to himſelf the Honour (if it were at all an Honour to that Perſon which he ſuſtain'd) of being the firſt that left his Ship, and took Land: But this were to make *Cæſar* leſs underſtand what became him than *Scæva*. The *Britains* finding themſelves maſter'd in Fight, forthwith ſend Ambaſſadors to treat of Peace; promiſing to give Hoſtages, and to be at command. With them *Comius* of *Arras* alſo return'd; whom hitherto, ſince his firſt coming from *Cæſar*, they had detain'd in Priſon as a Spy; the Blame whereof they lay on the common People, for whoſe Violence and their own Imprudence they crave Pardon. *Cæſar* complaining they had firſt ſought Peace, and then without cauſe had begun War, yet content to pardon them, commands Hoſtages: Whereof Part they bring in ſtrait, others far up in the Country to be ſent for, they promiſe in a few Days. Mean while the People diſbanded and ſent home, many Princes and chief Men from all Parts of the Iſle ſubmit themſelves and their Cities to the diſpoſe of *Cæſar*, who lay then encamp'd, as is thought, on *Barham Down*. Thus had the *Britains* made their Peace, when ſuddenly an Accident unlook'd for put new Counſels into their Minds. Four Days after the Coming of *Cæſar*, thoſe 18 Ships of Burthen, which from the upper Haven had taken in all *In Cæſarib.* the

[a] The *Morini* inhabited the Province of *Picardy*.

[b] Concerning the Havens from whence *Cæſar* ſet ſail for *Britain*, ſee Mr. *Somner*'s Diſſertation, *de Portu Iccio*, publiſh'd at *Oxford* by Mr. *Gibſon*.

[c] This *Scæva* afterwards became more famous for his Bravery at the Battle of *Dyrrachium*, when he ſided with *Cæſar* againſt *Pompey*.

3897. the *Roman Horſe*, born with a ſoft Wind to the very Coaſt, in ſight of the *Roman Camp*, were, by a ſudden Tempeſt, ſcatter'd, and driven back, ſome to the Port from whence they loos'd, others down into the Weſt Country; who finding there no Safety either to Land, or to caſt Anchor, choſe rather to commit themſelves again to the troubled Sea; and as *Oroſius* reports, were moſt of them caſt away. The ſame Night, it being full Moon, the Gallies left upon dry Land, were, unaware to the *Romans*, cover'd with a Spring-Tide, and the greater Ships that lay off at Anchor, torn and beaten with Waves, to the great Perplexity of *Cæſar* and his whole Army; who now had neither Shipping left to convey them back, nor any Proviſion made to ſtay here, intending to have winter'd in *Gallia*. All this the *Britains* well perceiving, and by the Compaſs of his Camp, which without Baggage appear'd the ſmaller, gueſſing at his Numbers, conſult together, and one by one ſlily withdrawing from the Camp, where they were waiting the Concluſion of a Peace, reſolve to ſtop all Proviſions, and to draw out the Buſineſs till Winter. *Cæſar* though ignorant of what they intended, yet from the Condition wherein we was, and their other Hoſtages not ſent, ſuſpecting what was likely, begins to provide apace: all that might be, againſt what might happen: lays in Corn, and with Materials fetch'd from the Continent, and what was left of thoſe Ships which were paſt Help he repairs the reſt. So that now by the inceſſant Labour of his Soldiers, all but twelve were again made ſerviceable. While theſe things are doing, one of the Legions being ſent out to forage, as was accuſtom'd, and no Suſpicion of War, while ſome of the *Britains* were remaining in the Country about, others *alſo going* and coming freely to the *Roman Quarters*, *they who were in Station at the* Camp Gates ſent ſpeedy Word to *Cæſar*, that from that part of the Country, to which the Legion went, a greater Duſt than uſual was ſeen to riſe. *Cæſar* gueſſing the Matter, commands the Cohorts of Guard to follow him thither, two others to ſucceed in their ſtead, the reſt all to arm and follow. They had not march'd long, when *Cæſar* diſcerns his Legion ſore over-charg'd: For the *Britains* not doubting but that their Enemies on the Morrow would be in that Place which only *they had left unreap'd of all* their Harveſt, had plac'd an Ambuſh; and while they were diſperſt and buſieſt at their Labour, ſet upon them, kill'd ſome, and routed the reſt. The manner of their Fight was from a kind of * Chariots; wherein riding about, and throwing Darts, with the Clutter of their Horſe, and of their Wheels, they oft-times broke the Rank of their Enemies; then retreating among the Horſe, and quitting their *Chariots, they fought on* Foot. The Charioteers, in the mean while ſomewhat aſide from the Battel, ſet themſelves in ſuch Order, that their Maſters at any Time oppreſs'd with odds, might retire ſafely thither, having perform'd with one Perſon both the nimble Service of a Horſe-man, and the ſtedfaſt Duty of a Foot Soldier. So much they could with their Chariots by Uſe, and exerciſe, as riding on the Speed down a ſteep Hill, to ſtop ſuddenly, and with a ſhort Rein turn ſwiftly, now running on the † Beam, now on the * Yoke, then in the Seat. With this ſort of new skirmiſhing, the *Romans* now overmatch'd, and terrify'd, *Cæſar* with opportune aid appears; for then the *Britains* make a ſtand: But he conſidering that now was not *fit Time to offer Battel*, while his Men were ſcarce recover'd of ſo late a Fear, only keeps his Ground, and ſoon after leads back his Legions to the Camp. Farther Action for many Days following was hinder'd on both ſides by foul Weather; in which time the *Britains* diſpatching Meſſengers round about, to how few the *Romans* were reduc'd, what Hope of Prize and Booty, and now if ever of freeing themſelves from the Fear of like Invaſions hereafter, by making theſe an Example, if they could but now uncamp their Enemies; at this intimation, multitudes of Horſe and Foot coming down from all Parts make towards the *Romans*. *Cæſar* foreſeeing that the *Britains*, tho' beaten and put to *flight*, would *eaſily evade* his Foot, yet with no more than 30 Horſe, which *Comius* had brought over, draws out his Men to Battle, puts again the *Britains* to flight, purſues with Slaughter; and returning, burns and lays waſte all about. Whereupon Ambaſſadors the ſame Day being ſent from the *Britains* to deſire Peace: *Cæſar*, as his Affairs at preſent ſtood, for ſo great a Breach of Faith, only impoſes on them double the former Hoſtages to be ſent after him into *Gallia*: And becauſe *September* was nigh half ſpent, a Seaſon not fit to tempt the Sea with his Weather-beaten Fleet, the ſame Night with a fair Wind he departs towards *Belgia*: Whither two only of the *Britain* Cities ſent Hoſtages, as they promis'd; the reſt neglected. But at *Rome*, when the news came of *Cæſar's* Acts here, whether it were eſteem'd a Conqueſt, or a fair Eſcape, Supplication of twenty Days is decreed by the Senate, as either for an Exploit done, or a Diſcovery made wherein both *Cæſar* and the *Romans* gloried not a little, though it brought no Benefit either to him, or the Common-wealth.

3898. The Winter following, *Cæſar*, as his Cuſtom was, going into *Italy*, when as he ſaw that moſt of the *Britains* regarded not to ſend their Hoſtages, appoints his Legates whom he left in *Belgia*, to provide what poſſible Shipping they could either build or repair. Low built they were to be, as thereby eaſier both to fraught, and to hale aſhoar; nor needed to be higher, becauſe the Tide ſo often changing, was obſerv'd to make the Billows leſs in our Sea than thoſe in the *Mediterranean*: Broader likewiſe they were made, for the better tranſporting of Horſes, and all other Fraughtage; being intended chiefly to that End. Theſe all about 600 in a Readineſs, with 28 Ships of Burden, and what with Adventurers, and other Hulks above 200, *Cotta*, one of the Legates wrote them, as *Athenæus* affirms; in all 1000, *Cæſar* from [a] Port *Iccius*, a Paſſage of ſome 30 Mile over, leaving behind him *Labienus* to guard the Haven, and for other Supply at need, with *five Legions*; though but 2000 Horſe, about Sun ſet, hoiſting Sail with a ſlack South-Weſt, at Midnight was becalm'd. And finding when it was light, that the whole Navy lying on the Current, had fallen off from the Iſle, which now they could deſcry on their left hand, by the unwearied Labour of his Soldiers, who refus'd not to tug the Oar, and kept courſe with Ships under ſail; he bore up as near as might be, to the ſame Place where he had landed the Year before; where about Noon arriving, no Enemy could be ſeen. For the *Britains*, which in great Numbers, as was after known, had been there, at ſight of ſo huge

Dion.

Cæſ. Com. 5.

Before the Birth of Chriſt, 52.

* *Eſſeda*, a ſort of open Waggons.

Eſſedarii.

† *Temo.*

* *Jugum.*

[a] This is the ſame with *Geſſoriacum*, at this Day *Bolen*; as is prov'd at large by Mr. *Sohner* in his Diſcourſe *de Portu Iccio*, publiſh'd by Dr. *Gibſon*, with a Diſſertation of *Du Freſne* on the ſame Subject.

3898. huge a Fleet durſt not abide. *Cæſar* forthwith landing his Army, and encamping to his beſt Advantage, ſome notice being given him by thoſe he took, where to find the Enemy, with his whole Power, ſave only ten Cohorts, and 300 Horſe, left to *Quintus Atrius* for the Guard of his Ships, about the third Watch of the ſame Night marches up twelve Mile into the Country *. And at length by a River commonly thought the *Stoure* in *Kent*, eſpies embattel'd the *Britiſh Forces*. They with their Horſes and Chariots advancing to the higher Banks, oppoſe the *Romans* in their March, and begin the Fight; but repuls'd by the *Roman Cavalry*, give back into the Woods, to a Place notably made ſtrong both by Art and Nature; which, it ſeems, had been a Fort, or Hold of Strength rais'd heretofore in Times of Wars among themſelves. For Entrance and Acceſs on all ſides, by the felling of huge Trees overthwart one another, was quite barr'd up; and within theſe *Britains* did their utmoſt to keep out the Enemy. But the Soldiers of the ſeventh Legion locking all their Shields together like a Roof cloſe over head, and others raiſing a Mount, without much loſs of Blood took the Place, and drove them all to forſake the Woods. Purſuit they made not long, as being through Ways unknown; and now Evening came on, which they more wiſely ſpent, in chuſing out where to pitch and fortifie their Camp that Night. The next Morning *Cæſar* had but newly ſent out his Men in three Bodies to purſue, and the laſt no further gone than yet in ſight, when Horſemen all in poſt from *Quintius Atrius* bring word to *Cæſar*, that almoſt all his Ships in a Tempeſt that Night had ſuffer'd Wreck, and lay broken upon the Shoar. *Cæſar* at this News recals his Legions, himſelf in all haſt riding back to the Sea-ſide, beheld with his own Eyes the ruinous Proſpect. About forty Veſſels were ſunk and loſt, the reſidue ſo torn, and ſhaken, as not to be new rigg'd without much Labour. Straight he aſſembles what Number of Ship-wrights, either in his own Legions or from beyond Sea, could be ſummon'd; appoints *Labienus* on the *Belgian* ſide to build more; and with a dreadful Induſtry of ten Days, not reſpiting his Soldiers Day or Night, drew up all his Ships, and entrench'd them round within the Circuit of his Camp. This done, and leaving to their Defence the ſame Strength as before, he returns with his whole Forces to the ſame Wood, where he had defeated the *Britains*: Who preventing him with greater Powers than before, had now repoſſeſs'd themſelves of that Place, under *Caſſibelan* their chief Leader: Whoſe Territory from the States bordering on the Sea, was divided on the River *Thames* about 80 Mile inward. With him formerly other Cities had continual War; but now in the common Danger had all made choice of him to be their General. Here the *Britiſh* Horſe and Charioteers meeting with the *Roman* Cavalry, fought ſtoutly; and at firſt, ſomething over-match'd, they retreat to the near Advantage of their Woods and Hills, but ſtill follow'd by the *Romans*, made head again, cut off the forwardeſt among them, and after ſome pauſe, while *Cæſar*, who thought the Day's Work had been done, was buſied about the entrenching of his Camp, march out again, give fierce Aſſault to the very Stations of his Guards and Senteries; and while the main Cohorts of two Legions, that were ſent to the Alarm, ſtood within a ſmall Diſtance of each other, terrify'd at the Newneſs and Boldneſs of their Fight, charg'd back again through the midſt, without Loſs of a Man. Of the *Romans* that Day was ſlain *Quintus Laberius Durus*, a Tribune: The *Britains* having fought their fill at the very Entrance of *Cæſar*'s Camp, and ſuſtain'd the Reſiſtance of his whole Army entrench'd, gave over the Aſſault. *Cæſar* here acknowledges that the *Roman* way both of arming and fighting, was not ſo well fitted againſt this kind of Enemy; for that the Foot in heavy Armour could not follow their cunning Flight, and durſt not by ancient Diſcipline ſtir from their Enſign; and the Horſe alone disjoyn'd from the Legions, againſt a Foe that turn'd ſuddenly upon them, with a mixt Encounter both of Horſe and Foot, were in equal Danger both following and retiring. Beſides their Faſhion was, not in great Bodies, and cloſe Order, but in ſmall Diviſions, and open Diſtances to make their Onſet; appointing others at certain Spaces, now to relieve and bring off the Weary, now to ſucceed and renew the Conflict; which argu'd no ſmall Experience, and Uſe of Arms. Next Day the *Britains* afar off upon the Hills begin to ſhew themſelves here and there, and though leſs boldly than before, to skirmiſh with the *Roman* Horſe. But at Noon *Cæſar* having ſent out three Legions, and all his Horſe with *Trebonius* the Legate, to ſeek Fodder, ſuddenly on all ſides they ſet upon the Foragers, and charge up after them to the very Legions, and their Standards. The *Romans* with great Courage beat them back, and in the Chace, being well ſeconded by the Legions, not giving them time either to rally, to ſtand or to deſcend from their Chariots as they were wont, ſlew many. From this Overthrow, the *Britains* that dwelt farther off, betook them home; and came no more after that time with ſo great a Power againſt *Cæſar*. Whereof advertis'd, he marches onward to the Frontiers of *Caſſibelan*, which on this ſide were bounded by the *Thames*, not paſſable except in one Place, and that difficult, about *Cotway-Stakes* near *Oatlands*, as is conjectur'd. Hither coming, he deſcries on the other ſide great Forces of the Enemy plac'd in good Array; the Bank ſet all with ſharp Stakes, others in the bottom, cover'd with Water; whereof the Marks in *Beda*'s time were to be ſeen, as he relates. This having learnt by ſuch as were taken, or had run to him, he firſt commands his Horſe to paſs over, then his Foot, who wading up to the Neck, went on ſo reſolutely and ſo faſt, that they on the further ſide not enduring the Violence, retreated and fled. *Caſſibelan* no more now in hope to contend for Victory, diſmiſſing all but 4000 of thoſe Charioteers, through Woods and intricate Ways attends their Motion, where the *Romans* are to paſs, drives all before him; and with continual Sallies upon the Horſe, where they leaſt expected, cutting off ſome and terrifying others, compels them ſo cloſe together, as gave them no leave to fetch in Prey or Booty without ill Succeſs. Whereupon *Cæſar* ſtrictly commanding all not to part from the Legions, had nothing left him in his way but empty Fields and Houſes, which he ſpoil'd and burnt. Mean while the * *Trinobantes*, a State or Kingdom, and perhaps the greateſt then among the *Britains*, leſs favouring *Caſſibelan*, ſent Ambaſſadors, and yield to *Cæſar* upon this Reaſon. *Imanuentius* had been their King: Him *Caſſibelan* had ſlain, and purpos'd the like to *Mandubratius* his Son, whom *Oroſius* calls *Androgorius*, *Beda*, *Androgius*; but the Youth eſcaping by Flight into *Gallia*, put himſelf under the Protection of *Cæſar*. Theſe entreat that *Mandubratius* may be ſtill defended, and ſent home to ſucceed in his Father's Right. *Cæſar* ſends him, demands forty Hoſtages and Proviſion for his Army,

* Towards *Chilham* in *Kent*.

Cambden.

* They were the Ancient Inhabitants of *Eſſex* and *Middleſex*.

3898. Army, which they immediately bring in, and have their Confines protected from the Soldier. By their Example the [a] *Cenimagni*, [b] *Segontiaci*, [c] *Ancalites*, [d] *Bibroci*, [e] *Cassi* (so I write them, for the Modern Names are but gues'd) on like Terms make their Peace. By them he learns that the Town of *Cassibelan*, suppos'd to be *Verulam*, was not far distant; fenc'd about with Woods and Marshes, well stuff'd with Men and with Cattle. For Towns then in *Britain* were only woody Places ditch'd round, and with a mud Wall encompass'd against the Inrodes of Enemies. Thither goes *Cæsar* with his Legions; and though a Place of great Strength both by Art and Nature, assaults it in two Places. The *Britains* after some Defence, fled out all at another End of the Town; in the Flight many were taken, many slain, and great store of Cattle found there. *Cassibelan*, for all these Losses, yet deserts not himself; nor was yet his Authority so much impair'd, but that *in Kent*, though in a manner possess'd by the Enemy, his Messengers and Commands find Obedience enough to raise all the People. By his Direction *Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax*, four [f] *Kings* reigning in those Countries which lie upon the Sea, lead them on to assault that Camp wherein the *Romans* had entrench'd their Shipping: But they whom *Cæsar* left there, issuing out, slew many, and took Prisoners *Cingetorix* a noted Leader, without Loss of their own. *Cassibelan* after so many Defeats, mov'd especially by Revolt of the Cities from him, their Inconstancy and Falshood one to another, uses Mediation by *Comius* of *Arras* to send Ambassadors about Treaty of Yielding. *Cæsar*, who had determin'd to Winter in the Continent, by reason that *Gallia* was unsettl'd, and not much of the Summer now behind, commands him only Hostages, *and what yearly* Tribute the Island should pay to *Rome*, forbids him to molest *the Trinobantes*, or *Mandubratius*; and with his Hostages, and great Number of Captives he puts to Sea, having at twice embark'd his whole Army.

Pliny. *At his return to* Rome, *as from a glorious Enterprize, he offers to* Venus *the Patroness of his Family, a Corslet of* British *Pearls.* Howbeit, other ancient Writers have spoken more doubtfully of *Cæsar*'s Victories here; and that in plain Terms he fled from hence; for which the common Verse in *Lucan*, with divers Passages here and there in *Tacitus* is alledg'd. *Paulus Orosius*, who took what he wrote from a History of *Suetonius*, now lost, writes, that *Cæsar* in his first Journey, entertain'd with a sharp Fight, lost no small number of his Foot, and by Tempest nigh all his Horse. *Dion* affirms, that once in the second Expedition all his Foot were routed; *Orosius* that another time all his Horse. The *British* Author, whom I use only then when others are all silent, hath many trivial Discourses of *Cæsar*'s being here, which are best omitted. Nor have we more of *Cassibelan* than what the same Story tells, how he warr'd soon after with *Androgeus*, about his Nephew slain by *Evelinus*, Nephew to the other; which Business at length compos'd, *Cassibelan* dies and was buried in *York, if the Monmouth Book fable not.* But at *Cæsar*'s coming hither, such likeliest were the *Britains*, as the Writers of those Times and their own Actions represent them, in Courage and warlike Readiness to take Advantage by Ambush or sudden Onset, not inferiour to the *Romans*, nor *Cassibelan* to *Cæsar*, in Weapons, Arms, and the Skill of Encamping. Embatteling, Fortifying overmatch'd; their Weapons were a short Spear and light Target, a Sword also by their side; their Fight sometimes in Chariots phang'd at the Axle with Iron Sithes, their Bodies most part naked, only painted with Woad in sundry Figures, to seem terrible as they thought, but pursu'd by Enemies, not nice of their painting to run into Bogs, worse than *wild Irish*, up to the Neck, and there to stay many Days, holding a certain Morsel in their Mouths no bigger than a Bean, to suffice Hunger; but that Receit, and the Temperance it taught, is long since unknown among us: Their Towns and strong Holds were Spaces of Ground fenc'd about with a Ditch, and great Trees fell'd overthwart each other; their Buildings within were thatch'd Houses for themselves and their Cattle: In Peace, the upland Inhabitants, besides hunting, tended their Flocks and Herds, but with little Skill of Country Affairs; the making of Cheese they commonly knew not; Wool or Flax they spun not; Gardening and Planting many of them knew not; Cloathing they had none, but what the Skins of Beasts afforded them, and that not always; yet Gallantry they had, painting their own Skins with several Portraitures of Beast, Bird or Flower, *A Vanity which hath not yet left us, remov'd only from the Skin to the Skirt, behung now with as many colour'd Ribbons and Gewgaws:* Toward the Sea-side, they till'd the Ground, and liv'd much after the manner of the *Gauls* their Neighbours, or first Planters: Their Money was brazen Pieces or Iron Rings, their best Merchandize Tin, the rest Trifles of Glass, Ivory, and such like; yet Gems and Pearls they had, saith *Mela*, in some Rivers: Their Ships of light Timber wickered with Osier between, and cover'd over with Leather, serv'd not therefore to transport them far, and their Commodities were fetch'd away by foreign Merchants: Their Dealing, saith *Diodorus*, plain and simple without Fraud; their Civil Government under many Princes and States, not confederate or consulting in common, but mistrustful, and oft-times warring one with the other, which gave them up one by one an easie Conquest to the *Romans*: Their Religion was govern'd by a sort of Priests or Magicians call'd *Druides* from the Greek Name of an *Oak*, which Tree they had in great Reverence, and the *Misletoe* especially growing thereon: *Pliny* writes them skill'd in Magick no less than those of *Persia*: By their abstaining from a Hen, a Hare, and a Goose, from Fish also, saith *Dion*, and their Opinion of the Soul's passing after Death into other Bodies, they may be thought to have studied *Pythagoras*; yet Philosophers I cannot call them, reported Men factious and ambitious, contending sometimes about the Arch-priesthood, *not without* Civil War and Slaughter; nor restrain'd they the People under them from a lewd, adulterous and incestuous Life, ten or twelve Men absurdly against Nature, possessing one Woman as their common Wife, though of nearest Kin, Mother, Daughter, or Sister; Progenitors not to be glory'd in. But the Gospel, not long after preach'd here, abolish'd such Impurities, and of the *Romans* we

Oros. lib. 6. cap. 7. & 9.

3898. *Dion.* *Mela.* *Cæsar.* *Herodian.* *Dion.* *Cæsar.* *Strabo.* *Dion.* *Strabo.* *Herodian.* *Solinus.* *Cæsar.* *Tacitus, Diodor. Strab.* *Lucan.* *Tacitus.* *Mela.* *Dion.* *Cæsar.* *Cæsar.*

[a] Though to be the same with the *Iceni*. [b] On the North-side of *Hampshire*, about *Alton* and *Basingstoke*.
[c] About *Henly* in *Berks*.
[d] About *Bray* in *Berks*. *Bibracte* in *France* is now contracted into *Bray*. *Cambd. Brit. Tit. Berkshire.*
[e] The Hundred of *Caishow* in *Hertfordshire*.
[f] *Mr. Cambden* writes that they were Governors of *Kent*.

3918. we have cauſe not to ſay much worſe, than that they beat us into ſome Civility; likely elſe to have continu'd longer in a barbarous and ſavage manner of Life. After *Julius* (for *Julius* before his Death tyrannouſly had made himſelf Emperor of the *Roman* Commonwealth, and was ſlain in the Senate for ſo doing) he who next ob-
Strabo l. 2. tain'd the Empire, *Octavianus Cæſar Auguſtus*, either contemning the Iſland, as *Strabo* would have us think, whoſe neither Benefit was worth the having, nor Enmity worth the fearing; or out of a wholſome State-Maxim, as ſome ſay, to moderate and bound the Empire from growing vaſt and unweildy, made no attempt againſt the *Britains*: But the truer Cauſe was partly civil War among the *Romans*, partly other Affairs more urging. For about twenty Years after, all which time the *Britains* had liv'd at their own diſpoſe, *Auguſtus* in Imitation of his Uncle *Julius*, either intending, or ſeeming to intend an Expedition hither, was come into *Gallia*, when the News of a Revolt in *Pannonia* diverted him: About ſeven Years after in the ſame Reſolution, what with the Unſettl'dneſs of *Gallia*, and what with Embaſſadors from *Britain*, which met him there, he proceeded not.

Year before the Birth of Chriſt, 32. *Dion* l. 49.

Year before the Birth of Chriſt, 25. *Dion.* l. 53.

3925. The next Year, Difference ariſing about Covenants, he was again prevented by other new Commotions in *Spain*. Nevertheleſs ſome of the *Britiſh Potentates* omitted not to ſeek his Friendſhip by Gifts offer'd in the Capital, and other
Strabo l. 4. obſequious Addreſſes; inſomuch that the whole *Iſland* became even in thoſe Days well known to the *Romans*; too well perhaps for them, who from the Knowledge of us, were ſo like to prove Enemies. But as for Tribute, the *Britains* paid none to *Auguſtus*, except what eaſie Cuſtoms were levy'd on the ſlight Commodities wherewith they traded into *Gallia*. After *Caſſibelan*, *Tenantius* the younger Son of *Lud*, according to the *Monmouth* Story was made King. For *Androgeus* the Elder, conceiving himſelf generally hated, for ſiding with the *Romans*, forſook his Claim here, and follow'd *Cæſar*'s Fortune. *This King is recorded Juſt and Warlike.* His Son *Kymbeline* or *Cunobeline* ſucceeding, was brought up, as is ſaid, in the Court of *Auguſtus*, and with him held friendly Correſpondencies to the end; was a warlike Prince; his chief Seat *Camalodunum*, or *Maldon* *, as by certain of his Coins yet to be ſeen, appears [a]. *Tiberius* the next Emperor, adhering always to the advice of *Auguſtus*, and of himſelf, leſs caring to extend the Bounds of his Empire, fought not the *Britains*; and they as little to incite him, ſent home courteouſly the Soldiers of *Germanicus*, that by Shipwrack had been caſt on the *Britain Shore*. But *Caligula* his Succeſſor, a wild and diſſolute Tyrant, having paſt the *Alps* with intent to rob and ſpoil thoſe Provinces, and ſtirr'd up by *Adminius* the Son of *Cunobeline*, who by his Father baniſh'd, with a ſmall number fled thither to him, made Semblance of marching toward *Britain*; but being come to the Ocean, and there behaving himſelf madly and ridiculouſly, went back the ſame way; yet ſent before him boaſting Letters to the Senate, as if all *Britain* had been yielded to him. *Cunobeline* now dead, *Adminius* the Eldeſt by his Father baniſh'd from his Country, and by his own Practice againſt it, from the Crown, though by an old Coin ſeeming to have alſo reign'd; *Togodumnus*, and *Caractacus* the two younger, uncertain whether equal or ſubordinate in Power, were advanc'd into his Place. But through civil Diſcord, *Bericus* (what he was further is not known) with others of his Party flying to *Rome*, perſwaded *Claudius* the Emperor to an Invaſion. *Claudius* now Conſul the third time, and deſirous to do ſomething, whence he might gain the Honour of a Triumph, at the Perſwaſion of theſe Fugitives, whom the *Britains* demanding, he had deny'd to remit, and they for that Cauſe had deny'd further Amity with *Rome*, make choice of this *Iſland* for his Province: And ſends before him *Aulus Plautius* the *Prætor*, with this Command, if the Buſineſs grew difficult to give him notice. *Plautius* with much ado perſwaded the Legions to move out of *Gallia*, murmuring that now they muſt be put to make War beyond the World's End; for ſo they counted *Britain*; and what welcome *Julius* the Dictator found there, doubtleſs they had heard. At laſt prevail'd with, and hoiſting Sail from three ſeveral Ports, leſt their landing ſhould in any one Place be reſiſted, meeting croſs Winds, they were caſt back and diſhearten'd: Till in the Night a Meteor ſhooting Flames from the Eaſt, and, as they fanſy'd, directing their Courſe, they took Heart again to try the Sea, and without Oppoſition landed. For the *Britains* having heard of their Unwillingneſs to come, had been negligent to provide againſt them; and retiring to the Woods and Moors, intended to fruſtrate, and wear them out with delays, as they had ſerv'd *Cæſar* before. *Plautius* after much trouble to find them out, encountring firſt with *Caractacus*, then with *Togodumnus*, overthrew them; and receiving into Conditions part of the *Boduni*, who then were ſubject to the *Catuellani*, and leaving there a Garriſon, went on toward a River; where the *Britains* not imagining that *Plautius* without a Bridge could paſs, lay on the further ſide careleſs and ſecure. But he ſending firſt the *Germans*, whoſe Cuſtoms was, arm'd as they were, to ſwim with eaſe the ſtrongeſt Current, commands them to ſtrike, eſpecially at the Horſes, whereby the Chariots, wherein conſiſted their chief Act of Fight, became unſerviceable. To ſecond them, he ſent *Veſpaſian*, who in his latter Days obtain'd the Empire, and *Sabinus* his Brother; who unexpectedly aſſailing thoſe who were leaſt aware, did much Execution. Yet not for this were the *Britains* diſmay'd; but re-uniting the next Day fought with ſuch a Courage, as made it hard to decide which way hung the Victory: Till *Caius Sidius Geta*, at point to have been taken, recover'd himſelf ſo valiantly, as brought the Day on his ſide; for which at *Rome* he receiv'd high Honours. After this the *Britains* drew back toward the Mouth of *Thames*, and acquainted with thoſe Places, croſs'd over, where the *Romans* following them through Bogs and dangerous Flats, hazarded the Loſs of all. Yet the *Germans* getting over, and others by a Bridge at ſome place above, fell on them again with ſundry Alarms and great Slaughter; but in the heat of Purſuit running themſelves again into Bogs and Mires, loſt as many of their own. Upon which ill Succeſs, and ſeeing the *Britains* more enrag'd at the Death of *Togodumnus*, who in one of theſe Battles had been ſlain: *Plautius* fearing the worſt, and glad that he could hold what he held, as was enjoyn'd him, ſends

A.D. 40. *Dion.*

A.D. 42.

* See the *Britiſh Coins* publiſh'd in the late Edition of Mr. *Cambden*. *Tacit. an.* l. 2.

Year after the Birth of Chriſt, 16. *Dion. Suet. Cal.*

A.D. 40.

[a] Coin firſt ſtamp'd in *Britain* in this King's Reign, in which Time our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt was born; and if we may believe *Baronius*, was preach'd here by *Joſeph* of *Arimathea* three Years after his Crucifixion: Which according to *William* of *Malmsbury*, in his Antiquities of the Church of *Glaſtenbury*, was in the 63d Year after Chriſt's Paſſion. This Legend is exploded by Arch-Biſhop *Uſher* in his Antiquities of the *Britiſh* Churches, and Biſhop *Stillingfleet*, in his *Origines Britannicæ*.

A.D.43. sends to *Claudius*. He who waited ready with a huge Preparation, as if not safe enough amidst the Flower of all his *Romans*, like a great Eastern King with arm'd Elephants, marches through *Gallia*. So full of peril was this Enterprize esteem'd, as not without all this Equipage, and stranger Terrors than *Roman* Armies to meet the native and the naked *British Valour* defending their Country. Join'd with *Plautius*, who encamping on the Bank of *Thames*, attended him, he passes the River. The *Britains*, who had the Courage, but not the wise Conduct of old *Cassibelan*, laying all Stratagem aside, in downright Manhood scrupled not to affront in open Field almost the whole Power of the *Roman Empire*. But overcome and vanquish'd, part by Force, others by Treaty come in and yield. *Claudius* therefore, who took *Camalodunum*, the Royal Seat of *Cunobeline*, was often by his Army saluted *Imperator*; a Military Title, which usually they gave their General after any notable Exploit; but to others not above once in the same War; as if *Claudius* by these Acts had deserv'd more than the Laws of *Rome* had provided Honour to
Dion. l. 62. reward. Having therefore disarm'd the *Britains*, but remitted the Confiscation of their Goods, for
Tacit. an. 14. which they worshipp'd him with Sacrifice and Temple as a God; leaving *Plautius* to subdue what remain'd, he returns to *Rome*, from whence he had been absent only six Months, and in *Britain* but sixteen Days; sending the News before him of his Victories, though in a small part of the Island. To whom the Senate, as for Atchievements of highest Merit, decreed excessive Honours; *Arches*, *Triumphs*, *Annual Solemnities*, and the Sirname of *Britannicus* both to him and his Son. *Suetonius* writes, that *Claudius* found here no Resistance, and that all was done without Stroke: But this seems not probable. The *Monmouth Writer* names these two Sons of *Cunobeline*, *Guiderius* and *Arviragus*; that *Guiderius* being slain in fight, *Arviragus* to conceal it put on his Brother's Habillements, and in his Person held up the Battel to a Victory; the rest, as of *Hamo* the *Roman Captain*, *Genuissa* the Emperor's Daughter and such like stuff, is too palpably untrue to be worth rehearsing in the midst of Truth. *Plautius* after this, employing his fresh Forces to
Suetonius. Claud. 5. 24. conquer on, and quiet the rebelling Countries, found work enough to deserve at his return a kind of Triumphant Riding into the *Capitol*, side
Sueton. Vesp. Dion. lib. 60. by side with the Emperor. *Vespasian* [a] also under *Plautius* had thirty Conflicts with the Enemy; in one of which encompass'd, and in great danger, he was valiantly and piously rescu'd by his Son *Titus*: Two powerful Nations he subdu'd
47. here, above twenty Towns and the *Isle of Wight*, for which he received at *Rome* Triumphal Ornaments, and other great Dignities., *For that City*
49. *in reward of Virtue, was ever magnificent; and long after, when true Merit was ceas'd among them, lest any thing resembling Virtue should want Honour, the same Rewards were yet allow'd to the very Shadow and Ostentation of Merit.* *Ostorius* in the room
50. of *Plautius* Vice-prætor, met with turbulent Affairs; the *Britains* not ceasing to vex with Inrodes all those Countries that were yielded to the
Tacitus. an. 12. *Romans*; and now the more eagerly, supposing that the new General acquainted with his Army, and on the edge of Winter, would not hastily oppose them. But he weighing that first Events were most available to breed Fear or Contempt, with such Cohorts as were next at hand, sets out against them: Whom having routed, so close he follows, as one who meant not to be every Day molested with the Cavils of a slight Peace, or an embolden'd Enemy. Lest they should make head again, he disarms whom he suspects; and to surround them, *places many Garrisons upon the Rivers of [b] *Antona* and *Sabrina*. But the [c] *Iceni*, a stout People, untouch'd yet by these Wars, as having before sought Alliance with the *Romans*, were the first that brook'd not this. By their Example others rise; and in a chosen place, fenc'd with high Banks of Earth, and narrow Lanes to prevent the Horse, warily encamp. *Ostorius*, though yet not strengthen'd with his Legions, causes the Auxiliar Bands, his Troops also alighting, to assault the Rampart. They within, tho' pester'd with their own number, stood to it like Men resolv'd, and in a narrow Compass did remarkable Deeds. But over-power'd at last, and
Tacit. An. lib. 12. c. 32. others by their Success quieted, who till then wavered, *Ostorius* next bends his Force upon the [d] *Cangians*, wasting all even to the Sea of *Ireland*, without Foe in his way, or them who durst ill handl'd: When the [e] *Brigantes* attempting new Matters, drew him back to settle first what was unsecure behind him. They, of whom the chief were punish'd, the rest forgiven, soon gave over; but the *Silures*, no way tractable, were not to be repress'd without a set War. To further this, *Camalodunum* was planted with a Colony of *Veteran Soldiers* to be a firm and ready Aid against Revolts, and a means to teach the Natives *Roman* Law and Civility. *Cogidunus*, also a *British King*,
Tacit. Vit. Agric. their fast Friend, had to the same intent certain Cities given him: A haughty Craft, which the *Romans* us'd, to make Kings also the servile Agents of enslaving others. But the *Silures*, hardy of themselves, rely'd more on the Valour of *Caractacus*, whom many doubtful, many prosperous Successes had made eminent above all that rul'd in *Britain*. He adding to his Courage Policy, and knowing himself to be of Strength inferiour, in other Advantages the better, makes the Seat of his War among the [g] *Ordovices*, a Country
Tacit. An. lib. 12. c. 33. wherein all the Odds were to his own Party, all the Difficulties to his Enemy. The Hills and every Access he fortify'd with Heaps of Stones, and Guards of Men; to come at whom a River of unsafe Passage must be first waded. The Place, as *Cambden* conjectures, had thence the Name of [h] *Caer-Caradoc*, on the West Edge of *Shropshire*. He himself continually went up and down, animating his Officers and Leaders, *that This was the Day, This the Field, either to defend their Liberty, or to die free*; calling to mind the Names of his glorious Ancestors, who drove *Cæsar* the Dictator out of *Britain*, whose Valour hitherto had preserv'd them from Bondage, their Wives and Children from Dishonour. Inflam'd with these Words, they all vow their utmost, with such undaunted Resolution as amaz'd the *Roman* General;

* See *Cambden's Britannia, Eng.* edit. p. 432, & 440.

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[a] Afterwards Emperor.
[b] *Severn* and *Avon*.
[c] The *Iceni* inhabited the Counties of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntington*.
[d] The Annotator on the Preface to the late Edition of *Cambden's Britann.* is of Opinion, that *Somersetshire* and *North Wiltshire* were the Country of the *Cangi*. 'Tis not well known who they were, but probably they inhabited *Shropshire* and *Cheshire*, bordering on the
[e] *Brigantes*, suppos'd to have been the Inhabitants of *Lancashire*, *Yorkshire*, and the other Northern Counties.
[f] They inhabited what we now call *South-Wales*.
[g] The *Ordovices* possess'd the Counties, which now make *North-Wales*.
[h] *Caradoc* in the *British* Tongue, is suppos'd to be the same with *Caractacus* in the *Latin*.

A.D.50. *General*; but the Soldier leſs weighing, becauſe leſs knowing, clamour'd to be led on againſt any Danger. *Oſtorius*, after wary Circumſpection, bids them paſs the River: The *Britains* no ſooner had them within reach of their Arrows, Darts and Stones, but ſlew and wounded largely of the *Romans*. They on the other Side cloſing their Ranks, and over Head cloſing their Targets, threw down the looſe Rampiers of the *Britains*, and purſue them up the Hills, both light arm'd, and Legions; till what with gauling Darts and heavy Strokes, the *Britains* who wore neither Helmet nor Cuiraſs to defend them, were at laſt overcome. This the *Romans* thought a famous Victory; wherein the Wife and Daughter of [a] *Caractacus* were taken, his Brothers alſo reduc'd to Obedience; himſelf eſcaping to *Cartiſmandua* Queen of the *Brigantes*, againſt Faith given, was to the Victors deliver'd bound: Having held out againſt the *Romans nine Years*, ſaith *Tacitus*; but by truer Computation [b] *ſeven*. Whereby his Name was up through all the adjoyning Provinces, even to *Italy* and *Rome*: Many deſiring to ſee who he was that could withſtand ſo many Years the *Romans* Puiſſance: And *Cæſar*, to extol his own Victory, extoll'd the Man whom he had vanquiſh'd. Being brought to *Rome*, the People, as to a ſolemn Spectacle, were call'd together, the Emperor's Guard ſtood in Arms. In order came firſt the King's Servants, bearing his Trophies, won in other Wars; next, his Brothers, Wife, and Daughter; laſt, himſelf. The Behaviour of others through fear was low and degenerate: He only, neither in Countenance, Word or Action ſubmiſſive, ſtanding at the Tribunal of *Claudius*, briefly ſpake to this Purpoſe: *If my Mind*, Cæſar, *had been as moderate in the heighth of Fortune, as my Birth and Dignity was eminent, I might have come a Friend rather than a Captive into this City. Nor could'ſt thou have diſlik'd him for a Confederate, ſo Noble of Deſcent, and Ruling ſo many Nations. My preſent Eſtate, to me diſgraceful, to thee is glorious; I had Riches, Horſes, Arms, and Men; no wonder then if I contended, not to loſe them. But if by Fate, yours only muſt be Empire, then of neceſſity ours among the reſt muſt be Subjection. If I ſooner had been brought to yield, my Misfortune had been leſs notorious, your Conqueſt had been leſs renown'd, and in your ſevereſt determining of me, both will be ſoon forgotten. But if you grant that I ſhall live, by me will live to you for ever that Praiſe which is ſo near divine, the Clemency of a Conqueror.* Cæſar mov'd at ſuch a Spectacle of Fortune, but eſpecially at the nobleneſs of his bearing it, gave him Pardon, and to all the reſt. They all unbound, ſubmiſſively thank him, and did like reverence to *Agrippina* the Emperor's Wife, who ſat by in State: A new and diſdained Sight to the Manly Eyes of *Romans*, a Woman ſitting publick in her Female Pride among Enſigns and armed Cohorts. To *Oſtorius*, Triumph is decreed; and his Acts eſteemed equal to theirs that brought in Bonds to *Rome* famouſeſt Kings. But the ſame Proſperity attended not his latter Actions here: For the *Silures*, whether to revenge their loſs of *Caractacus*, or that they ſaw *Oſtorius*, as if now all were done, leſs earneſt to reſtrain them, beſet the Præfect of his Camp, left there with Legionary Bands to appoint Garriſons: And had not ſpeedy Aid come in from the neighbouring Holds and Caſtles, had cut them all off; notwithſtanding which, the *Præfect* with *eight Centurions*, and many their ſtouteſt Men were ſlain: And upon the Neck of this, meeting firſt with *Roman* Foragers, then with other Troops haſting to their Relief, utterly foil'd and broke them alſo. *Oſtorius* ſending more after, could hardly ſtay their flight; till the weighty Legions coming on, at firſt pois'd the Battel, at length turn'd the Scale, to the *Britains* without much loſs, for by that Time it grew Night. Then was the War ſhiver'd as it were into ſmall Frays and Bickerings, not unlike ſometimes to ſo many Robberies, in Woods, at Waters, as Chance or Valour, Advice or Raſhneſs led them on, commanded or without Command. That which moſt exaſperated the *Silures*, was a Report of certain Words caſt out by the Emperor, *That he would root them out to the very Name*. Therefore two Cohorts more of Auxiliars, by the Avarice of their Leaders too ſecurely Pillaging, they quite intercepted: And beſtowing liberally the Spoils and Captives, whereof they took plenty, drew other Countries to join with them. Theſe Loſſes falling ſo thick upon the *Romans*, *Oſtorius* with the Thought and Anguiſh thereof ended his Days: The *Britains* rejoicing, although no Battel, that yet adverſe War had worn out ſo great a Soldier. *Cæſar* in his Place ordains *Aulus Didius*: But ere his coming, tho' much haſten'd, that the Province might not want a Governor; the *Silures* had given an Overthrow to *Manlius Valens* with his Legion, rumour'd on both ſides greater than was true; by the *Silures* to amate the new General; by him in a double reſpect, of the more praiſe if he quell'd them, or the more excuſe if he fail'd. Mean time, the *Silures* forget not to infeſt the *Roman* Pale with wide Excurſions; till *Didius* marching out, kept them ſomewhat more within bounds. Nor were they long to ſeek, who after *Caractacus* ſhould lead them; for next to him, in Worth and Skill of War, *Venutius a Prince of the Brigantines* merited to be their Chief. He at firſt faithful to the *Romans*, and by them protected, was the Huſband of *Cratiſmandua Queen of the Brigantes*, himſelf perhaps reigning elſewhere. She who had betray'd *Caractacus* and her Country to adorn the Triumph of *Claudius*, thereby grown powerful and gracious with the *Romans*, preſuming on the Hire of her Treaſon, deſerted her Husband; and marrying *Vellocatus*, one of his Squires, confers on him the Kingdom alſo. This Deed, ſo odious and full of Infamy, diſturb'd the whole State: *Venutius* with other Forces, and the help of her own Subjects, who deteſted the Example of ſo foul a Fact, and with a the Uncomelineſs of their Subjection to the Monarchy of a Woman, a piece of Manhood not every Day to be found among *Britains*, though ſhe had got by ſubtle train his Brother with many of his Kindred into her Hands, brought her ſoon below the confidence of being able to reſiſt longer. When imploring the *Roman* Aid, with much ado, and after many a hard Encounter, ſhe eſcap'd the Puniſhment which was ready to have ſeiz'd her. *Venutius* thus debarr'd the Authority of ruling his own Houſhold, juſtly turns his Anger againſt the *Romans* themſelves; whoſe Magnanimity, not wont to undertake diſhonourable Cauſes, had arrogantly intermeddled in his domeſtick Affairs, to uphold the Rebellion of an Adultreſs againſt her Husband. *Tac. An.* 12.

A.D.50.

And

[a] *Caractacus* King of the *Silures* was routed by the *Romans* near *Ludlow* in *Shropſhire*; Mr. *Cambden* ſays this Battel was fought *Anno* 53. *Camb. Tit. Shrop.*

[b] *Tacitus* in his *Annals, lib.* 12. *cap.* 36. writes, 'twas in the ſeventh Year after this War began, that *Caractacus* was taken.

A.D.54. And the Kingdom he retain'd againſt their utmoſt Oppoſition; and of War gave them their fill: Firſt in a ſharp Conflict of uncertain Event, then againſt the Legion of *Cæſius Naſica*. Inſomuch that *Didius* growing old, and managing the War by Deputies, had work enough to ſtand on his Defence, with the gaining now and then of a ſmall Caſtle. And *Nero* (for in that part of the *Iſle* Things continu'd in the ſame plight to the Reign of *Veſpaſian*) was minded but for ſhame to have withdrawn the *Roman* Forces out of *Britain*: In other Parts whereof, about the ſame time, other Things befel. *Verannius*, whom *Nero* ſent hither to ſucceed *Didius*, dying in his firſt Year, ſaw a few Inrodes upon the *Silures*, left only a great Boaſt behind him, *That in two Years, had he liv'd, he would have Conquer'd all.* But *Suetonius Paulinus*, who next was ſent hither, eſteem'd a Soldier equal to the beſt in that Age, for two Years together went on proſperouſly; both confirming what was got, and ſubduing onward. At laſt, over-confident of his preſent Actions, and emulating others, of whoſe Deeds he heard from abroad, marches up as far as *Mona, the Iſle of Angleſey*, a populous Place. For they, it ſeems, had both entertain'd Fugitives, and given good Aſſiſtance to the reſt that withſtood him. He makes him Boats with flat Bottoms, fitted to the Shallows which he expected in that narrow Frith: His Foot ſo paſs'd over, his Horſe waded or ſwom. Thick upon ſhoar ſtood ſeveral groſs Bands of Men well weapon'd, many Women like Furies running to and fro in diſmal Habit, with Hair looſe about their Shoulders, held Torches in their Hands. The *Druids*, thoſe were their Prieſts, of whom more in another Place, with Hands lifted up to *Heaven*, uttering direful Prayers, aſtoniſh'd the *Romans*; who, at *ſo ſtrange a Sight ſtood* in amaze, tho' wounded: *At length awak'd, and encourag'd by their* General, not to fear a barbarous and lunatick Rout, fall on, and beat them down ſcorch'd and rouling in their own Fire. Then were they yoak'd with Garriſons, and the Places conſecrate to their Bloody Superſtitions deſtroy'd. For whom they took in War they held it lawful to Sacrifice; and by the Entrails of Men us'd Divination. While thus *Paulinus* had his Thought ſtill fix'd before, to go on winning, his Back lay broad open to occaſion of loſing more behind. For the *Britains* urg'd and oppreſs'd with many unſufferable Injuries, had all banded themſelves to a general Revolt. The particular Cauſes are not all written by one Author; *Tacitus*, who liv'd next thoſe times of any to us extant, writes, that *Praſutagus King of the Icenians*, abounding in Wealth, had left *Cæſar* Coheir with his two Daughters; thereby hoping to have ſecur'd from all wrong both his Kingdom and his Houſe; which fell out far otherwiſe. For under colour to Overſee and take Poſſeſſion of the Emperor's new Inheritance, his Kingdom became a Prey to Centurions, his Houſe to ravening Officers, his Wife *Boadicea* violated with Stripes, his Daughters with Rape, the wealthieſt of his Subjects, as it were by the Will and Teſtament of their King, thrown out of their Eſtates, his Kindred made little better than Slaves. The new Colony alſo at *Camalodunum* took Houſe or Land from whom they pleas'd, terming them Slaves and Vaſſals; the Soldiers complying with the Colony, out of hope hereafter to uſe the ſame Licence themſelves. Moreover the Temple erected to *Claudius*, as a Badge of their eternal Slavery, ſtood a great Eyeſore; the Prieſts whereof under pretext of what was due to the Religious Service, waſted and imbezzled each Man's Subſtance upon themſelves.

Tacit. Vit. Agric. 55. *Tac. Hiſt* 3. *Sueton.*

Lib. 12.

61. *Boadicea Queen of the Britains, Wars with the Romans.*

A.D.63. And *Catus Decianus*, the Procurator, endeavour'd to bring all their Goods under the compaſs of a new Confiſcation, by diſavowing the Remitment of *Claudius*. Laſtly, *Seneca*, in his Books, a Philoſopher, having drawn the *Britains* unwillingly to borrow of him vaſt Sums upon fair Promiſes of eaſie Loan, and for Repayment to take their own time, on a ſudden compels them to pay in all at once with great Extortion. Thus provok'd by heavieſt Sufferings, and thus invited by Opportunities in the abſence of *Paulinus*, the *Icenians*, and by their Example the *Trinobantes*, and as many elſe as hated Servitude, riſe up in Arms. Of theſe enſuing Troubles many foregoing Signs appear'd: The Image of Victory at *Camalodunum* fell down of it ſelf, with her Face turn'd as it were to the *Britains*; certain Women, in a kind of Extaſie, foretold of Calamities to come; in the Counſel-houſe were heard by Night barbarous Noiſes; in the Theatre hideous Howlings; in the Creek horrid Sights, betokening the Deſtruction of that Colony; hereto the Ocean ſeeming of a bloody Hew, and humane Shapes, at a low Ebb left imprinted on the Sand, wrought in the *Britains* new Courage, in the *Romans* unwonted Fears. *Camalodunum*, where the *Romans* had ſeated themſelves to dwell pleaſantly, rather than defenſively, was not fortify'd: Againſt that therefore the *Britains* make firſt Aſſault. The Soldiers within were not very many. *Decianus* the Procurator could ſend them but two hundred, thoſe ill Arm'd: And through the Treachery of ſome among them, who ſecretly favour'd the Inſurrection, they had deferr'd both to entrench and to ſend out ſuch as bore not Arms; ſuch as did, flying to the Temple, which on the ſecond Day was forcibly taken, were put all to the Sword, the Temple made a Heap, the reſt rifled and burnt. *Petilius Cerealis* coming to his Succour, *is* in his way met, and Overthrown, his whole Legion cut to Pieces; he with his Horſe hardly eſcaping to the *Roman Camp*. *Decianus*, whoſe Rapine was the Cauſe of all this, fled into *Gallia*. But *Suetonius* at theſe Tidings not diſmay'd, through the midſt of his Enemy's Country, marches to *London* (though not term'd a Colony, yet full of *Roman* Inhabitants, and for the frequency of Trade and other Commodities, a Town even then of principal Note) with purpoſe to have made there the Seat of War. But conſidering the ſmallneſs of his Numbers, and the late raſhneſs of *Petilius*, he chooſes rather with the Loſs of one Town to ſave the reſt. Nor was he flexible to any Prayers or Weeping of them that beſought him to tarry there; but taking with him ſuch as were willing, gave Signal to depart; they, who through weakneſs of Sex or Age, or love of the Place, went not along, periſh'd by the Enemy; ſo did *Verulam, a Roman free Town*. For *the Britains* omitting Forts and Caſtles, flew thither firſt where richeſt Booty, and the hope of Pillaging toal'd them on. In this Maſſacree, about ſeventy thouſand *Romans*, and their Aſſociates, in the Places above-mention'd, of a certain, loſt their Lives. None might be ſpar'd, none ranſom'd, but taſted all either a preſent or a lingring Death; no Cruelty that either Outrage, or the Inſolence of Succeſs put into their Heads, was left unacted. The *Romans* Wives and Virgins hang'd up all naked, had their Breaſts cut off, and ſow'd to their Mouths; that in the grimneſs of Death they might ſeem to eat their own Fleſh; while the *Britains* fell to Feaſting and Carouſing in the Temple of *Andate* their Goddeſs of Victory. *Suetonius* adding to his Legion * other old Officers and Soldiers thereabout, which gather'd to him, were near upon ten thouſand; and purpoſing

Dion. l. 62. *Tac. in Vit. Agr. cap. 14.* *70000 Romans maſſacred.* *Dion. l. 62.* *The 14th Legion.*

A.D.63. posing with those not to defer Battel, had chosen a Place narrow, and not to be overwing'd, on his Rear a Wood; being well inform'd, that his Enemies were all in Front on a Plain unapt for Ambush: The Legionaries stood thick in order, impal'd with light armed; the Horse on either Wing. The *Britains* in Companies and Squadrons were every where shouting and swarming, such a multitude as at other time never; no less reckon'd than two hundred and thirty thousand, so fierce and confident of Victory, that their Wives also came in Waggons to sit and behold the Sport, as they made full account, of killing *Romans*: A Folly doubtless for the serious *Romans* to smile at, as a sure Token of Prospering that Day: A Woman also was their Commander in Chief. For *Boadicea* and her Daughters ride about in a Chariot, telling the tall Champions, as a great Encouragement, that with the *Britains* it was usual for Women to be their Leaders. A deal of other fondness they put into her Mouth, not worth recital; how she was lash'd, how her Daughters were handled, things worthier Silence, Retirement, and a Veil, than for a Woman to repeat, as done to her own Person, or to hear repeated before an Host of Men. The *Greek Historian* sets her in the Field on a high heap of Turves, in a loose-body'd Gown declaiming, a Spear in her Hand, a Hare in her Bosom, which after a long Circumlocution she was to let slip among them for Luck's sake; then praying to *Andate, the British Goddess*, to talk again as fondly as before. And this they do out of a Vanity, hoping to embelish and set out their History with the strangeness of our Manners; not caring in the mean while to brand us with the rankest note of Barbarism, as if in *Britain* Women were Men, and Men Women. I affect not set Speeches in a History, unless known for certain to have been so spoken in effect as they were written; nor then, unless worth Rehearsal: And to invent such, though eloquently, as some Historians have done, is an abuse of Posterity, raising, in them that read, other Conceptions of those Times and Persons than were true. Much less therefore do I purpose here or elsewhere to copy out tedious Orations without *Decorum*, though in their Authors compos'd ready to my Hand. Hitherto what we have heard of *Cassibelan*, *Togadumnus*, *Venusius*, and *Charactacus*, hath been full of Magnanimity, Soberness, and Martial Skill: But the truth is, that in this Battel, and whole Business, the *Britains* never more plainly manifested themselves to be right *Barbarians*; no Rule, no Foresight, no Forecast, Experience or Estimation, either of themselves, or of their Enemies; such Confusion, such Impotence, as seem'd likest not to a War, but to the wild Hurry of a distracted Woman, with as mad a Crew at her Heels. Therefore *Suetonius* contemning their unruly Noises, and fierce Looks, heartens his Men but to stand close a while, and strike manfully this headless Rabble that stood neareſt, the rest would be a Purchase rather than a Toil. And so it fell out; For the Legion, when they saw their time, bursting out like a violent Wedge, quickly broke and dissipated what oppos'd them; all else held only out their Necks to the Slayer, for their own Carts and Waggons were so plac'd by themselves, as left them but little room to escape between. The *Romans* slew all; Men, Women, and the very drawing Horses lay heap'd along the Field, in a gory mixture of Slaughter. About four-

Dion.

score thousand *Britains* are said to have been slain on the Place; of the Enemy scarce four-hundred, and not many more wounded. *Boadicea* poyson'd her self, or, as others say, sicken'd and dy'd. [a] She was of Stature big and tall, of Visage grim and stern, harsh of Voice, her Hair of bright Colour, flowing down to her Hips; she wore a plaited Garment of divers Colours, with a great Golden Chain, button'd over all a thick Robe. *Gildas* calls her the crafty Lioness, and leaves an ill Fame upon her Doings. *Dion* sets down otherwise the Order of this Fight, and that the Field was not won without much difficulty, nor without intention of the *Britains* to give another Battel, had not the Death of *Boadicea* come between. Howbeit *Suetonius*, to preserve Discipline, and to dispatch the Relicks of War, lodg'd with all his Army in the open Field; which was supply'd out of *Germany* with a thousand Horse, and ten thousand Foot; thence dispers'd to Winter, and with Incursions to waste those Countries that stood out. But to the *Britains* Famine was a worse Affliction; having left off during this Uproar, to till the Ground, and made reckoning to serve themselves on the Provisions of their Enemy. Nevertheless those Nations, that were yet untam'd, hearing of some discord risen between *Suetonius* and the new Procurator *Classicianus*, were brought but slowly to terms of Peace; and the rigour us'd by *Suetonius* on them that yielded, taught them the better course to stand on their Defence. For it is certain, that *Suetonius*, though else a worthy Man, over-proud of his Victory, gave too much way to his Anger against the *Britains*. *Classician* therefore sending such word to *Rome*, that these severe Proceedings would beget an endless War; *Polycletus*, [b] no *Roman*, but a Courtier, was sent by *Nero* to examine how Things went. He admonishing *Suetonius* to use more Mildness, aw'd the Army, and to the *Britains* gave matter of Laughter. Who so much even till then were nurs'd up in their Native Liberty, as to wonder that so great a General with his whole Army should be at the rebuke and ordering of a Court Servitor. But *Suetonius* a while after having lost a few Galleys on the Shoar, was bid resign his Command to *Petronius Turpilianus*, who not provoking the *Britains*, nor by them provok'd, was thought to have pretended the love of Peace to what indeed was his love of Ease and Sloth. *Trebellius Maximus* follow'd his Steps, usurping the Name of *gentle Government* to any Remissness or neglect of Discipline; which brought in first Licence, next Disobedience into his Camp; incens'd against him, partly for his Covetousness, partly by the Incitement of *Roscius Cælius* Legate of a Legion; with whom formerly disagreeing, now that Civil War began in the Empire, he fell to open Discord; charging him with Disorder and Seditions, and him *Cælius* with peeling and defrauding the Legions of their Pay; insomuch that *Trebellius* hated and deserted of the Soldiers, was content a while to govern by a base Entreaty, and forc'd at length to fly the Land. Which notwithstanding remain'd in good quiet, govern'd by *Cælius*, and the other Legate of a Legion, both faithful to *Vitellius* then Emperor; who sent hither *Vectius Bolanus*; under whose Lenity, though not tainted with other fault, against the *Britains* nothing was done, nor in their own Discipline reform'd. *Petilius Cerealis* [c] by appointment of *Vespasian* succeeding, had to do with

A.D. 64. [a] Dion. Boadicea kill'd her self at once.

Tacit. Hist. 2. & vit. Agric.

69. *Tacit. Hist. 2. & vit. Agric.*

70.

[a] A full Account of this War may be found in *Tacit. An. lib.* 14. *cap.* 31 to 39. and in his *Vit. Agr. cap.* 16.
[b] *Nero's* Freed Man. [c] One of Consular Dignity.

A.D.74. with the populous *Brigantines* in many Battels, and ſome of thoſe, not unbloody. For as we heard before, it was *Venuſius* who even to theſe times held them tack, both himſelf remaining to the End unvanquiſh'd, and ſome Part of his Country not ſo much as reach'd. It appears alſo by ſeveral Paſſages in the Hiſtories of *Tacitus*, that *no* ſmall Number of *Britiſh Forces* were commanded over Sea the Year before to ſerve in thoſe bloody Wars between *Otho* and *Vitellius*, *Vitellius* and *Veſpaſian* contending for the Empire. To *Cerealis* ſucceeded *Julius Frontinus* in the Government of *Britain*, who by taming the *Silures*, a People warlike and ſtrongly inhabiting, augmented much his Reputation. But *Julius Agricola*, [a] whom *Veſpaſian* in his laſt Year 79. ſent hither, train'd up from his Youth in the *Britiſh* Wars, extended with Victories the *Roman* Limit beyond all his Predeceſſors. His coming was in the midſt of Summer; and the *Ordovices* to welcome the new General, had hewn in Pieces a whole Squadron of Horſe, which lay upon their Bounds, few eſcaping. *Agricola*, who perceiv'd that the Noiſe of this Defeat had alſo in the Province deſirous of Novelty, ſtirr'd up new Expectations, reſolves to be before-hand with the Danger: And drawing together the Choice of his Legions with a competent Number of Auxiliars, not being met by the *Ordovices*, who kept the Hills, himſelf in the Head of his Men hunts them up and down through difficult Places, almoſt to the final extirpating of that whole Nation. With the ſame Current of Succeſs, what *Paulinus* had left unfiniſh'd he conquers in the *Iſle of Mona*: For the Iſlanders altogether fearleſs of his Approach, whom they knew to have no Shipping, when they ſaw themſelves invaded on a ſudden by the Auxiliars, whoſe Country Uſe had taught them to ſwim over with Horſe and Arms, were compell'd to yield. This gain'd *Agricola* much Opinion; who at his very Entrance, a time which others beſtow'd of courſe in hearing Compliments and Gratulations, had made ſuch early Progreſs into laborious and hardeſt Enterpriſes. But by far not ſo famous was *Agricola* in bringing War to a ſpeedy end, as in cutting off the Cauſes from whence War ariſes. For he knowing that the end of War was not to make Way for Injuries in Peace, began Reformation from his own Houſe; permitted not his Attendants and Followers to ſway, or have to do at all in Publick Affairs: Lays on with Equality the Proportions of Corn and Tribute that were impos'd; takes off Exactions and the Fees of encroaching Officers, heavier than the Tribute it ſelf. For the Countries had been compell'd before, to ſit and wait the opening of publick Granaries, and both to ſell and buy their Corn at what rate the *Publicans* thought fit; the Pourveyers alſo commanding when they pleas'd to bring it in, not to the neareſt, but ſtill to the remoteſt Places, either by the compounding of ſuch as would be excus'd, or by cauſing a Dearth, where none was, made a particular Gain. Theſe Grievances and the like, he in the time of Peace removing, brought Peace into ſome Credit; which before, ſince the *Romans* coming, had as 80. ill a Name as War. The Summer following *Titus then Emperor*, he ſo continually with Inrodes diſquieted the Enemy over all the Iſle, and after Terror ſo allur'd them with his gentle Demeanour, that many Cities which till that time would not bend, gave Hoſtages, admitted Garriſons, and came in voluntarily. The Winter he ſpent all in worthy Actions; teaching and promoting like a publick Father, the Inſti- A.D.80.
tututes and Cuſtoms of civil Life. The Inhabitants rude and ſcatter'd, and by that the prone to War, he ſo perſwaded as to build Houſes, Temples, and Seats of Juſtice; and by praiſing the forward, quick'ning the ſlow, aſſiſting all, turn'd the Name of Neceſſity into an Emulation. He caus'd moreover the Noblemens Sons to be bred up in Liberal Arts; and by preferring the Wits of *Britain*, before the Studies of *Gallia*, brought them to affect the Latin Eloquence, who before hated the Language. Then were the *Roman* Faſhions imitated, and the Gown; after a while the Incitements alſo and Materials of Vice and voluptuous Life, proud Buildings, Baths, and the Elegance of Banqueting; [b] which the fooliſher ſort call'd Civility, but was indeed a ſecret Art to prepare them for Bondage. Spring 81.
appearing, he took the Field, and with a proſperous Expedition waſted as far Northward as the Frith of *Taus* all that obey'd not; with ſuch a Terror, as he went, that the *Roman* Army, though much hinder'd by tempeſtuous Weather, had the leiſure to build Forts and Caſtles where they pleas'd, none daring to oppoſe them. Beſides, *Agricola* had this Excellence in him, ſo providently to chuſe his Places where to fortifie, as not another General then alive. No Sconce, or Fortreſs of his raiſing was ever known either to have been forc'd, or yielded up, or quitted. Out of theſe impregnable by Siege, or in that Caſe duely reliev'd, with continual Irruptions he ſo prevail'd, that the Enemy, whoſe manner was in Winter to regain what in Summer he had loſt, was now alike in both Seaſons kept ſhort, and ſtraiten'd. For theſe Exploits then *Dion.* l. 66.
eſteem'd ſo great and honourable, *Titus* in whoſe Reign they were atchiev'd, was the fifteenth time ſaluted *Imperator*; and of him *Agricola* receiv'd Triumphal Honours. The fourth 82.
Summer, *Domitian* then ruling the Empire, he ſpent in ſettling and confirming what the Year before he had travail'd over with a running Conqueſt: And had the Valour of his Soldiers been anſwerable, he had reach'd that Year, as was thought, the utmoſt Bounds of *Britain*. For *Glota*, and *Bodotria*, now *Dunbritton*, and the Frith of *Edinborough*; two oppoſite Arms of the Sea, divided only by a Neck of Land, and all the Creeks and Inlets on this Side, were held by the *Romans*, and the Enemy driven as it were into another Iſland. In his fifth Year he paſs'd 83.
over into the *Orcades*, as we may probably gueſs, and other *Scotch* Iſles; diſcovering and ſubduing Nations till then unknown. He gain'd alſo with his Forces that part of *Britain* which faces *Ireland*, as aiming alſo to conquer that Iſland; where one of the *Iriſh* Kings driven out by Civil Wars, coming to him, he both gladly receiv'd, and retain'd him as againſt a fit time. The Summer 84.
enſuing on, miſtruſt that the Nations beyond *Bodotria* would generally riſe, and forelay the Paſſages by Land, he caus'd his Fleet, making a great Shew, to bear along the Coaſt, and up the Friths and Harbours; joining moſt commonly at Night on the ſame Shoar both Land and Sea Forces, with mutual Shouts and loud Greetings. At ſight whereof the *Britains*, not wont to ſee their Sea ſo ridden, were much daunted. Howbeit, the *Caledonians* with great Preparation, and by Rumour, as of things unknown, much greater, taking Arms, and of their own accord beginning War by the Aſſault of ſundry Caſtles, ſent back ſome of their Fear to the *Romans* themſelves: And there were of the Com-

Tacit. Hiſt. 3. *& vit. Agric. cap* 17.

[a] *Cornelius Tacitus*, who wrote the Life of *Agricola*, marry'd his Daughter. [b] *Tac. Quæ res Pars Servitutis erat.*

A.D 48. manders, who cloaking their Fear under ſhew of ſage Advice, counſell'd the General to retreat back on this Side *Bodotria*. He in the mean while having Intelligence, that the Enemy would fall on in many Bodies, divided alſo his Army into three Parts. Which Advantage the *Britains* quickly ſpying, and on a ſudden uniting what before they had disjoyn'd, aſſail by Night with all their Forces that part of the *Roman* Army, which they knew to be the weakeſt; and breaking in upon the Camp ſurpriz'd between Sleep and Fear, had begun ſome Execution. When *Agricola*, who had learnt what way the Enemies took, and follow'd them with all ſpeed, ſending before him the lighteſt of his Horſe and Foot to charge them behind, the reſt as they came on to affright them with Clamour, ſo ply'd them without reſpite, that by approach of Day the *Roman* Enſigns glittering all about, had encompaſs'd the *Britains*: Who now after a ſharp Fight in the very Ports of the Camp, betook them to their wonted Refuge, the Woods and Fens, purſu'd a while by the *Romans*, that Day elſe in all Appearance had ended the War. The Legions re-incourag'd by this Event, they alſo now boaſting, who but lately trembl'd, cry all to be led on as far as there was *Britiſh* Ground. The *Britains* alſo not acknowledging the Loſs of that Day to *Roman* Valour, but to the Policy of their Captain, abated nothing of their Stoutneſs, but arming their Youth, conveying their Wives and Children to Places of Safety, in frequent Aſſemblies, and by ſolemn Covenants bound themſelves to mutual Aſſiſtance againſt the Common Enemy. About the ſame time a Cohort of *Germans* having ſlain their Centurion with other *Roman* Officers in a Mutiny, and for
Dion. l. 66. fear of Puniſhment fled a Shipboard, launch'd forth in three light Gallies without Pilot: And by Tide or Weather carried round about the Coaſt, uſing Piracy where they landed, while their Ships held out, and as their Skill ſerv'd them, with various Fortune, were the firſt Diſcoverers to the *Romans* that *Britain* was an Iſland.

85. The following Summer, *Agricola* having before ſent his Navy to hover on the Coaſt, and with ſundry and uncertain landings to divert and diſunite the *Britains*, himſelf with a Power beſt appointed for Expedition, wherein alſo were many *Britains*, whom he had long try'd both valiant and faithful, matches onward to the Mountain *Grampius* [a], where the *Britiſh*, above 30000, were now lodg'd, and ſtill increaſing: For neither would their old Men, ſo many as were yet vigorous and luſty, be left at home, long practis'd in War, and every one adorn'd with ſome Badge, or Cogniſance of his Warlike Deeds long ago. Of whom *Galgacus* [b], both by Birth and Merit the prime Leader, to their Courage, though of it ſelf hot and violent, is by his rough Oratory, in Deteſtation of Servitude and the *Roman* Yoke, ſaid to have added much more Eagerneſs of Fight; teſtified by their Shouts and barbarous Applauſes. As much did on the other ſide *Agricola* exhort his Soldiers to Victory and Glory; as much the Soldiers by his firm and well grounded Exhortations were all on fire to the onſet. But firſt he orders them in this Sort. Of 8000 Auxiliar Foot he makes his middle Ward, on the Wings 3000 Horſe, the Legions as a reſerve, ſtood in array before the Camp; either to ſeize the Victory won without their own Hazard, or to keep the Battle if it ſhould need. The *Britiſh* Powers on the Hill Side, as might beſt ſerve for Shew and Terrour, ſtood in A.D.85. their Battalions; the firſt on even Ground, the next riſing behind, as the Hill aſcended. The Field between rung with the Noiſe of Horſemen and Chariots ranging up and down. *Agricola* doubting to be over-wing'd, ſtretches out his Front, though ſomewhat with the thinneſt, inſomuch that many advis'd to bring up the Legions; yet he not altering, alights from his Horſe, and ſtands on Foot before the Enſigns. The Fight began aloof, and the *Britains* had a certain Skill with their broad ſwaſhing Swords and ſhort Bucklers either to ſtrike aſide, or to bear off the Darts of their Enemies; and withal to ſend back Showers of their own. Until *Agricola* diſcerning that thoſe little Targets and unweildy Glaves ill pointed, would ſoon become ridculous againſt the thruſt and cloſe, commanded three *Batavian* Cohorts, and two of the *Tungrians* exercis'd and arm'd for cloſe Fight, to draw up, and come to handy Strokes. The *Batavians*, as they were commanded, running in upon them, now with their long Tucks thruſting at the Face, now their piked Targets bearing them down, had made good riddance of them that ſtood below; and for haſt omitting farther Execution, began apace to advance up Hill, ſeconded now by all the other Cohorts. Mean while the Horſe-men fly, the Charioteers mix themſelves to fight among the Foot; where many of their Horſe alſo fall'n in diſorderly, were now more a Miſchief to their own, than before a Terror to their Enemies. The Battel was a confus'd Heap; the Ground unequal; Men, Horſes, Chariots crowded pelmel; ſometimes in little room, by and by in large, fighting, ruſhing, felling, over-bearing, over-turning. They on the Hill, which were not yet come to Blows, perceiving the Fewneſs of their Enemies came down amain; and had enclos'd the *Romans* unawares behind, but that *Agricola* with a ſtrong Body of Horſe, which he reſerv'd for ſuch a purpoſe, repell'd them back as faſt: And others drawn off the Front, were commanded to wheel about and charge them on the Backs. Then were the *Romans* clearly Maſters, they follow, they wound, they take, and to take more, kill whom they take: The *Britains* in whole Troops with Weapons in their Hands, one while flying the Purſuer, anon without Weapons deſperately running upon the Slayer. But all of them, when once they got the Woods to their Shelter, with freſh Boldneſs made head again, and the forwardeſt on a ſudden they turn'd and flew, the reſt ſo hamper'd, as had not *Agricola*, who was every where at hand, ſent out his readieſt Cohorts, with part of his Horſe to alight and ſcower the Woods, they had receiv'd a foil in the midſt of Victory; but following with a cloſe and orderly Purſuit, the *Britains* fled again, and were totally ſcatter'd; till Night and Wearineſs ended the Chaſe. And of them that Day 10000 fell; of the *Romans* 340, among whom *Aulus Atticus* the Leader of a Cohort; carried with Heat of Youth and the Fierceneſs of his Horſe too far on. The *Romans* jocond of this Victory, and the Spoil they got, ſpent the Night; the vanquiſhed wandring about the Field, both Men and Women, ſome lamenting, ſome calling their loſt Friends, or carrying off their wounded; others forſaking, ſome burning their own Houſes; and it was certain enough that there were who with a ſtern Compaſſion laid violent Hands on their Wives and Children to prevent

[a] The *Grainſbrane* Hill in the County of *Mar* and other Counties in *Scotland*.
[b] Known in the *Scottiſh* Hiſtories by the Name of *Corbred* the 2d.

A.D.85. prevent the more violent Hands of hoſtile Injury. Next Day appearing manifeſt more plainly the greatneſs of their loſs receiv'd; every where Silence, Deſolation, Houſes burning afar off, not a Man ſeen, and fled and doubtful whither: Such word the Scouts bringing in from all Parts, and the Summer now ſpent, not fit Seaſon to diſperſe a War, the *Roman* General leads his Army among the [a] *Horeſtians*; by whom Hoſtages being given, he commands his Admiral with a ſufficient Navy to ſail round the Coaſt of *Britain*: Himſelf with ſlow marches, that his delay in paſſing might ſerve to awe thoſe new-conquer'd Nations, beſtows his Army in their Winter-Quarters. The Fleet alſo having fetch'd a proſperous and ſpeedy compaſs about the Iſle, put in at the Haven *Trutulenſis*, now *Richborrow* near *Sandwich*, from whence it firſt ſet out: And now likelieſt, if not two Years before, as was mention'd, the *Romans* might diſcover and ſubdue the Iſles of *Orkney*; which others with leſs reaſon following *Euſebius* and *Oroſius*, attribute to the Deeds of *Claudius*. Theſe perpetual Exploits abroad won him wide Fame; with *Domitian*, under whom great Virtue was as puniſhable as open Crime, won him Hatred. For he maligning the Renown of theſe his Acts, in ſhew decreed him Honours, in ſecret deviſ'd his Ruine. *Agricola* therefore commanded home for doing too much of what he was ſent to do, left the Province to his Succeſſor quiet and ſecure [b]. Whether he, as is conjectured, were [c] *Saluſtius Lucullus*, or before him ſome other, for *Suetonius* only names him Legate of *Britain* under *Domitian*; but farther of him, or ought elſe done here until the time of *Hadrian*, is no where plainly to be found. Some gather by a Preface in *Tacitus* to the Book of his Hiſtories, that what *Agricola* won here, was ſoon after by *Domitian either through* want of Valour loſt, or through Envy neglected. And *Juvenal* [d] the Poet ſpeaks of *Arviragus* [e] in theſe Days, and not before, King of *Britain*: who ſtood ſo well in his Reſiſtance, as not only to be talk'd of at *Rome*, but to be held matter of a glorious Triumph, if *Domitian* could take him Captive, or overcome him. Then alſo *Claudia Rufina*, the Daughter of a *Britain*, and Wife of *Prudence* a *Roman* Senator, liv'd at *Rome*; famous by the Verſe of *Martial* for Beauty, Wit and Learning. The next we hear of *Britain*, is that when *Trojan* was Emperor, it revolted, and was ſubdu'd. Under *Adrian*, *Julius Severus*, ſaith *Dion*, govern'd the Iſland, a prime Soldier of that Age, but he being call'd away to ſuppreſs the *Jews* then in tumult, left Things at ſuch paſs, as caus'd the Emperor in Perſon to take a Journey hither; where many Things he reform'd, and, as *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius* counſell'd, to gird the Empire within moderate bounds, he rais'd a Wall with great Stakes driven in deep, and faſten'd together, in a manner of a ſtrong Mound, eighty Mile in length, to divide what was *Roman* from *Barbarian*: No ancient Author names the Place, but old Inſcriptions, and Ruine it ſelf yet teſtifies where it went along between *Solway* Frith, by *Carliſle*, and the Mouth of *Tine*. *Hadrian* having quieted the Iſland, took it for Honour to be titl'd on his Coin, the Reſtorer of *Britain*. In his Time alſo *Priſcus Licinius*, as appears by an old Inſcription, was Lieutenant here. *Antoninus Pius* reigning, the *Brigantes* ever leaſt patient of foreign Servitude, breaking in upon *Genounia* (which *Cambden* gueſſes to be *Guinethia* or *North-Wales*) part of the *Roman* Province, were with the loſs of much territory driven back by *Lollius Urbicus*, who drew another Wall of Turves, in likelihood much beyond the former, and as *Cambden* proves, between the Frith of *Dunbritton*, and of *Edenborough*, to hedge out Incurſions from the North. And *Seius Saturninus*, as is collected from the Digeſt, had charge here of the *Roman* Navy. With like Succeſs did *Marcus Aurelius* next Emperor, by his Legate *Calphurnius Agricola*, finiſh here a new War: *Commodius* after him obtaining the Empire. in his time, [f] as among ſo many different accounts may ſeem moſt probable, *Lucius* a ſuppos'd King in ſome part of *Britain*, the firſt of any King in *Europe*, that we read of, receiv'd the Chriſtian Faith, and this Nation the firſt by publick Authority profeſs'd it: A high and ſingular Grace from above, if ſincerity and perſeverance went along, otherwiſe an empty boaſt, and to be fear'd the verifying of that true Sentence, *the firſt ſhall be laſt*. And indeed the Praiſe of this Action is more proper to King *Lucius*, than common to the *Nation*; whoſe firſt profeſſing by publick Authority was no real commendation of their true Faith; which had appear'd more ſincere and praiſe-worthy, whether in this or other Nation, firſt profeſs'd without publick Authority, or againſt it, might elſe have been but outward Conformity. *Lucius* in our *Monmouth* Story is made the ſecond by deſcent from *Marius*. *Marius*, the Son of *Arviragus*, is there ſaid to have overthrown the *Picts*, then firſt coming out of *Scythia*, ſlain *Roderic* their King; and in ſign of Victory to have ſet up a Monument of Stone in the Country, ſince call'd *Weſtmaria*; but theſe Things have no Foundation. *Coilus*, the Son of *Marius*, all his Reign, which was juſt and peaceable, holding great amity with the *Romans*, left it hereditary to *Lucius*. He (if *Beda* err not, living near five hundred Years after, yet our antienteſt Author of this report) ſent to *Eleutherius*, the Biſhop of *Rome*, an improbable Letter, as ſome of the Contents diſcover, deſiring that by his appointment he and his People might receive Chriſtianity. From whom

Cambden. Juvenal, Sat. 2.

Eutrop. l. 7.

Dion. l. 66.

86.

87.

A.D. 122.

Cambden.

Pauſan. arcbad.

Capitolin. vit. Anton. 144.

Graham's Dike.

Capitolin. Marc Ant. Philoſ. 162.

Digeſt. l. 36.

Beda.

Spartianus in vit. Hadrian.

122. *Spartianus ibid. Pict's Wall.*

181.

two

[a] Theſe People have been thought about *Elkdale*, but the Name does better anſwer the *Mountaineers*, or *Highlanders*; and *Tacitus*'s Relation of the matters of Fact, agrees beſt to thoſe People.

[b] The Tyrant *Domitian* was ſo jealous of *Agricola*'s Glory, that he order'd him to make his Entry into *Rome* at his Return by Night, that he might not receive thoſe Honours the Citizens were ready to pay him.

[c] *Saluſtius Lucullus* was kill'd by *Domitian*, for calling his Spear *Luculliana*.

[d] *Regem aliquem capies aut de Temone Britanno*
Excidet Arviragus ———

———See the Mighty Ocean, ſee
He cries of ſome illuſtrious Victory:
Some Captive King Thee his new Lord ſhall own,
Or from his *Britiſh* Chariot headlong thrown,
The proud *Arviragus* come humbling down.

The Poet ſuppoſes this Speech made by *Frabricius Veien* to flatter the Emperor *Domit.*

[e] *Arviragus* dy'd, ſays *Geoffrey*, about the end of *Domitian*'s Reign, and was ſucceeded by his Son *Marius* or *Meurig*, as the *Britiſh* Hiſtorians call him. He is mention'd alſo by *William* of *Malmsbury* long before *Geoffrey* wrote.

[f] All the Circumſtances of that Story are fully diſcuſſed by the learned Biſhop of *Worceſter*, in his *Origines Britannicæ*, p. 67. *&c.* See alſo Biſhop *Uſher*'s *Primordia*, p. 19, 23, *&c.*

A. D. 198. two Religious Doctors, nam'd in our Chronicles *Faganus* and *Deruvianus*, forthwith ſent, are ſaid to have converted and baptized well nigh the whole Nation: Thence *Lucius* to have had the Sirname of *Lavermaur*, that is to ſay, *Great Light*. Nor yet then firſt was the Chriſtian Faith here known, but even from the latter Days of *Tiberius*, as *Gildas* confidently affirms, taught and propagated, and that as ſome ſay by *Simon Zelotes*, as others by [a] *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, *Barnabas*, *Paul*, *Peter*, and their prime Diſciples. But of theſe Matters, variouſly written and believ'd, Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtorians can beſt determine: As the beſt of them do, with little credit given to the Particulars of ſuch uncertain Relations. [b] As for *Lucius*, they write, that after a long Reign he was buried at *Gloceſter*; but dying without Iſſue, left the Kingdom in great Commotion. By truer Teſtimony we find, that the greateſt War, which in thoſe Days buſy'd *Commodus*, was in this Iſland. For the Nations Northward, notwithſtanding the Wall rais'd to keep them out, breaking in upon the *Roman* Province, waſted wide; and both the Army, and the Leader that came againſt them, wholly routed and deſtroy'd; which put the Emperor in ſuch a fear, as to diſpatch hither one of his beſt Commanders, *Ulpius Marcellus*. He, a Man endu'd with all nobleneſs of Mind, frugal, temperate, mild and magnanimous, in War bold and watchful, invincible againſt Lucre, and the aſſault of Bribes, what with his Valour, and theſe his other Virtues, quickly ended this War that look'd ſo dangerous, and had himſelf like to have been ended by the Peace which he brought home, for preſuming to be ſo worthy and ſo good under the envy of ſo worthleſs and ſo bad an Emperor. After whoſe departure the *Roman* Legions fell to Sedition among themſelves; 1500 of them went to *Rome* in name of the reſt, and were ſo terrible to *Commodus* himſelf, as that to pleaſe them he put to Death *Perennius* the Captain of his Guard. Notwithſtanding which compliance they endeavour'd here to ſet up another Emperor againſt him; and *Helvius Pertinax* [c] who ſucceeded Governor, found it a Work ſo difficult to appeaſe them, that once in a Mutiny he was left for dead among many ſlain; and was fain at length to ſeek a diſmiſſion from his Charge. After him *Clodius Albinus* took the Government; but he, for having to the Soldiers made an Oration againſt Monarchy, by the appointment of *Commodus* was bid reſign to *Junius Severus*. But *Albinus* in thoſe troubleſome Times enſuing, under a ſhort Reign of *Pertinax* and *Didius Julianus*, found means to keep in his Hands the Government of *Britain*; although *Septimius Severus*, who next held the Empire, ſent hither *Heraclitus* to diſplace him; but in vain, for *Albinus*, with all the *Britiſh* Powers, and thoſe of *Gallia*, met *Severus* about *Lyons* in *France*, and fought a bloody Battel with him for the Empire, though at laſt vanquiſh'd and ſlain [d]. The Government of *Britain*, *Severus* divided between two Deputies; till then one Legate was thought ſufficient; the North he committed to *Virius Lupus*. Where the *Meatæ* riſing in Arms, and the *Caledonians*, though they had promis'd the contrary to *Lupus*, preparing to defend them, ſo hard beſet, he was compell'd to buy his Peace, and a few of Priſoners with great Sums of Money. But hearing that *Severus* had now brought to an end his other Wars, he writes him plainly the ſtate of Things here, that the *Britains* of the North made War upon him, broke into the Province, and harraſs'd all the Countries nigh them, that there needed ſuddenly either more Aid, or himſelf in Perſon. *Severus*, though now much weaken'd with Age and the Gout, yet deſirous to leave ſome Memorial of his Warlike Archievements here, as he had done in other Places, and beſides to withdraw by this means his two Sons [e] from the Pleaſures of *Rome*, and his Soldiers from Idleneſs, with a mighty Power, far ſooner than could be expected, arrives in *Britain*. The Northern People much daunted with the Report of ſo great Forces brought over with him, and yet more preparing, ſend Ambaſſadors to treat of Peace, and to excuſe their former doings. The Emperor now loth to return home without ſome memorable Thing, whereby he might aſſume to his other Titles the addition of *Britannicus*, delays his Anſwer, and quickens his Preparations; till in the end, when all Things were in readineſs to follow them, they are diſmiſs'd without effect. His principal care was to have many Bridges laid over Bogs and rotten Moars, that his Soldiers might have to fight on ſure footing. For it ſeems, through lack of Tillage, the Northern parts were then, as *Ireland* is at this Day; and the Inhabitants in like manner wonted to retire, and defend themſelves in ſuch watry Places half naked. He alſo being paſt *Adrian's Wall*, cut down *Woods*, *made way through Hills*, *faſten'd* and fill'd up unſound and plaſhy Fens. Notwithſtanding all this Induſtry us'd, the Enemy kept himſelf ſo cunningly within his beſt Advantages, and ſeldom appearing, ſo opportunely found his times to make irruption upon the *Romans*, when they were moſt in ſtraights and Difficulties, ſometimes training them on with a few Cattel turn'd out, and drawn within ambuſh, cruelly handling them, that many a time enclos'd in the midſt of Sloughs and Quagmires, they choſe rather themſelves to kill ſuch as were faint and could not ſhift away, than leave them there a Prey to the *Caledonians*. Thus loſt *Severus*, and by Sickneſs in thoſe noiſome Places, no leſs than 50000 Men: And yet deſiſted not, though for weakneſs carry'd in a Litter, till he had march'd through with his Army to the utmoſt Northern Verge of the Iſle; and the *Britains* offering Peace were compell'd to loſe much of their Country, not before ſubject to the *Romans*. *Severus* on the Frontiers of what he had firmly conquer'd builds a Wall croſs the Iſland from Sea to Sea; which one Author judges the moſt magnificent of all his other Deeds; and that he thence receiv'd the Stile of *Britannicus*; in length [f] 132 Miles.

A. D. 198.

Nennius.

Digeſt l. 28 tit. 6

Dion.

Herod. l. 3.

Geoff. Mon.

Dion. l. 72.

183.

Lamprid. in Comm.

186.

Capitolin. in Pert.

Capitolin. in Alb.

193.

Dion.

Did. Jul.

Spartian. in Sever.

Herod. l. 3.

Herod. l. 3.

208.

209.

Dion.

210.

Spartianus in Sever.

[a] Biſhop *Stillingfleet* has made it very probable, that a Church was planted here in the Apoſtles times, by St *Paul* himſelf. *Vid.* p. 35. *Orig. Brit.*

[b] Archbiſhop *Uſher* in his *Acct. Brit. Antiq.* and Biſhop *Stillingfleet* in his *Orig. Brit.* allow the Tradition of King *Lucius*: the Archbiſhop ſays, that he had ſeen two Coins, one of Gold, and the other of Silver, with the Image of a King on them, and the Letters LUC, with a Croſs: Which is plain proof, that there was ſuch a King, and that he was a Chriſtian; but over what part of *Britain* he reign'd, is uncertain.

[c] *Pertinax* was afterwards Emperor.

[d] His Body was ſent to *Rome* by *Severus*'s Order, to be ſet over the place of publick Execution; and afterwards was ſuffer'd to lie before the *Pretorium* till it ſtunk, and was devour'd by Dogs.

[e] *Baſſianus* and *Geta*.

[f] So *Paulus Oroſius*; but *Spartianus* more truly, 80 or 82 Miles; as is clearly prov'd in the new Edition of *Cambden*, p. 845. and in Archbiſhop *Uſher*'s *Antiq. Eccl. Brit. cap.* 4.

A. D. 210. Miles. *Oroſius* adds it fortify'd with a deep Trench, and between certain Spaces many Towers or Battlements. The Place whereof ſome will have to be in *Scotland* [r], the ſame which *Lollius Urbicus* had wall'd before. Others affirm it only *Hadrian*'s Work re-edified; both plead Authorities and the ancient Tract yet viſible: But this I leave among the ſtudious of theſe Antiquities to be diſcuſs'd more at large. While Peace held, the Empreſs *Julia* meeting on a time certain *Britiſh* Ladies, and diſcourſing with the Wife of *Argentocoxus* a *Caledonian*, call out a Scoff againſt the Looſneſs of our Iſland Women; whoſe manner then was to uſe promiſcuouſly the Company of divers Men. Whom ſtraight the *Britiſh* Woman boldly thus anſwer'd: *Much better do we* Britains *fulfil the Work of Nature, than you* Romans; *we with the beſt Men accuſtom openly; you with the baſeſt commit private Adulteries.* Whether ſhe thought this Anſwer might ſerve to juſtifie the Practice of her Country, as when Vices are compar'd, the greater ſeems to juſtifie the leſs, or whether the Law and Cuſtom wherein ſhe was bred, had wip'd out of her Conſcience the better Dictate of Nature, and not convinc'd her of the Shame; certain it is, that whereas other Nations us'd a Liberty not unnatural for one Man to have many Wives, the *Britains* altogether as licentious, but more abſurd and prepoſterous in their Licence, had one or many Wives in common among ten or twelve Husbands; and thoſe for the moſt part inceſtuouſly. But no ſooner was *Severus* return'd into the Province, than the *Britains* take Arms again. Againſt whom *Severus* worn out with Labours and Infirmity, ſends *Antoninus* his eldeſt Son; expreſly commanding him to ſpare neither Sex nor Age. But *Antoninus* who had his wicked Thoughts taken up with the contriving of his Father's Death, a *ſafer Enemy* than a Son, did the *Britains* not much Detriment. Whereat *Severus* more overcome with Grief than any other Malady, ended his Life at *York*. After whoſe deceaſe *Antoninus Caracalla* his impious Son, concluding Peace with the *Britains*, took Hoſtages and departed to *Rome*. The Conductor of all this Northern War, *Scottiſh* Writers Name *Donaldus*, he of *Monmouth*, *Fulgenius*; in the reſt of his Relation nothing worth. From hence the *Roman* Empire declining apace, good Hiſtorians growing ſcarce, or loſt, have left us little elſe but Fragments for many Years enſuing. Under *Gordian* the Emperor we find by the Inſcription of an Altar-ſtone, that *Nonius Philippus* govern'd here. Under *Galienus* we read there was a ſtrong and general Revolt from the *Roman* Legate. Of the thirty Tyrants which not long after took upon them the Stile of Emperor, by many Coins found among us, *Lollianus*, *Victorinus*, *Poſthumus*, the *Tetrici* and *Marius* are conjectured to have riſen or born great Sway in this Iſland. Whence *Porphyrius*, a Philoſopher, then living, ſaid that *Britain* was a Soil fruitful of Tyrants; and is noted to be the firſt Author that makes mention of the *Scottiſh* Nation. While *Probus* was Emperor, *Bonoſus* the Son of a Rhetorician, bred up a *Spaniard*, though by deſcent a *Britain*, and a matchleſs Drinker, nor much to be blam'd, if, as they write, he were ſtill wiſeſt in his Cups, having attained in Warfare to high Honours, and laſtly in his Charge over the *German* Shipping, willingly, as was thought, miſcarried, truſting on his Power with the Weſtern Armies, and join'd with *Proculus*, bore himſelf a while for Emperor; but after a long and bloody Fight at *Colen* vanquiſh'd by *Probus*, he hang'd himſelf, and gave occaſion of a ready Jeſt made on him for his much drinking; *Here hangs a Tankard not a Man.* After this, *Probus* with much Wiſdom prevented a new Riſing here in *Britain*, by the ſevere Loyalty of *Victorinus* a *Moor*, at whoſe Entreaty he had plac'd here that Governor which rebelled. For the Emperor upbraiding him with the Diſloyalty of whom he had commended, *Victorinus* undertaking to ſet all right again, haſtes hither, and finding indeed the Governor to intend Sedition, by ſome Contrivance not mention'd in the Story, ſlew him, whoſe Name ſome imagine to be *Cornelius Lelianus*. They write alſo, that *Probus* gave leave to the *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Britains*, to plant Vines, and to make Wine; and having ſubdu'd the *Vandals* and *Burgundians* in a great Battel, ſent over many of them hither to inhabit, where they did good Service to the *Romans* when any Inſurrection happen'd in the Iſle. After whom *Carus* Emperor going againſt the *Perſians*, left *Carinus*, one of his Sons, to govern among other weſtern Provinces this Iſland with Imperial Authority; but him *Dioclefian*, ſaluted Emperor by the Eaſtern Armies, overcame and ſlew. About which Time *Carauſius* a Man of low Parentage, born in *Menapia*, about the Parts of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, who through all Military Degrees was made at length Admiral of the *Belgic* and *Armoric* Seas, then much infeſted by the *Franks* and *Saxons*, what he took from the Pirates, neither reſtoring to the Owners, nor accounting to the Publick, but enriching himſelf, and yet not ſcowring the Seas, but conniving rather at thoſe Sea-Robbers, was grown at length too great a Delinquent to be leſs than an Emperor: For Fear and Guiltineſs in thoſe Days made Emperors ofter than Merit: And underſtanding that *Maximianus Herculius*, *Dioclefian*'s adopted Son, was come againſt him into *Gallia*, paſs'd over with the Navy which he had made his own, into *Britain*, and poſſeſs'd the Iſland. Where he built a new Fleet after the *Roman* Faſhion, got into his Power the Legion that was left here in Garriſon, other Outlandiſh Cohorts detain'd, liſted the very Merchants and Factors of *Gallia*, and with the Allurement of Spoil invited great Numbers of other barbarous Nations to his Part, and train'd them to Sea-ſervice, wherein the *Romans* at that time were grown ſo out of Skill, that *Carauſius* with his Navy did at Sea what he liſted, robbing on every Coaſt; whereby *Maximian*, able to come no nearer than the Shoar of *Boloigne*, was forc'd to conclude a Peace with *Carauſius*, and yield him *Britain*; as one fitteſt to guard the Province there againſt Inroads from the North. But not long after having aſſum'd *Conſtantius Chlorus* to the Dignity of *Cæſar*, ſent him againſt *Carauſius*; who in the mean while had made himſelf ſtrong both within the Land and without. *Galfred* of *Monmouth*, writes that he made the *Picts* his Confederates; to whom lately come out of *Scythia* he gave *Albany* to dwell in: And it is obſerv'd, that before his time the *Picts* are not known to have been any where mention'd, and then firſt by *Eumenius* a Rhetorician. He repair'd and fortified the Wall of *Severus* with ſeven Caſtles, and a round Houſe of ſmooth Stone on the Bank of *Carron*, which River, ſaith *Ninnius*, was of his Name ſo call'd

Eutropii Pean. Oroſ. l. 7. Caſſidor. Chro Buchanan.

Caſſar.

Spartianus in Severo.

Cambd. Cumber.

Eumen. Paneg. Conſt.

Cambd.

Gildas.

Hieronym.

Voſſ. in Bonoſ.

A. D. 282. *Zoſim. l. 1*

Cambd.

Zozimus.

283. *Vopiſc. in Carin.*

284. *Aurel Vict. de Cæſar.*

285. *Eutro. Oroſ.*

286. *Eumen Paneg. 2.*

Victor. Eutrop

291. *Buchanan.*

Paneg. 2.

[r] *Buchanan* of that Opinion, in which he is not only oppos'd by our *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, but by *Fordun* and *Major* his own Countrymen.

A. D. 291. call'd; he built also a Triumphal Arch in Remembrance of some Victory there obtain'd. In *France* he held *Gessoriacum*, or *Boloigne*; and all the *Franks* which had by his Permission seated themselves in *Belgia*, were at his Devotion. But *Paneg. Sigonius.* *Constantius* hasting into *Gallia*, besieges *Boloigne*, and with Stones and Timber obstructing the Port, keeps out all Relief that could be sent in by *Carausius*. Who, e'er *Constantius* with the great Fleet which he had prepar'd, could arrive hither [a], was slain treacherously by *Alectus*, one of his Friends, who long'd to step into his Place; 292. when he seven Years, and worthily, as some say, as others, tyrannically, had rul'd the Island. *Cambd. ex Nin. Eume. Pan. 3.* So much the more did *Constantius* prosecute that Opportunity, before *Alectus* could well strengthen his Affairs; and though in ill Weather, putting to Sea with all Urgency from several Havens to spread the Terror of his landing, and the Doubt where to expect him, in a Mist passing the *British* Fleet unseen, that lay scouting near the Isle of *Wight*, no sooner got ashoar, but fires his own Ships, to leave no hope of Refuge but in Victory. *Alectus* also, though now much dismaid, transfers his Fortune to a Battle on the Shoar; but encountred by *Asclepiodotus* Captain of the *Prætorian* Bands, and desperately rushing on unmindful both of ordering his Men, or bringing them all to fight, save the Accessories of his Treason, and his Outlandish Hirelings, is overthrown, and slain with little or no Loss to the *Romans*, but great Execution on the *Franks*. His Body was found almost naked in the Field, for his Purple Robe he had thrown aside, lest it should descry him, unwilling to be found. The rest taking flight to *London*, and purposing with the Pillage of that City to escape by Sea, are met by another of the *Roman* Army, whom the Mist at Sea disjoining, had by chance brought thither, and with a new Slaughter chas'd through all the Streets. The *Britains*, their Wives also and Children, with great Joy go out to meet *Constantius*, as one whom they acknowledge their Deliverer from Bondage and Insolence. All this seems by *Eumenius*, who then liv'd, and was of *Constantius*'s Household, to have been done in the Course of one continu'd Action; so also thinks *Sigonius* a learned Writer: Though all other allow three Years to the Tyranny of *Eumen.* *Alectus* [b]. In these Days were great Store of Workmen, and excellent Builders in this Island, whom after the Alteration of things here, the *Æduans* in *Burgundy* entertain'd to build their Temples and publick Edifices. *Diocletian* having hitherto successfully us'd his Valour against the Enemies of his Empire, uses now his Rage in a bloody Persecution against his obedient and *Gildas.* harmless Christian Subjects: From the feeling whereof neither was this Island, though most remote, far enough remov'd. Among them here who suffer'd gloriously [c], *Aron*, and *Julius* of *Caer-leon* upon *Usk*, but chiefly *Alban* of *Verulam*, were most renown'd: The Story of whose Martyrdom soil'd, and worse martyr'd with the fabling Zeal of some idle Fancies, more fond of Miracles, than apprehensive of Truth, deserves not longer Digression. *Constantius* after *Diocletian*, dividing the Empire with *Galerius*, had *Britain* among his other Provinces; where either preparing or returning with Victory from an Expedition against the *Caledonians*, he dy'd at *York*. His Son *Constantine*, who happily came Post from *Rome* to *Boloigne* just about the time, saith *Eumenius*, that his Father was setting sail his last time hither, and not long before his Death, was by him on his Death-Bed nam'd, and after his Funeral, by the whole Army saluted Emperor [d]. There goes a Fame, and that seconded by [e] most of our own Historians, though not those the ancientest, that *Constantine* was born in this Island, his Mother *Helena* the Daughter of [f] *Coilus* a *British* Prince, not sure the Father of King *Lucius*, whose Sister she must then be, for that would detect her too old by an Hundred Years to be the Mother of *Constantine*. But to salve this Incoherence, another *Coilus* is feign'd to be then Earl of *Colchester*. To this therefore the *Roman* Authors give no Testimony, except a Passage or two in the *Panegyrics*, about the Sense whereof much is argu'd: Others nearest to those times clear the Doubt, and write him certainly born of *Helena*, a mean Woman at *Naissus* in *Dardania*. Howbeit, e'er his Departure hence he seems to have had some Bickerings in the North, which by reason of more urgent Affairs compos'd, he passes into *Gallia*; and after four Years returns either to settle or to alter the State of things here; until a new War against *Maxentius* call'd him back, leaving *Pacatianus* his Vice-gerent [g]. He deceasing, *Constantine* his eldest Son enjoy'd for his Part of the Empire, with all the Provinces that lay on this side the *Alps*, this Island also. But falling to Civil War with *Constans* his Brother, was by him slain; who with his third Brother [h] *Constantius* coming into *Britain*, seiz'd it as Victor. Against him rose *Magnentius*, one of his chief Commanders, by some affirm'd the Son of a *Britain*, he having gain'd on his side great Forces, contested with *Constantius* in many Battels for the sole Empire; but vanquish'd, in the end slew himself. Somewhat before this time *Gratianus Funarius*, the Father of *Valentinian*, afterwards Emperor, had chief Command of those Armies which the *Romans* kept here. And the *Arrian* Doctrine which then divided Christendom, wrought also in this Island no small Disturbance: A Land, saith *Gildas*, greedy of every thing new, stedfast in nothing. At last *Constantius* appointed a *Synod* of more than 400 Bishops to assemble at *Ariminum* on the Emperor's charges, which the rest all refusing, three only of the *British* [i], Poverty constraining

A. D. 303. *Author ignot. post Marcellin. Valesii.* 306. *Eutrop. Eumen. idem Auth ignot.* *Idem qui Auth Ignot Euseb. Const.* 307. *Sigon.* 311. *Cambd. Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib 1. cap. 25. Ammian. L. 20. & in eum Valesius.* 340. *Libanius Basilico.* 343. *Cambd. ex Firmico.* 350. *Cambden.* 353. *Ammian.*

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[a] *Cambden* in his *Brit. Tit. Buckinghamshire*, says *Alectus* kill'd him in Battel, and think *Caversfield* to be the Place where they fought. *Caversfield* stands on the *Ouse*, not far from *Buckingham*.

[b] See an Account of *Alectus* and *Carausius*, and of the Places nam'd from them, *Alcester* and *Caversfield* in *Oxfordshire* and *Bucks*: In a History of *Alcester*, printed from the M S. by Dr. *Kennet* in his *Paroch Antiquities*.

[c] A Thousand martyr'd at *Litchfield*, thence call'd *Lichfield*, which *Rouse of Warwick* renders a Field of Carcasses, if *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*'s Account is not forg'd.

[d] *Eumenius*, in his Oration to *Constantine*, calls *Britain* the most blest and fortunate of all Lands, *quia Constantinum Cæsarem primum vidisti*. Which is not to be understood that he was born, but that he was first saluted Emperor here, tho' Dr. *Stillingfleet* in his *Orig Brit.* makes it probable, that *Britain* was the Place of his Birth.

[e] See *Lipsius*'s Epistle to Mr. *Cambden*, upon this Point *Cambd Ep.* pag. 64. and *Usher*'s *Primordia*, Folio, p. 92.

[f] *Cambden* in his *Britan.* says, *Constantius Chlorus* marry'd the Daughter of *Coilus* or *Cœlus*, a *British* Prince, and by her had *Constantine* the Great in *Britain*.

[g] *Constantine*, when he was last in *Britain*, divided the Province into four Parts. *Britannica Prima & Secunda*, the old Division, to which he added *Flavia* and *Maxima Cæsariensis*.

[h] *Constantius* was in *Asia* when *Constans* came into *Britain*. Dr. *Howell* Hist.

[i] The *British* Church encreas'd mightily under *Constantine* the Great, and in the Year 314 sent Deputies to the Council of *Arles*, as also to the Oecumenical Synod of *Nice*, *Anno* 325. and to the Council of *Sardica*, in the Year 347.

A. D. 353. constraining them, accepted; though the other Bishops among them offer'd to have born their Charges: Esteeming it more honourable to live on the Publick, than to be obnoxious to any private Purse. *Doubtless an ingenious Mind, and far above the Presbyters of our Age; who like well to sit in Assembly on the publick Stipend, but like not the Poverty that caus'd these to do so.* After this *Martinus* was Deputy of the Province; who being offended with the Cruelty which *Paulus*, an Inquisitor sent from *Constantius*, exercis'd in his enquiry after those Military Officers, who had conspir'd with *Magnentius*, was himself laid hold on as an Accessory; at which enrag'd, he runs at [a] *Paulus* with his drawn Sword; but failing to kill him, turns it on himself. Next to whom, as may be guess'd, *Alipius* was made Deputy. In the mean time *Julian*, whom *Constantius* had made *Cæsar*, having recover'd much Territory about *Rhine*, where the *German* inrodes before had long insulted, to relieve those Countries almost ruin'd, causes 800 Pinaces to be built; and with them by frequent Voyages, plenty of Corn to be fetch'd in from *Britain*; which even then was the usual bounty of this Soil to those Parts, as oft as *French* and *Saxon* Pirates hinder'd not the Transportation. While *Constantius* yet reign'd, the *Scots* and *Picts* breaking in upon the Northern Confines, *Julian* being at *Paris* sends over *Lupicinus*, a well try'd Soldier, but a proud and covetous Man; who with a Power of light-arm'd *Herulians*, *Batavians*, and *Mœsians*, in the midst of Winter sailing from *Bologne*, arrives at [b] *Rutupiæ*, seated on the opposite Shoar, and comes to *London*, to consult there about the War; but soon after was recall'd by *Julian*, then chosen Emperor. Under whom we read not of ought happening here; only that *Palladius*, one of his great *Officers*, was hither banish'd. This Year, *Valentinian* being Emperor, the *Attacots*, *Picts*, and *Scots* roaving up and down; and last the *Saxons*, with perpetual Landings and Invasions, harry'd the South Coast of *Britain*; slew *Nectaridius*, who govern'd the Sea Borders, and *Bulchobaudes* with his Forces by an Ambush. With which News *Valentinian*, not a little perplex'd, sends first *Severus*, High Steward of his House, and soon recalls him; then *Jovinus*, who intimating the necessity of greater Supplies, he sends at length *Theodosius*, a Man of try'd Valour and Experience, Father to the first Emperor of that Name. He with selected Numbers out of the Legions and Cohorts, crosses the Sea from *Bologne* to *Rutupiæ*: from whence with the *Batavians*, *Herulians*, [d] and other Legions that arriv'd soon after, he marches to *London*; and dividing his Forces into several Bodies, sets upon the dispers'd and plundering Enemy, laden with spoil; from whom recovering the Booty, which they led away, and were forc'd to leave there with their Lives, he restores all to the right Owners, save a small Portion to his wearied Soldiers, and enters *London* victoriously; which, before in many Straights and Difficulties, was now reviv'd as with a great Deliverance. The numerous Enemy, with whom he had to deal, was of different Nations, and the War scatter'd: Which *Theodosius*, getting daily some Intelligence from Fugitives and Prisoners, resolves to carry on by sudden Parties and Surprisals, rather than set Battels; nor omits he to proclaim Indemnity to such as would lay down Arms, and accept of Peace, which brought in many. Yet all this not ending the Work, he requires that *Civilis*, a Man of much uprightness, might be sent him, to be as Deputy of the Iland, and *Dulcitius* a famous Captain. Thus was *Theodosius* busy'd, besetting with Ambushes the roving Enemy, repressing his Roads, restoring Cities and Castles to their former Safety and Defence, laying every where the firm Foundation of a long Peace, when *Valentius* [e] a *Pannonian* for some great Offence banish'd into *Britain*, conspiring with certain Exiles and Soldiers against *Theodosius*, whose Worth he dreaded as the only Obstacle to his greater Design of gaining the Isle into his Power, is discover'd, and with his chief Accomplices deliver'd over to condign Punishment: Against the rest, *Theodosius* with a wise Lenity suffer'd not Inquisition to proceed too rigorously, lest the fear thereof appertaining to so many, occasion might arise of new trouble in a Time so unsettled. This done, he applies himself to reform Things out of order, raises on the Confines many strong Holds; and in them appoints due and diligent Watches; and so reduc'd all Things out of danger, that the Province, which but lately was under command of the Enemy, became now wholly *Roman*, new nam'd *Valentia* of *Valentinian*, and the City of *London*, *Augusta*. Thus *Theodosius* nobly acquitting himself in all Affairs, with general Applause of the whole Province, accompanied to the Sea side, returns to *Valentinian*. Who about five Years after, sent hither *Fraomarius*, a King of the *Almans*, with Authority of a Tribune over his own Country Forces, which then both for Number and good Service were in high Esteem. Against *Gratian*, who succeeded in the Western Empire, *Maximus* a *Spaniard*, and one who had serv'd in the *British* Wars with younger *Theodosius* (for he also, either with his Father, or not long after him, seems to have done something in this Island) and now General of the *Roman* Armies here, either discontented that *Theodosius* was preferr'd before him to the Empire, or constrain'd by the Soldiers who hated *Gratian*, assumes the Imperial Purple, and having attain'd Victory against the *Scots* and *Picts*, with the Flower and Strength of *Britain*, passes into *France*; there slays *Gracian*, and without much Difficulty, the space of five Years, obtains his part of the Empire, overthrown at length and slain by *Theodosius*. With whom perishing most of his Followers, or not returning out of *Armorica*, [f] which *Maximus* had given them to possess, the South of *Britain* by this means exhausted of her Youth, and what there was of *Roman* Soldiers on the Confines drawn off, became a Prey to savage Invasions;

This is spoken by the Author with reference to the Assembly of Divines, who sat with daily Wages.

354. *Libon. Orat. 10. Zosim. l. 3. Marcel. l. 18.*

Amm. l. 22. 360. *Amm. l. 20.*

364. *Amm. l. 26, 27.* 367.

A. D. 367. 368 *Amm. l. 26. Zosim. l. 4.*

373. *Amm. l. 29.*

Sozim. l. 4. Sigon.

Prosper. Aquitan. Chron. 383.

Gildas. 388. *Beda. Ninn.*

[a] This *Paulus* was burnt alive afterwards by order of *Julian* the Apostate. Mr. *Milton* places *Paul* the Notary's coming into *England* five Years after the time.

[b] *Richborrow* near *Sandwich* in *Kent*. See Mr. *Somner*'s Discourse on the *Roman* Ports in *Kent*, p. 3, 4.

[c] Dr. *Gale* supposes the *Attacots* to be a barbarous sort of *Britains*, inhabiting the North of *Scotland*.

[d] The *Jovii* and *Victores*, the *Batavi* and the *Heruli*, which serv'd in this Expedition, were the four best Legions in the *Roman* Armies.

[e] Should be *Valentinus*.

[f] *Geoffrey* relates, that *Maximus* bestow'd *Armorica*, the Province of *Bretagne* in *France*, on *Conan* a *Britain*, Lord of *Denbyshire*, whom he made Duke of it; as also that *Dionotus*, Duke of *Cornwall*, sent his own Daughter *Ursula* 11000 Noble Virgins, and 60000 others to Duke *Conan*, for Wives for himself and his *Britains*; of whom part perish'd in a Storm, the rest by the Kings of the *Hunns* and the *Picts*, who either kill'd them, or made them Slaves. The Virgins are esteem'd Martyrs in the *Roman Legends*; and Card. *Baronius*, from no better Authority than *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, reports the same Story, as if it had been Matter of Fact, though it carries so many Improbabilities with it.

A. D. 398. of *Scots* from the *Irish* Seas, of *Saxons* from the *German*, of *Picts* from the North. Against them, first *Chrysanthus* the Son of *Marcian* a *Novatian* Bishop, made Deputy of *Britain* by *Theodosius*, demean'd himself worthily: Then *Stilicho*, a Man of great Power, whom *Theodosius* dying left Protector of his Son *Honorius*, either came in Person, or sending over sufficient Aid, repress'd them, and as it seems new fortify'd the Wall[a] against them. But that Legion being call'd away, when the *Roman* Armies from all Parts hasted to relieve *Honorius*, then besieg'd in *Asta* of *Piemont*, by *Alarice* the *Goth*, *Britain* was left expos'd as before to those barbarous Robbers. Lest any wonder how the *Scots* came to infest *Britain* from the *Irish* Sea, it must be understood, that the *Scots* not many Years before had been driven all out of *Britain* by *Maximus*; and their King *Eugenius* slain in fight, as their own Annals report: Whereby, it seems, wandring up and down, without certain Seat, they liv'd by scumming those Seas and Shoars as Pirates. But more Authentick Writers confirm us, that the *Scots*, whoever they be originally, came first into *Ireland*, and dwelt there, and nam'd it *Scotia*, long before the North of *Britain* took that Name. About this time, though troublesome, *Pelagius* a *Britain* found the leisure to bring new and dangerous Opinions into the Church, and is largely writ against by St. *Austin*. But the *Roman* Powers which were call'd into *Italy*, when once the fear of *Alaric* was over, made return into several Provinces: And perhaps [a] *Victorinus* of *Tolosa*, whom *Rutilius* the Poet much commends, might be then Prefect of the Island; if it were not he whom *Stilicho* sent hither [b]. *Buchanan* writes, that endeavouring to reduce the *Picts* in to a Province, he gave the occasion of their calling back *Fergusius* and the *Scots*, whom *Maximus* with their help had quite driven out of the Island: And indeed the Verses of that Poet speak him to have been active in those Parts. But the time which is assign'd him later *Buchanan* after *Gratianus Municeps*, by *Cambden* after *Constantine* the Tyrant, accords not with that which follows in the plain course of History. For the *Vandals* having broke in and wasted all *Belgia*, even to those Places from whence easiest Passage is into *Britain*, the *Roman* Forces here, doubting to be suddenly invaded, were all in uproar, and in tumultuous manner set up [c] *Marcus*, who it may seem was then Deputy. But him not found agreeable to their heady Courses, they as hastily kill: For the giddy Favour of a mutining Rout is as dangerous as their Fury. The like they do by *Gratian* a *British Roman*, in four Months advanc'd, ador'd, and destroy'd. There was among them a common Soldier, whose Name was *Constantine*, with him on a sudden so taken they are, [d] upon the conceit put in them of a Luckiness in his Name, as without other visible Merit, to create him Emperor [e]. It fortun'd that the Man had not his Name for nought; so well he knew to lay hold, and make good use of an unexpected offer. He therefore with a weaken'd Spirit, to the extent of his Fortune dilating his Mind, which in his mean Condition before lay contracted and shrunk up, orders with good Advice his Military Affairs: And with the whole Force of the Province, and what of *British* was able to bear Arms, he passes into *France*, aspiring at least to an equal share with *Honorius* in the Empire. Where by the Valour of *Edobecus* a *Frank*, and *Gerontius* a *Britain*, and partly by persuasion gaining all in his way, he comes to *Arles*. With like fecility by his Son *Constans*, whom of a *Monk* he had made a *Cæsar*, and by the Conduct of *Gerontius*, he reduces all *Spain* to his Obedience. But *Constans* after this displacing *Gerontius*, the Affairs of *Constantine* soon went to wrack: For he by this means alienated, set up *Maximus* one of his Friends against him in *Spain*; and passing into *France* took [f] *Vienna* by assault, and having slain *Constans* in that City, calls on the *Vandals* against *Constantine*; who by him incited, as by him before they had been repress'd, breaking forward, over-run most part of *France*. But when *Constantius* comes, the Emperor's General, with a strong Power came out of *Italy*, *Gerontius* deserted by his own Forces, retires into *Spain*; where also growing into contempt with the Soldiers, after his flight out of *France*, by whom his House in the Night was beset, having first with a few of his Servants defended himself valiantly, and slain above 300, though when his Darts and other Weapons were spent, he might have scap'd at a private Door, as all his Servant did, nor enduring to leave his Wife *Nonnichia*, whom he lov'd, to the violence of an enraged Crew, he first cuts off the Head of his Friend *Alanus*, as were agreed; next his Wife, though loth and delaying, yet by her entreated and importun'd, refusing to out-live her Husband, he dispatches: For which her Resolution, *Sozomenus* an Ecclesiastick Writer gives her high Praise, both as a Wife and as a Christian. Last of all, against himself he turns his Sword; but missing the mortal Place, with the Ponyard finishes the Work. Thus far is pursu'd the Story of a famous *Britain*, [g] related negligently by our other Historians. As for *Constantine*, his ending was not answerable to his setting out: For he with his other Son *Julian* besieg'd by *Constantius* in *Arles*, and mistrusting the change of his wonted Success, to save his Head, poorly turns Priest; but that not availing him, is carry'd into *Italy*, and there put to death; having four Years acted the Emperor. While these Things were doing, the *Britains* at home destitute of *Roman* aid, and the chief Strength of their own Youth, that went first with *Maximus*, then with *Constantine*, not returning home, vex'd and haras's'd by their wonted Enemies, had sent Messages to *Honorius*; but he at that time not being able to defend *Rome* it self, which the same Year was taken by *Alaric*, advises them by his Letters to consult how best they might

A. D. 402. *Claudian de laud. Stil. l. 2. & de Bel. Get.*

A. D. 405. *Ethelward. Sax. an. Beda Epit.* in the Year 565. and *Beda. l. 2. c. 4.*

A. D. 407. *Zozom. l. 6.*

Zozom. l. 9.

Oros. lib. 7. calls him *Municeps ejusdem Insulæ.*

A. D. 408.

A. D. 409.

Zozom. l. 6.

Olympiad. apud Photium.

A. D. 411. *Gildas. Beda. Zozom. l. 6.*

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[a] *Cambden* calls the *Roman* General *Victorinus*, *Broetius* and *Buchanan* say his Name was *Maximinian*.

[b] *Claudius* in his Panegyrick on *Stilicho*'s first Consulship introduces *Britannia* speaking thus in his praise:

Scoticane Picta tremorem nec Littore toto
Prospicerem dubiis Venientem Saxona Ventis:
The *Scots* and *Picts* alike now dreadless are;
No longer on the Coasts I quivering stand,
Nor fear a Fleet of *Saxons* on the Strand.

[c] *Stilicho*'s Succours were sent in his first Consulship, *Anno* 395. and the *Vandals* did not break into the *Empire* till the Year 407. when *Marcus* was proclaim'd Emperor in *Britain*. Which very well agrees with the plain Course of History. Dr. *Howell*'s Vol. II.

[d] Hoping, says *Cambden* in his *Remains*, he would prove another *Constantinus Maximus*.

[e] He was proclaim'd Emperor at *Silcester* in *Hampshire*.

[f] *Vienne* in *Dauphine*.

[g] *Humphry Lloid*, in his Discourse concerning *Britain*, says, he was so famous, that the *British Bards* celebrated him with several Poems, part of which he recites.

A. D. 411. might for their own Safety, and acquits them of the *Roman* Juriſdiction. They therefore thus relinquiſh'd, and by all Right the Government relapſing into their own Hands, henceforth betook themſelves to live after their own Laws, defending their Bounds as well as they were able, and the *Armoricans*, who not long after were call'd the *Britains* of *France*, follow'd their Example. Thus expir'd this great Empire of the *Romans*; firſt in *Britain*, ſoon after in *Italy* it ſelf: Having born chief Sway in this Iſland, though never throughly ſubdued, or all at once in Subjection, if we reckon from the coming in of *Julius* to the taking of *Rome* by *Alaric*, in which Year *Honorius* wrote thoſe Letters of Diſcharge into *Britain*, the ſpace of 462 Years. [a]. And with the Empire fell alſo what before in this Weſtern World was chiefly *Roman*; Learning, Valour, Eloquence, Hiſtory, Civility, and even Language it ſelf, all theſe together, as it were, with equal pace diminiſhing, and decaying. Henceforth we are to ſteer by another ſort of Authors; near enough to the Things they write, as in their own Country, if that would ſerve; in time not much belated, ſome of equal Age; in Expreſſion barbarous; and to ſay how judicious, I ſuſpend a while: This we muſt expect; in civil Matters to find them dubious Relaters, and ſtill to the beſt Advantage of what they term Holy Church, meaning indeed themſelves: In moſt other Matters of Religion, blind, aſtoniſh'd, and ſtruck with Superſtition, as with a Planet; in one Word, Monks. Yet theſe Guides, where can be had no better, muſt be follow'd; in groſs it may be true enough; in Circumſtance each Man as his Judgment gives him, may reſerve his Faith, or beſtow it. But ſo different a State of Things requires a ſeveral Relation. A. D. 416.

Precipius Vandalic. The Romans quit Britain.

Oroſ. Siſan.

[a] *Julius Cæſar* landed in *Britain* 53 Years before our Saviour's Birth, and in the Year 437. according to Mr. *Speed*, the *Romans* hid their Treaſures *in Britain*, and deſpair'd of being able to defend it againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*. By this Calculation, their Dominion over the *Britains* laſted 490 Years; and we read in the ſame Mr. *Speed*'s Chronicle, that the *Britain*'s ten Years afterwards wrote to *Ætius* in his third Conſulate to aſſiſt them. *Cambden* in his *Britannia*. *Tit. The Romans in Britain*, ſays *the* Roman *Empire expir'd here 476 Years after* Cæſar's *firſt Invaſion*. For *Attila*, the *Hun*, was ſo terrible at that time to the *Romans*, that they cou'd not ſpare any of their Forces to ſuccour the *Britains*.

THE
Hiſtory of ENGLAND,
Continu'd to the NORMAN CONQUEST.
By Mr. *JOHN MILTON*. Book III.

A. D. 416. THIS third Book having to tell of Accidents as various and exemplary, as the Intermiſſion or Change of Government hath any where brought forth, *may deſerve Attention* more than common, and *repay it with like Benefit to them* who can judiciouſly read: Conſidering eſpecially that the late Civil Broils had caſt us into a Condition not much unlike to what the *Britains* then were in, when the Imperial Juriſdiction departing hence, left them to the ſway of their own Councils; which Times by comparing ſeriouſly with theſe later, and that confuſed Anarchy with this interreign, we may be able from two ſuch remarkable Turns of State, producing like Events among us, to raiſe a Knowledge of our ſelves both great and weighty, by judging hence what kind of Men the *Britains* generally are in Matters of ſo high Enterprize, *how by Nature*, Induſtry, or Cuſtom fitted to attempt or undergo Matters of ſo main Conſequence: For if it be a high Point of Wiſdom in every private Man, much more is it in a Nation to know it ſelf; rather than puft up with vulgar Flatteries, and Encomiums, for want Self-knowledge, to enterpriſe raſhly, and come off miſerably in great Undertakings. The *Britains*, thus as we heard, being left without Protection from the Empire, and the Land in a manner emptied of all her Youth, conſumed in Wars abroad, or not caring to return Home, themſelves through long Subjection, ſervile in Mind, ſlothful of Body, and with the Uſe of Arms unacquainted, ſuſtain'd but ill for many Years the Violence of thoſe barbarous Invaders, who now daily grew upon them. For although at firſt greedy of Change, and to be thought the leading Nation to Freedom from the Empire, they ſeem'd a while to beſtir them with a Shew of Diligence in their new Affairs, ſome ſecretly aſpiring to Rule, others adoring the Name of Liberty, yet ſo ſoon as they felt by Proof the Weight of what it was to govern well themſelvs, and what was wanting within them, not Stomack or the Love of Licence, but the Wiſdom, the Virtue, the Labour, to uſe and maintain true Liberty, they ſoon remitted their Heat, and ſhrunk more wretchedly under the Burden of their own Liberty, than before under a Foreign Yoke. Inſomuch that the reſidue of thoſe *Romans* which had planted themſelves here, deſpairing of their ill Deportment at Home, and weak Reſiſtance in the Field, by thoſe few who had the Courage, or the Strength to bear Arms, nine Years after the ſacking of *Rome* remov'd out of *Britain* into *France*, hiding for haſte great part of their Treaſure, which was never after found. And now again the *Britains*, no longer able to ſupport themſelves againſt the prevailing Enemy, ſolicit *Honorius* to their Aid, with mournful Letters, Embaſſages and Vows of perpetual Subjection to *Rome*, if the Northern Foe were but repuls'd. He at their requeſt ſpares them A. D. 416. *Zozim. l. 6.* 418. *Ethelwerd. annal. Sax.* *Gildas.*

Gild. Beda. Malmſ.

A. D. 422. them one Legion, which with great Slaughter of the *Scots* and *Picts* drove them beyond the Borders, rescu'd the *Britains*, and advis'd them to build a Wall cross the Island, between Sea and Sea, from the Place where *Edenburgh* now stands to the Frith of *Dunbritton*, by the City *Alcluith*. But the Material being only Turf, and by the rude Multitude unartificially built up without better Direction, avail'd them little. For no sooner was the Legion departed, but the greedy Spoilers returning, land in great Numbers from their Boats and Pinaces, wasting, slaying, and treading down all before them. Then are Messengers again posted to *Rome* in lamentable sort, beseeching that they would not suffer a whole Province to be destroy'd, and the *Roman* Name, so honourable yet among them, to become the Subject of Barbarian Scorn and Insolence. The Emperor, at 423. their sad Complaint, with what speed was possible sends to their Succour. Who coming suddenly on those ravenous Multitudes that minded only Spoil, surprize them with a terrible Slaughter. They who escap'd, fled back to those Seas, from whence yearly they were wont to arrive, and return laden with Booties. But the *Romans*, who came not now to rule, but charitably to aid, declaring that it stood not longer with the Ease of their Affairs to make such laborious Voyages in Pursuit of so base and vagabond Robbers, of whom neither Glory was to be got, nor Gain, exhorted them to manage their own Warfare; and to defend like Men their Country, their Wives, their Children, and what was to be dearer than Life, their Liberty, against an Enemy not stronger than themselves, if their own Sloth and Cowardice had not made them so; if they would but only find Hands to grasp defensive Arms, rather than basely stretch them out to receive Bonds. They gave them also their Help to build a new Wall, not of Earth as the former, but of Stone (both at the publick Cost, and by particular Contributions) traversing the Isle in direct Line from East to West, between certain Cities placed there as Frontiers to bear off the Enemy, where *Severus* had wall'd once before. They rais'd it twelve Foot high, eight broad. Along the South Shoar[a], because from thence also like Hostility was fear'd, they place Towers by the Sea-side at certain Distances, for Safety of the Coast. Withal, they instruct them in the Art of War, leaving Patterns of their Arms and Weapons behind them; and with animating Words, and many Lessons of Valour to a faint-hearted Audience, bid them finally farewel, without purpose to return. And these two friendly Expeditions, the last of any hither by the *Romans*, were perform'd, as may be gather'd out of *Beda* and *Diaconus*, the two last Years of *Honorius*. Their Leader, as some modernly write, was *Gallio* of *Ravenna*; *Buchanan*, who departs not much from the Fables of his Predecessor *Boethius*, names him *Maximianus*, and brings against him to this Battel *Fergus* first King of *Scots*, after their second suppos'd coming into *Scotland*, *Durstus* King of *Picts*, both there slain, and *Dioneth* an imaginary King of *Britain*, or Duke of *Cornwall*, who improbably sided with them against his own Country, hardly escaping. With no less Exactness of particular Circumstances, he takes upon him to relate all those tumultuary Inroads of the *Scots* and *Picts* into *Britain*, as if they had but Yesterday happen'd, their Order of Battel, Manner of Fight, Number of Slain, Articles of Peace, things whereof *Gildas* and *Beda* are utterly silent, Authors to whom the *Scotch* Writers have none to cite comparable in Antiquity; no more therefore to be believ'd for bare Assertion, however quaintly dress't, than our *Geoffry* of *Monmouth* when he varies most from Authentick Story. But either the inbred Vanity of some, in that respect unworthily call'd Historians, or the fond Zeal of praising their Nations above Truth, hath so far transported them, that where they find nothing faithfully to relate, they fall confidently to invent what they think may either best set off their History, or magnifie their Country. The *Scots* and *Picts* in Manners differing somewhat from each other, but still unanimous to rob and spoil, hearing that the *Romans* intended not to return from the Gorroghs, or Leathern Frigats, pour out themselves in Swarms upon the Land, more confident than ever: And from the North End of the Isle to the very Wall side, then first took Possession as Inhabitants; while the *Britains* with idle Weapons in their Hands stand trembling on the Battlements, till the half-naked *Barbarians* with their long and formidable Iron Hooks pull them down head-long. The rest not only quitting the Wall but Towns and Cities, leave them to the bloody Pursuer, who follows killing, wasting, and destroying all in his Way. From these Confusions arose a Famine, and from thence Discord and Civil Commotion among the *Britains*: Each Man living by what he robb'd or took violently from his Neighbour. When all Stores were consumed and spent where Men inhabited, they betook them to the Woods, and liv'd by hunting, which was their only Sustainment. To the Heaps of these Evils from without were added new Divisions within the Church. For *Agricola* the Son of *Severianus*, a *Pelagian* Bishop, had spread his Doctrine wide among the *Britains* not uninfected before. The sounder Part neither willing to embrace his Opinion to the overthrow of Divine Grace, not able to refute him, crave Assistance from the Churches of *France*: Who send them *Germanus* Bishop of *Auxerre*, and *Lupus* of *Troyes*. 429. They by continual preaching in Churches, in Streets, in Fields, and not without Miracles, as is written, confirm'd some, regain'd others, and at *Verulam* in a publick Disputation put to silence their chief Adversaries. This Reformation in the Church was believ'd to be the Cause of their Success a while after in the Field. For 430. the *Saxons* and *Picts* with joynt Force, which was no new thing before the *Saxons* at least had any Dwelling in this Island, during this Abode of *Germanus* here, had made a strong Impression from the North. The *Britains* marching out against them, and mistrusting their own Power, send to *Germanus* and his Colleague, reposing more in the spiritual Strength of those two Men, than in their own Thousands arm'd. They came, and their Presence in the Camp was not less than if a whole Army had come to second them. It was then the Time of Lent, and the People instructed by the daily Sermons of these two Pastors, came flocking to receive Baptism. There was a Place in the Camp set apart as a Church, and trick'd up with Boughs upon *Easter-Day*. The Enemy understanding this, and that the *Britains* were taken up with Religion more than with Feats of Arms, advances, after the Paschal Feast, as to a certain Victory. *Germanus*, who also had Intelligence of their Approach, undertakes to be Captain that Day; and riding out with selected Troops

A. D. 423.

Diacon. L. 14. Beda. l. 1. c. 2. *Gildas.* *Beda. ibid.* *Gildas.* *Blond.* *Sabellic.* *Buch. l. 5.* *Gildas.* *Beda.* *Beda. Constant.* *Prosp. Aquit.* *Matth. West. ad ann. 446.* *Constant. vit. Germ.*

[a] The Enemies, which they fear'd on that side, were the *Saxon* Pirates, who hover'd upon the Southern Coast, and occasion'd the New Officer, stil'd *Comes Littoris Saxonici*.

A. D. 430. Troops to discover what Advantages the Place might offer, lights on a Valley compass'd about with Hills, by which the Enemy was to pass. And placing there his Ambush, warns them that what Word they heard him pronounce aloud, the same they should repeat with universal Shout. The Enemy passes on securely, and *German* thrice aloud cries *Halleluia*; which answered by the Soldiers with a sudden Burst of Clamour, is from the Hills and Valleys redoubled. The *Saxons* and *Picts* on a sudden supposing it the noise of a huge Host, throw themselves into flight, casting down their Arms, and great Numbers of them are drown'd in the River which they had newly pass'd. This Victory, thus won without Hands, left to the *Britains* Plenty of Spoil, and to the Person and the Preaching of *Germanus* greater Authority and Reverence than before. And the Exploit might pass for current, if *Constantius*, the Writer of his Life in the next Age, had resolv'd us how the *British* Army came to want Baptizing; for of any *Paganism* at that Time, or long before in the Land, we read not, or that *Pelagianism* was re-baptiz'd. The Place of this Victory, as is reported, was in *Flintshire*, by a Town call'd [a] *Guid-cruk*, and the River *Allen*, where a Field retains the Name of [b] *Maes German* to this Day. But so soon as *Germanus* was return'd home, the *Scots* and *Picts*, though now so many of them Christians, that *Palladius* a Deacon was ordain'd and sent by *Celestine* the Pope to be a Bishop over them, were not so well reclaim'd, or not so many of them as to cease from doing Mischief to their Neighbours, where they found no Impeachment to fall in yearly as they were wont. They therefore of the *Britains*, who perhaps were not yet wholly ruin'd, in the strongest and South-west Parts of the Isle, send Letters to *Ætius*, then third time Consul of *Rome*, with this Superscription; *To Ætius thrice Consul, the Groans of the Britains.* And after a few Words thus, *The Barbarians drive us to the Sea, the Sea drives us back to the Barbarians; thus handied up and down between two Deaths we perish, either by the Sword or by the Sea.* But the Empire at that Time overspread with *Huns* and *Vandals*, was not in Condition to lend them Aid. Thus rejected and wearied out with continual Flying from place to place, but more afflicted with Famine, which then grew outrageous among them, many for Hunger yielded to the Enemy, others either more resolute, or less expos'd to Wants, keeping within Woods and Mountainous Places, not only defended themselves, but sallying out at length gave a Stop to the insulting Foe with many seasonable Defeats; led by some eminent Person, as may be thought, who exhorted them not to trust in their own Strength, but in Divine Assistance. And perhaps no other is here meant than the foresaid Deliverance by *German*, if Computation would permit, which *Gildas* either not much regarded, or might mistake; but that he tarried so long here, the Writers of his Life assent not. Finding therefore such Opposition, the *Scots* or *Irish* Robbers, for so they are indifferently term'd, without delay get them home. The *Picts*, as before was mention'd, then first began to settle in the utmost Parts of the Island, using now and then to make Inroads upon the *Britains*. But they in the mean while thus rid of their Enemies, begin afresh to till the Ground; which after Cessation yields her Fruit in such Abundance, as had not formerly been known for many Ages. But Wantonness and Luxury, the wonted Companions of Plenty, grow up as fast; and with them, if *Gildas* deserve Belief, all other Vices incident to Humane Corruption. That which he notes especially to be the chief perverting of all good in the Land, and so continued in his Days, was the Hatred of Truth, and all such as durst appear to vindicate and maintain it. *Against* them, as against the only Disturbers, all the Malice of the Land was bent. Lies and Falsities, and such as could best invent them, were only in Request. Evil was embrac'd for Good, Wickedness honour'd and esteem'd as Virtue: And this Quality their Valour had against a foreign Enemy, to be ever backward and heartless; to Civil Broils eager and prompt. In Matters of Government, and the Search of Truth, weak and shallow; in Falshood and wicked Deeds, pregnant and industrious. Pleasing to God, or not pleasing, with them weighed alike; and the worse, most an end, was the weightier. All things were done contrary to publick Welfare and Safety; nor only by secular Men, for the Clergy also, whose Example should have guided others, were as vicious and corrupt. Many of them besotted with continual Drunkenness, or swoll'n with Pride and Wilfulness, full of Contention, full of Envy, indiscreet, incompetent Judges to determine what in the Practice of Life is good or evil, what lawful or unlawful. Thus furnish'd with Judgment, and for Manners thus qualify'd both Priest and Lay, they agree to choose them several Kings of their own, as near as might be, likest themselves; and the Words of my Author import as much. Kings were anointed, saith he, not of God's Anointing, but such as were cruellest, and soon after as inconsiderately without examining the Truth, put to Death by their Anointers to set up others more fierce and proud. As for the Election of their Kings (and that they had not all one Monarch, appears both in Ages past and by the Sequel) it began, as nigh as may be guess'd, either this Year or the following, when they saw the *Romans* had quite deserted their Claim. About which time also *Pelagianism* again prevailing by Means of some few, the *British* Clergy too weak it seems at dispute, intreat the second Time, *German* to their Assistance. Who coming with *Severus* a Disciple of *Lupus* that was his former Associate, stands not now to argue, for the People generally continu'd right; but enquiring those Authors of new Disturbance, adjudges them to Banishment. They therefore by consent of all were deliver'd to *German*; who carrying them over with him, dispos'd of them in such Place, where neither they could infect others, and were themselves under cure of better Instruction. But *Germanus* the same Year dy'd in *Italy*; and the *Britains* not long after found themselves again in much Perplexity, with no slight Rumour that their old Troublers the *Scots* and *Picts* had prepar'd a strong Invasion, purposing to kill all, and dwell themselves in the Land from end to end. But e'er their Coming in, as if the Instruments of Divine Justice had been at Strife, which of them first should destroy a wicked Nation, the Pestilence forestalling the Sword, left scarce alive whom to bury the Dead; and for that Time, as one Extremity keeps off another, preserv'd the Land from a worse incumbrance of those barbarous Dispossessers, whom the Contagion gave not leave now to enter far. And yet the *Britains* nothing better'd by these heavy Judgments, the one threaten'd, the other felt,

A. D. 446.

Usser. Primord. p. 333.

431. *Prosp. Aquit.*

Elfledwerd. Florent. Gild. Bede.

Malmsbury l. 1. c. 1. p. 8.

446.

447. *Constant. Bedæ.*

448. *Sigon. Gildas.*

Gildas.

Malms. l. 1.

[a] *Guidcruc*, in the *British* Tongue, in the *English*, *Mould* in *Flintshire*.

[b] *Germans-Field.*

A. D. 448. felt, inſtead of acknowledging the Hand of Heaven, run to the Palace of their King *Vortigern* [a] with Complaints and Cries of what they ſuddenly fear'd from the *Pictiſh* Invaſion. *Vortigern*, who at that time was chief rather than ſole King, unleſs the reſt had perhaps left their Dominions to the common Enemy, is ſaid by him of *Monmouth* to have procur'd the Death firſt of *Conſtantine*, then of *Conſtans* his Son, who of a *Monk* was made King, and by that Means to have uſurp'd the Crown. But they who can remember how *Conſtantine* with his Son *Conſtans* the Monk, the one made Emperor, the other *Cæſar*, periſh'd in *France*, may diſcern the ſimple Fraud of this Fable. But *Vortigern* however coming to reign, is decipher'd by truer Stories a proud unfortunate Tyrant, and yet of the People much belov'd, becauſe his Vices ſorted ſo well with
449. theirs. For neither was he skill'd in War, nor wiſe in Counſel, but covetous, luſtful, luxurious, and prone to all Vice; waſting the publick Treaſure in Gluttony and Riot, careleſs of the common Danger, and through a haughty Ignorance, unapprehenſive of his own. Nevertheleſs importun'd and awak'd at length, by unuſual Clamours of the People, he ſummons a General Council, to provide ſome better means than heretofore had been us'd againſt theſe continual Annoyances from the North. Wherein by Advice of all, it was determin'd, that the *Saxons* be invited into *Britain* againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*; whoſe breaking in they either ſhortly expected, or already found they had not Strength enough to oppoſe. The *Saxons* were a barbarous and heathen Nation, famous fornothing elſe but Robberies and Cruelties done to all their Neighbours both by Sea and Land; in particular to this Iſland, witneſs that military Force which the *Roman* Emperors maintain'd here purpoſely againſt them, under a ſpecial Commander, whoſe Title, as is found on good Record, was *Count of the Saxon-ſhoar in Britain*; and the many Miſchiefs done by their landing here, both alone and with the *Picts*, as above hath been related, witneſs as much. They were a People thought by [b] good Writers to be deſcended of the *Sacæ*, a kind of *Scythian* in the North of *Aſia*, thence call'd *Sacaſons*, or Sons of *Sacæ*, who with a Flood of other Northern Nations came into *Europe*, toward the declining of the *Roman* Empire; and uſing Piracy from *Denmark* all along theſe Seas, poſſeſs'd at length by Intruſion all that Coaſt of *Germany* and the *Netherlands*, which took thence the Name of *Old Saxony*, lying between the *Rhine* and *Elve*, and from thence North as far as *Fidora* the River bounding *Holſatia*, tho' not ſo firmly or ſo largely, but that their Multitude wander'd yet uncertain of Habitation. Such Gueſts as theſe the *Britains* reſolve now to ſend for, and entreat into their Houſes and Poſſeſſions, at whoſe very Name heretofore they trembled afar off. So much

Notitiæ Imperii.

Florent. Wigorn. ad an. 370.

Ethelwerd.

do Men through Impatience count ever that the heavieſt which they bear at preſent, and to remove the Evil which they ſuffer, care not to pull on a greater; as if Variety and Change in Evil alſo were acceptable. Or whether it be that Men in the Deſpair of better, imagine fondly a kind of Refuge from one Miſery to another. The *Britains* therefore, with *Vortigern*, who was then accounted King over them all, reſolve in full Council to ſend Ambaſſadors to their choiceſt Men with great Gifts, and, ſaith a *Saxon* Writer in theſe Words, deſiring their Aid: *Worthy* Saxons, *hearing the Fame of your Proweſs, the diſtreſſed* Britains *wearied out, and overpreſs'd by a continual invading Enemy, have ſent us to beſeech your Aid. They have a Land fertile and ſpatious,* [c] *which to your Commands they bid us ſurrender. Heretofore we have liv'd with Freedom under the Obedience and Protection of the* Roman *Empire. Next to them we know none worthier than your ſelves; and therefore become Suppliants to your Valour. Leave us not below our preſent Enemies, and to ought by you impos'd, willingly we ſhall ſubmit.* Yet *Ethelwerd* writes not that they promis'd Subjection, but only Amity and League. They therefore who had chief Rule among them, hearing themſelves entreated by the *Britains*, to that which gladly they would have wiſh'd to obtain of them by entreating to the *Britiſh* Embaſſy, return this Anſwer: *Be aſſur'd henceforth of the* Saxons, *as of faithful Friends to the* Britains, *no leſs ready to ſtand by them in their Need, than in their beſt of Fortune.* The Ambaſſadors return joyful, and with News as welcome to their Country, whoſe ſiniſter Fate had now blinded them for Deſtruction. The *Saxons*, conſulting firſt their Gods, (for they had Anſwer, that the Land whereto they went, they ſhould hold 300 Years, half that Time conquering, and half quietly poſſeſſing) furniſh out *three long Gallies, or Kyules, with a* * *choſen* Company of warlike Youth, under the Conduct of two Brothers, *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, deſcended in the fourth Degree from *Woden*; of whom, deify'd for the Fame of his Acts, moſt Kings of thoſe Nations derive their Pedigree. Theſe, and either mix'd with theſe, or ſoon after by themſelves, two other Tribes, or neighbouring People, [d] *Jutes* and [e] *Angles*, the one from *Jutland*, the other from *Anglen* by the City of *Sleſwich*, both Provinces of *Denmark*, arrive in the firſt Year of *Martian* the *Greek* Emperor, from the Birth of Chriſt 450, *receiv'd with much* good Will of the People firſt, then of the King, who after ſome Aſſurances given and taken, beſtows on them the Iſle of *Tanet*, where they firſt landed, hoping they might be made hereby more eager againſt the *Picts*, when they fought as for their own Country, and more loyal to the *Britains*, from whom they had receiv'd a Place to dwell in, which before they wanted. The *Britiſh Nennius* writes, that theſe Brethren were driven into exile

A. D. 449.

Ethelwerd. Malmsbur. Witichind. Geſt. Sax. l. 1. *p.* 3.

Malmſ.

Witichind.

Gildas.

* About 1500 Men *Beda.*

450. *Nennius. Malmſ.*

The *Saxons* land in *Britain.*

[a] *Vortigern* was choſen King in the Year 447.

[b] The Biſhop of *Worceſter* will not agree with this Opinion, becauſe no rational Account can be given how the *Sacæ* left their own Country to people *Saxony*. *Orig. Britann.* p. 306. See alſo *Cambden*, *Engliſh* Edit. p. 124. and *Sheringham*, *De Anglorum Gentis Origine*: *Cambden* derives them from the *Saci*, a People of *Scythia*, *Sarmatia* or *Aſiatica*; *Sheringham* does the ſame. Biſhop *Stillingfleet* thinks they took their Name from their *Seaxes*, or ſhort Swords. *Julius Scaliger* obſerves, that *Fader*, *Moder*, *Broder*, &c. are us'd in the ſame Senſe in the *Perſian* Language as in the *Saxon*. And *Busbequius* in his *Epiſtles* writes, that the Inhabitants of the *Taurick Cherſoneſe* have theſe words, *Wind*, *Silver*, *Corn*, *Salt*, *Fiſh*, *Son*, *Apple*; and forty others in the ſame Signification as they are now in with us. From whence Mr. *Cambden* in his *Remains*, p. 22. argues that our *Saxon* Progenitors planted their Colonies in the *Eaſt* as well as the *Weſt*.

[c] I know not how Liberal the *Britains* might be in this Diſtreſs; but if they made ſuch a frank Surrender, 'tis ſtrange why the *Saxons* (deſigning to make themſelves Maſters of the Kingdom) ſhould inſiſt upon the poor Pretence of ſhort Diet and bad Pay; and not rather urge the expreſs Promiſe of the *Saxon*-Ambaſſadors.

[d] *Vide Spelman Gloſſ. ſub Tit. Guti.*

[e] See *Cambden*'s *Britannia*, *Engl.* p. 125. The *Jutes*, ſo call'd from the *Gutes*, *Getes* or *Goths*, inhabiting the *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*, which the *Danes* to this day call *Jutland*. The *Angles*, ſays *Beda*, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 15. came out of the Country call'd *Angulus*, which is ſaid to lie between the *Jutes* and the *Saxons*. *Holſtein* was the ancient Seat of the *Saxons*, and in the Country between *Holſtein* and *Jutland* there is now a ſmall Province call'd *Angel*, under the Juriſdiction of the City of *Flensberg*.

A. D. 450. Malmsb.

exile out of *Germany*, and to *Vortigern* who reign'd in much fear, one while of the *Picts*, then of the *Romans*, and *Ambrosius* came opportunely into the Haven. For it was the Custom in old *Saxony*, when their numerous Off-spring overflow'd the Narrowness of their Bounds, to send them out by Lot into new Dwellings, where-ever they found Room, either vacant or to be forc'd. But whether sought, or unsought, they dwelt not here long without Employment. For the *Scots* and *Picts* were now come down, some say, as far as *Stamford* in *Lincolnshire* [a], whom, perhaps not imagining to meet new Opposition, the *Saxons*, though not till after a sharp Encounter, put to flight; and that more than once: Slaying in Fight, as some *Scotch* Writers affirm, their King *Eugenius* the Son of *Fergus*. *Hengist* perceiving the Island to be rich and fruitful, but her Princes and other Inhabitants given to vicious Ease, sends word home, inviting others to a Share of his good Success: Who returning with seventeen Ships, were grown up now to a sufficient Army, and entertain'd without Suspicion on these Terms, that they should bear the Brunt of War against the *Picts*, receiving Stipend and some Place to inhabit. With these was brought over the Daughter of *Hengist*, a Virgin wondrous fair, as is reported, *Rowen* the *British* call her: She by Commandment of her Father, who had invited the King to a Banquet, coming in Presence with a Bowl of Wine to welcome him, and to attend on his Cup till the Feast ended, won so much upon his Fancy, though already wiv'd, as to demand her in Marriage upon any Conditions. *Hengist* at first, though it fell out perhaps according to the Drift, held off, excusing his Meanness; then obscurely intimating a Desire and almost a Necessity, by reason of his augmented Numbers, to have his narrow Bounds of *Tanet* enlarg'd to the *Circuit of Kent* [b], had it strait by Donation: Though [c] *Guorangonus* till then was King of that Place: And so, as it were overcome by the great Munificence of *Vortigern*, gave his Daughter. And still encroaching on the King's Favour, got farther leave to call over *Octa* and *Ebissa*, his own and his Brother's Son; pretending that they, if the North were given them, would sit there as a continual Defence against the *Scots*, while himself guarded the East. They therefore sailing with forty Ships even to the *Orcades*, and every way curbing the *Scots* and *Picts*, possess'd that part of the Isle which is now *Northumberland*. Notwithstanding this, they complain, that their Monthly Pay was grown much into Arrear; which when the *Britains* found means to satisfie, though alledging withal, that they to whom Promise was made of Wages, were nothing so many in number; quieted with this a while, but still seeking Occasion to fall off, they find fault next, that their Pay is too small for the Danger they undergo, threatning open War unless it be augmented. *Guortimer*, the King's Son, perceiving his Father and the Kingdom thus betray'd, from that time bends his utmost Endeavour to drive them out. They on the other side making League with the *Picts* and *Scots*, and issuing out of *Kent*, wasted without Resistance almost the whole Land even to the Western Sea, with such a horrid Devastation, that Towns and Colonies overturn'd, Priests and People slain, Temples and Palaces, what with Fire and Sword, lay altogether heaped in one mixt Ruin. Of all which Multitude, so great was the Sinfulness that brought this upon them, *Gildas* adds, that few or none were likely to be other than lewd and wicked Persons. The Residue of these, part overtaken in the Mountains, were slain; others subdu'd with Hunger, preferr'd Slavery before instant Death; some getting to Rocks, Hills and Woods inaccessible, preferr'd the Fear and Danger of any Death before the Shame of a secure Slavery; many fled over Sea into other Countries; some into *Holland*, where yet remain the Ruines of *Brittenburgh*, an old Castle on the Sea, to be seen at low Water not far from *Leiden*; either built, as Writers of their own affirm, or seiz'd on by those *Britains* in their Escape from *Hengist*: Others into *Armorica*, peopl'd, as some think, with *Britains* long before; either by Gift of *Constantine* the *Great*, or else of *Maximus*, to those *British* Forces which had serv'd them in Foreign Wars; to whom those also that miscarried not with the latter *Constantine* at *Arles*: And lastly, these Exiles driven out by *Saxons*, fled for Refuge. But the ancient Chronicles of those Provinces attest their Coming thither to be then first when they fled the *Saxons*, and indeed the Name of *Britain* in *France* is not read till after that Time [d]. Yet how a Sort of Fugitives, who had quitted without Stroke their own Country, should so soon win another, appears not; unless joyn'd to some Part of their own settled there before. *Vortigern* nothing better'd by these Calamities, grew at last so obdurate as to commit Incest with his Daughter tempted or tempting him out of an Ambition to the Crown. For which being censur'd and condemn'd in a great Synod of *Clerks* and *Laicks*, and partly for fear of the *Saxons*, according to the Counsel of his Peers, he retir'd into *Wales*, and built him there a strong Castle in *Radnorshire*, by the Advice of *Ambrosius* a young Prophet, whom others call *Merlin*. Nevertheless *Faustius*, who was the Son thus incestuously begotten, under the Instructions of *German*, or some of his Disciples, for *German* was dead before, prov'd a Religious Man, and liv'd in Devotion by the River *Remnis* in *Glamorganshire*. But the *Saxons*, though finding it so easy to subdue the Isle, with most of their Forces, uncertain for what Cause, return'd home: When as the Easiness of their Conquest might seem rather likely to have call'd in more. Which makes more probable that which the *British* write of *Guortimer*. For he coming to reign instead of his Father, depos'd for Incest, is said to have thrice driv'n and besieg'd the *Saxons* in the Isle of *Taneth*; and when they issu'd out with powerful Supplies sent from *Saxony*, to have fought with them four other Battels, whereof three are nam'd; the first on the River *Darwent*, the second at *Episford*, wherein *Horsa* the Brother of *Hengist* fell, and on the *British* Part *Catigern*, the

A. D. 454.

Henry Huntingd. Ethelwerd. Bed. Ninn. Ninn. Gild. Bede. Ninn. Malmsb. l. 1. c. 1. Huntingd. l. 1. Primord. pag. 418 Ninn. Malmsb. Ninn. Ninn.

[a] *Hengist*, in this County, vanquish'd the *Scots* and *Picts*, and obtain'd of *Vortigern* as much Land as he could encompass with an Ox's Hide cut into very small Thongs; from which Treaty, the Town of *Thongcaster* in *Lincolnshire* was so call'd.

[b] This, we know, is the common Story: But the *Saxon* Annals, as they say nothing of *Rowena*, so they seem to intimate that *Hengist* got it by Force of Arms; telling us, that he worsted the *Britains* in two pitch'd Battels; and that, upon this, they quitted *Kent*, and betook themselves to *London*.

[c] Mr. *Milton* calls the Name of this King of *Kent*, *Guorangonus*: Whereas *Cambden* in his *Brit.* says, The Person who then govern'd *Kent*, was *Vortigern*'s Vice-Roy, or *Guerong*.

[d] Bishop *Stillingfleet* proves the contrary from several ancient Authors, in his *Antiquities of the Brit. Church*, cap. 5.

A. D. 454. the other Son of *Vortigon* [a]. The third in a Field by *Stonar* [b], then call'd *Lapis tituli* in *Tanet*, where he beat them into their Ships that bore them home, glad to have escap'd, and not venturing to Land again for five Years after. In the space whereof *Guortemir* dying, commanded they should bury him in the Port of *Stonar*; perswaded that his Bones lying there would be Terrour enough to keep the *Saxons* from ever landing in that Place: They, saith *Nennius*, neglecting his Command, buried him in *Lincoln*. But concerning these Times, antientest Annals of the *Saxons* relate in this manner. In the Year

455. *Bede. Ethelwerd. Florent. Annal. Sax.* 455. *Hengist* and *Horsa* fought against *Vortigern*, in a Place call'd *Eglesthrip*, now *Ailsford* in *Kent*; where *Horsa* lost his Life, of whom *Horsted*, the Place of his Burial, took Name. After this first Battel and the Death of his Brother, *Hengist* with his Son *Esca* took on him Kingly Title, and peopl'd *Kent* with *Jutes*; who also then or not long after possess'd the Isle of *Wight*, and part of *Hantshire* lying opposite. Two Years after in a Fight at *Creganford*, or *Craford*, *Hengist* and his Son slew of the *Britains* four Chief Commanders [c], and as many thousand Men: The rest in great Disorder flying to *London*, with the total Loss of *Kent*. And eight Years passing between, he made a new War on the *Britains*; of whom in a Battle at *Wepped-fleot*, twelve Princes were slain, and *Wipped* the *Saxon* Earl, who left his Name to that Place, though not sufficient to direct us where it now stands. His last Encounter was at a Place not mention'd, where he gave them such an Overthrow, that flying in great Fear they left the Spoil of all to their Enemies. And these perhaps are the four Battels, according to *Nennius*, fought by *Guortemir*, though by these Writers far differently related and happening, besides many other Bickerings, in the Space of twenty Years, as *Malmsbury* reckons. Nevertheless it plainly appears that the *Saxons*, by whomsoever, were put to hard Shifts, being all this while fought withal in Kent, their own allotted Dwelling, and sometimes on the very Edge of the Sea, which the Word *Wippeds-fleot* seems to intimate. But *Guortemir* now dead [d], and none of Courage left to defend the Land, *Vortigern*, either by the Power of his Faction, or by Consent of all, re-assumes the Government: And *Hengist* thus rid of his grand Opposer, hearing gladly the Restorement of his old Favourer, returns again with great Forces; but to *Vortigern* whom he well knew how to handle without warring, as to his Son-in-Law, now that the only Author of Dissention between them was remov'd by Death, offers nothing but all Terms of new League and Amity. The King, both for his Wive's Sake and his own Sottishness, consulting also with his Peers not unlike himself, readily yields; and the Place of Parly is agreed on; to which either side was to repair without Weapons. *Hengist*, whose Meaning was not Peace but Treachery, appointed his Men to be secretly arm'd, and acquainted them to what Intent. The Watch-Word was *Nemet eour Saxes*, that is, *Draw your Daggers*; which they observing, when the *Britains* were throughly heated with Wine (for the Treaty it seems not without Cups) and provok'd, as was plotted, by some Affront, dispatch'd with those Poinards every one his next Man, to the number of 300, the chief of those that could do ought against him either in Counsel or in Field. *Vortigern* they only bound and kept in Custody, until he granted them for his Ransom three Provinces, which were call'd afterward *Essex*, *Sussex*, and *Middlesex* [e]. Who thus dismist, retiring again to his solitary Abode in his Country of *Guorthigirniaun* [f], so call'd by his Name, from thence to the Castle of his own Building in *North-Wales* by the River *Tiebi*; and living there obscurely among his Wives, was at length burnt in his Tower by Fire from Heaven, at the Prayer, as some say, of *German*, but that coheres not; as others, by *Ambrosius Aurelian*; of whom as we have heard at first, he stood in great Fear, and partly for that Cause invited in the *Saxons*. Who whether by constraint, or of their own accord, after much Mischief done, most of them returning back into their own Country, left a fair Opportunity to the *Britains* of revenging themselves the easier on those that staid behind. Repenting therefore, and with earnest Supplication imploring divine Help to prevent their final rooting out, they gather from all Parts, and under the leading of *Ambrosius Aurelianus*, a vertuous and modest Man, the last here of *Roman* Stock, advancing now onward against the late Victors, defeat them in a memorable Battel. Common Opinion, but grounded chiefly on the *British* Fables, makes this *Ambrosius* to be a younger Son of that *Constantine*, whose eldest, as we heard, was *Constance* the Monk: Who both lost their Lives abroad usurping the Empire. But the express Words both of *Gildas* and *Bede*, assures us that the Parents of this *Ambrosius* having here born Regal Dignity, were slain in these *Pictish* Wars and Commotions in the Island. And if the Fear of *Ambrose* induc'd *Vortigern* to call in the *Saxons*, it seems *Vortigern* usurp'd his Right. I perceive not that *Nennius* makes any Difference between him and *Merlin*: For that Child without Father that prophecy'd to *Vortigern*, he names not *Merlin* but *Ambrose*, makes him the Son of a *Roman* Consul; but conceal'd by his Mother, as fearing that the King therefore sought his Life; yet the Youth no sooner had confess'd his Parentage, but *Vortigern* either in Reward of his Predictions, or as his Right, bestow'd upon him all the West of *Britain*; himself retiring to a solitary Life. Whose ever Son he was, he was the first, according to the surest Author, that led against the *Saxons*, and overthrew them; but whether before this Time or after, none have written. This is certain, that in a Time when most of the *Saxon* Forces were departed home, the *Britains* gather'd Strength; and either against those who were left remaining, or against their whole Powers, the second Time returning obtain'd this Victory [g]. Thus *Ambrose* as Chief Monarch of

A. D. 161.

466.

Nin. ex le. gend. St. Ger. Galfrid. Monmouth.

Gild. Bede.

Nennius. 458.

Malmsb.

[a] A Monument something like *Stonehenge*, to be seen near *Ailsford*, call'd by the Country People *Kith's Coty-house* from *Catigern*.

[b] So Mr *Cambden* and my Lord Primate of *Armagh*; induc'd by the Resemblance of *Lapis tituli* to *Stonar*. But Mr *Somner* discovering in some antient Records, that this *Stonar* was writ formerly *Estanore*, implying no more than *Ora Orientalis*, remov'd it to *Folkston*, and is follow'd in that Opinion by the Bishop of *Worcester*. See *Somner*'s Forts and Ports in *Kent*, p. 94, *&c.* *Still. Orig. Brit.* p. 322.

[c] *Florence* of *Worcester* mentions 4000 Men.

[d] *Wortimer*, says Mr. *Tallent*, was poyson'd by *Rowena* his Mother-in-Law, *Anno* 458. and the *Saxon* Annals under the Year 465. place the Battel of *Wippedes* Fleet then, which Mr. *Milton* puts in *Anno* 473.

[e] The Return of *Hengist*, and the Murther of the *British* Nobles happened according to Mr. *Tallent*'s Chronology, *Anno* 461. no Authentick Author places it so late as the Year 473. [f] In the County of *Radnor*. See *Cambd. Brit.*

[g] *Ambrosius* commanded the *Britains* Twenty Years, as their General, and *Anno* 485. was chosen King. *Vid.* Dr. *Powell*'s Catalogue of the Kings of *Wales*.

A. D. 466. of the Isle succeeded *Vortigern*; to whose third Son *Pascentius* he permitted the Rule of two Regions in *Wales*, [a] *Buelth* and *Guorthigirniaun*. In his Days, *Nenn.* saith *Nennius*, the *Saxons* prevail'd not much: Against whom *Arthur*, as being then Chief General for the *British* Kings, made great War; but more renown'd in Songs and Romances, than in true Stories. And the Sequel it self declares as much. For in the Year 477, *Ella* the *Saxon*, with *Sax. An. Ethelw. Florent.* his three Sons, *Cymen*, *Pleting*, and *Cissa*, at a Place in *Sussex*, call'd *Cymenshore*, arrive in three Ships, kill many of the *Britains*, chasing them that remain'd into the Wood [b] *Andreds-League*. 485. Another Battel was fought at *Mercreds-Burnamsted*, wherein *Ella* had by far the Victory; but *Florent. Hunting.* *Huntingdon* make it so doubtful, that the *Saxons* were constrain'd to send home for Supplies. Four 489. Year after dy'd *Hengist*, the first *Saxon* King of *Malmsb.* *Kent*; noted to have attain'd that Dignity by Craft as much as Valour, and giving Scope to his own cruel Nature, rather than proceeding by *Bed. l. 2. c. 5.* Mildness and Civility. His Son *Oeric*, surnam'd *Oisc*, of whom the *Kentish* Kings were call'd *Oiscings*, succeeded him, and sat content with his Father's Winnings; more desirous to settle and defend, than to enlarge his Bounds: He reign'd 492. twenty four Years. By this time *Ella* and his Son *Cissa* besieging *Andred-chester*, [c] suppos'd now *Cambden.* to be *Newenden* in *Kent*, take it by Force, and all within it put to the Sword. Thus *Ella*, three The King- Years after the Death of *Hengist*, began his King- dom of dom of the *South-Saxons*; peopling it with new *South-Sax-* Inhabitants, from the Country which was then *ons.* *Bed. l. 1.* *Old Saxony*, at this Day *Holstein* in *Denmark*, and *c. 15. & l. 2. c. 5.* had besides at his Command, all those Provinces which the *Saxons* had won on this side *Humber*. Animated with these good Successes, as if *Britain* were become now the Field of *Fortune*, *Sax An.* *Kerdic* another *Saxon* Prince, the Tenth by Li- *omn.* neage from *Wodon*, an old and practis'd Soldier, who in many prosperous Conflicts against the 495. Enemy in those Parts, had nurs'd up a Spirit too big to live at home with Equals, coming to a [d] certain Place, which from thence took the Name of *Kerdic-shoar*, with five Ships, and *Kenric* his Son, the very same Day overthrew the *Britains* that oppos'd him; and so effectually, that smaller Skirmishes after that Day were sufficient to drive them still farther off, leaving him a large 501. Territory. After him *Porta* another *Saxon*, with *Sax An.* his two Sons *Bida* and *Megla*, in two Ships ar- *omn.* *Huntingd.* rive at *Portsmouth* [e] thence call'd, and at their Landing slew a young *British* Nobleman, with many others who unadvisedly set upon them. 508. The *Britains*, to recover what they had lost, *An. omn.* draw together all their Forces, led by *Natanleod*, *Huntingd.* *Cambden.* or *Nazaleod*, a certain King in *Britain*, and the greatest, saith one; but him with 5000 of his Men *Kerdic* puts to rout and slays. From whence the Place in *Hampshire*, as far as *Kirdicsford*, now *Chardford*, was call'd of old *Nazaleod*, Who this King should be, hath bred much que- *Cambd.* stion; some think it to be the *British* Name of *Usf. primord.* *Ambrose*; others to be the right Name of his Brother, who for the Terror of his Eagerness in Fight, became more known by the Sirname of *Uther*, which in the *Welch* Tongue signifies Dreadful. And if ever such a King in *Britain* there were as *Uther Pendragon* [f], for so also the *Monmouth* Book surnames him, this in all likelihood must be he. *Kirdic* by so great a Blow given to the *Britains* had made large room about him; not only for the Men he brought with him, but for such also of his Friends as he desir'd to make great; for which Cause, and withal the more to strengthen himself, his two Nephews, *Stuf* and *Withgar*, in three Vessels bring him new Levies to *Kerdic-shoar*. 514. Who, that they might not come sluggish- *An. omn.* ly to possess what others had won for them, either by their own seeking, or by Appointment, are set in Place where they could not but at their first coming give Proof of themselves upon the Enemy: And so well they did it, that the *Britains* after a hard Encounter left them Masters of the Field. About the same time, *Ella* the first *Hunting.* *South-Saxon* King dy'd; whom *Cissa* his youngest succeeded; the other two failing before him. Nor can it be much more or less than about this time, for it was before the *West-Saxon* Kingdom, The King- that *Uffa* the Eighth from *Woden* made himself dom of King of the *East-Angels*, who by their Name testi- *East-Angl.* fie the Country above-mention'd; from whence *Malmsf. l. 1.* they came in such Multitudes, that their native *c. 15.* Soil is said to have remain'd in the Days of *Beda* *Huntingd. l. 2. p. 313,* uninhabited. *Huntingdon* defers the Time of their *315.* coming in to the ninth Year of *Kerdic*'s Reign: For, saith he, at first many of them strove for Principality, seizing every one his Province, and for some while so continu'd, making petty Wars among themselves; till in the end *Uffa*, of whom *Bede. l. 2.* those Kings were call'd *Uffings*, overtop'd them *c. 15.* all in the Year 571, then *Titilus* his Son, the *Malmsf. l. 1.* Father of *Redwald*, who became potent. And *c. 6.* not much after the *East-Angels*, began also the *East-Saxons* to erect a Kingdom under *Sleda* the The King- Tenth from *Woden*. But *Huntingdon*, as before, dom of will have it later by eleven Years, and *Ercherwin* *East-Sax.* to be the first King. *Kerdic*, the same in Power, 519. though not so fond of Title, forbore the Name twenty four Years after his Arrival; but then founded so firmly the Kingdom of *West-Saxons*, The King- that it subjected all the rest at length, and be- dom of came the sole Monarchy of *England*. The same *West-Sax.* Year he had a Victory against the *Britains* at *Sax. An.* *Kerdics-Ford*, by the River *Aven*; and after eight *omn.* Years, another great Fight at *Kerdics-League* [g], 527. but which won the Day is not by any set down. Hitherto hath been collected what there is of Certainty, with Circumstance of Time and Place, to be found register'd, and no more than barely register'd in Annals of best Note; without describing after *Huntingdon* the manner of those Battels and Encounters, which they who compare and can judge of Books, may be confident he never found in any current Author whom he had to follow. But this Disease hath been incident to many more Historians: And the Age whereof we now write hath had the ill Hap, more than any since the first fabulous Times, to be surcharg'd with all the idle Fancies of Posterity. Yet that we may not rely altogether on *Saxon* Relaters, *Gildas*, in Antiquity far before *Gildas* these, and every way more credible, speaks of more Cre- these Wars in such a manner, though nothing diblethan conceited of the *British* Valour, as declares the *the Saxon* *Saxons* in his Times and before, to have been foil'd Annals.

[a] *Bualth* in *Brecnockshire*, and *Caer Guortigern* in *Radnorshire*. *Camb. Brit.*

[b] The *Weald* in *Sussex*; call'd so from an ancient Forest, which by the Name *Andreda*. *Vid. Glos. ad Chron. Sax. in Voc. Andrececaster*. *Andredswald* took in *Sussex*, *Kent* and *Hampshire*, 120 Mile in Length, and 30 in Breadth.

[c] See Mr. *Cambden*; but Mr. *Somner* rather chuses *Pemsey* or *Hastings*. *Ports and Forts*, p. 104, 105.

[d] *Sardichesora, quæ nunc vocatur Gernemeth*, (says *Brompton*) or *Yarmouth* in *Norfolk*.

[e] Call'd so from its Port, and not from *Porta*. *Cambd.*

[f] The Story of *Uther Pendragon* is reckon'd a Fable by all the *British* Antiquaries. Bishop *Usher* conjectures, that this *Uther* is the same Person with *Nazaleod*, who for his Valour was sirnamed *Uther*, i. e. Terrible.

[g] Suppos'd to be *Chordsley* in *Buckinghamshire*.

A. D. 527. not seldomer than the *Britains*. For besides that first Victory of *Ambrose*, and the interchangeable Success long after, he tells that the last Overthrow which they receiv'd at *Badon*-Hill was not the least; which they in their oldest Annals mention not at all. And because the Time of this Battel, by any who cou'd do more than guess, is not set down, or any Foundation given from whence to draw a solid Compute, it cannot be much wide to insert it in this place. For such Authors as we have to follow give the Conduct and Praise of this Exploit to *Arthur*; and that this was the last of twelve great Battels which he fought victoriously against the *Saxons*. *Nenn.* The several Places written by *Nennius* in their *Welsh* Names, were many hundred Years ago unknown, and so here omitted. But who *Arthur* was, and whether ever any such reign'd in *Britain*, hath been doubted heretofore, and may again with good reason[a]. For the Monk of *Malmsbury*, and others whose Credit hath sway'd most with the learneder Sort, we may well perceive to have known no more of this *Arthur* five hundred Years past, nor of his Doings, than we now living: And what they had to say, transcrib'd out of *Nennius*, a very trivial Writer yet extant, which hath already been related. Or out of a *British* Book, the same which he of *Monmouth* set forth, utterly unknown to the World till more than six hundred Years after the Days of *Arthur*, of whom (as *Sigebert* in his Chronicle confesses) all other Histories were silent, both foreign and domestick, except only that fabulous Book. Others of later Time have sought to assert him by old Legends and Cathedral Regests. But he who can accept of Legends for good Story, may quickly swell a Volume with Trash, and had need be furnish'd with two only Necessaries, Leisure and Belief, whether it be the Writer, or he that shall read. As to *Artur*, no less is in Doubt who was his Father; for if it be true, as *Ninnus* or his Notist avers, that *Artur* was call'd *Mab-Uther*, that is to say, a cruel Son, for the Fierceness that Men saw in him of a Child, and the Intent of his Name *Arturus* imports as much, it might well be that some in after-Ages, who sought to turn him into a Fable, wrested the Word *Uther* into a proper Name, and so fain'd him the Son of *Uther*; since we read not in any certain Story, that ever such Person liv'd, till *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* set him off with the Surname of *Pendragon*. And as we doubted of his Parentage, so may we also of his Puissance; for whether that Victory at *Baden*-Hill were his or no, is uncertain; *Gildas* not naming him, as he did *Ambrose* in the former. Next, if it be true as *Caradoc* relates, that *Melvas* King of that Country, which is now *Summerset*, kept from him *Gueniver* his Wife a whole Year in the Town of *Glaston*, and restor'd her at the Entreaty of *Gildas*, rather than for any Enforcement that *Artur* with all his Chivalry could make against a small Town, defended only by a moory Situation; had either his Knowledge in War, or the Force he had to make, been answerable to the Fame they bear, that petty King had neither dar'd such an Affront, nor he be so long, and at last without Effect,

Nennius, a trivial Writer.

Caradoc. Llancarvon. vit. Gildas.

in revenging it. Considering, lastly, how the *Saxons* gain'd upon him every where all the time of his suppos'd Reign, which began, as some write, in the tenth Year of *Kerdic*, who wrung from him by long War the Countries of *Summerset* and *Hampshire*; there will remain neither Place nor Circumstance in Story, which may administer any likelihood of those great Acts that are ascribed him. This only is alledg'd by *Nennius* in *Artur*'s Behalf, that the *Saxons*, tho' vanquish'd never so oft, grew still more numerous upon him by continual Supplies out of *Germany*. And the Truth is, that Valour may be over-toil'd, and overcome at last with endless Overcoming. But as for this Battel of Mount *Baden*, where the *Saxons* were hemm'd in, or besieg'd, whether by *Arthur* won, or whensoever, it seems indeed to have given a most undoubted and important Blow to the *Saxons*, and to have stopp'd their Proceedings for a good while after. *Gildas* himself witnessing that the *Britains* having thus compell'd them to sit down with Peace, fell thereupon to civil Discord among themselves. Which Words may seem to let in some Light toward the Searching out when this Battel was fought. And we shall find no Time since the first *Saxon* War, from whence a longer Peace ensu'd, than from the Fight of *Kerdic's-League* in the Year 527. which all the Chronicles mention, without Victory to *Kerdic*; and gave us Argument, from the Custom they have of magnifying their own Deeds upon all Occasions, to presume here his ill speeding. And if we look still onward, even to the 44th Year after, wherein *Gildas* wrote, if his obscure Utterance be understood, we shall meet with very little War between the *Britains* and *Saxons*. This only remains difficult, that the Victory first won by *Ambrose* was not so long before this at *Baden* Siege, but that the same Men living might be Eye-witnesses of both; and by this rate hardly can the latter be thought won by *Artur*, unless we reckon him a grown Youth at least in the Days of *Ambrose*, and much more than a Youth, if *Malmsbury* be heard, who affirms all the Exploits of *Ambrose* to have been done chiefly by *Artur* as his General, which will add much Unbelief to the common Assertion of his Reigning after *Ambrose* and *Uther*, especially the Fight at *Badon* being the last of his twelve Battels[b]. But to prove by that which follows, that the Fight at *Kerdics-League*, though it differ in Name from that of *Badon*, may be thought the same by all Effects; *Kerdic* three Years after, not proceeding onward, as his manner was, on the Continent, turns back his Forces on the Isle of *Wight*, which with the slaying of a few only in[c] *Withgarburgh*, he soon masters; and not long surviving, left it to his Nephews by the Mother's side, *Stuff* and *Withgar*; the rest of what he had subdu'd, *Kenric* his Son held, and reign'd 26 Years, in whose tenth Year *Withgar* was bury'd in the Town of that Island which bore his Name. Notwithstanding all these Unlikelihoods of *Artur*'s Reign and great Atchievements, in a Narration crept in I know not how, among the Laws of *Edward* the *Confessor*, *Artur* the famous King of *Britains*, is said not only to have expell'd hence the *Saracens*, who

A. D. 527. *Malms. Antiquit. Glaston.* 529. *Primord. p. 468. Polychronic. l. 5 c. 6.* *Gildas.* *Lansdoun near Bath.* 530. *Sax. An. omn.* 534. 544.

[a] Bishop *Stillingfleet*, in his Vth Chapter of his *Antiquities of the British Churches*, justifies the History of King *Arthur*. He was born at *Camelford*, and dy'd at *Tindagel* in *Cornwall*. *Camb. Brit. Tit. Corn.* The Story of this *British* Hero is confirm'd by the Inscription on his Coffin, which was dug up by Command of *Henry* the Second, who had learn'd by the Songs of the *British Bards*, that he was bury'd at *Glassenbury* in *Somersetshire*, between two Pyramids; where nine Foot deep a Coffin made of the Trunk of an Oak was found, with this Inscription on it in *Gothick* Characters:

Hic jacet sepultus inclytus Rex Arturius in Insula Avalonia.

Cambd. Tit. Somersetsh.

[b] This Fight was fought, according to the best *British* Manuscrips, *Anno*. 520.

[c] Suppos'd to be *Carisbrook*-Castle in the Isle of *Wight*. The Town was then call'd *Withgarisbyrig*, from *Withgar*, *Cerdic's* Nephew, to whom it was given.

A. D. 544. who were not then known in *Europe*, but to have conquer'd *Freeſland*, and all the North-Eaſt Iles as far as *Ruſſia*, to have made *Lapland* the Eaſtern bound of his Empire, and *Norway* the Chamber of *Britain*. When ſhould this be done? From the *Saxons*, till after twelve Battels, he had no reſt at home; after thoſe, the *Britains* contented with the Quiet they had from the *Saxon* Enemies, were ſo far from ſeeking Conqueſts abroad, that by report of *Gildas* above-cited, they fell to Civil Wars at home. Surely *Artur* much better had made War in old *Saxony*, to repreſs their flowing hither, than to have won Kingdoms as far as *Ruſſia*, ſcarce able here to defend his own. *Buchanan* our Neighbour Hiſtorian reprehends him of *Monmouth* and others for fabling in the Deeds of *Artur*, yet what he writes thereof himſelf, as of better Credit, ſhews not whence he had but from thoſe Fables; which he ſeems content to believe in part, on condition that the *Scots* and *Picts* may be thought to have aſſiſted *Arthur*, in all his Wars and Atchievements, whereof appears as little Ground by any credible Story, as of that which he moſt counts Fabulous. But not farther to conteſt about ſuch Uncertainties. In the Year 547, *Ida* the *Saxon*, ſprung alſo from *Woden* in the tenth Degree, began the Kingdom of *Bernicia* in *Northumberland*; built the Town **Bebbanburg*, which was after Wall'd; and had twelve Sons, half by Wives, and half by Concubines. *Hengiſt*, by leave of *Vortigern*, we may remember, had ſent *Octa* and *Ebiſſa* to ſeek them Seats in the North, and there by warring on the *Picts*, to ſecure the Southern Parts. Which they ſo prudently effected, that what by Force and fair Proceeding, they well quitted thoſe Countries; and though ſo far diſtant from *Kent*, nor without Power in their hands, yet kept themſelves nigh 180 Years within Moderation; and as Inferiour Governours, they and their Off-ſpring gave Obedience to the Kings of *Kent*, as to the Elder Family. Till at length, following the Example of that Age; when no leſs than Kingdoms were the Prize of every fortunate Commander, they thought it but Reaſon, as well as others of their Nation, to aſſume Royalty. Of whom *Ida* was the firſt, a Man in the prime of his Years, and of Parentage as we heard; but how he came to wear the Crown, aſpiring or by free Choice, is not ſaid. Certain enough it is, that his Vertues made him not leſs Noble than his Birth, in War undaunted, and unfoil'd; in Peace temp'ring the Awe of Magiſtracy, with a natural Mildneſs: He reign'd about twelve Years. In the mean while *Kenric* in a Fight at *Searesbirig*, now *Salisbury*, kill'd and put to flight many of the *Britains*; and the fourth Year after at *Bevanvirig*, now *Banbury*, as ſome think, with *Keaulin* his Son put them again to flight. *Keaulin* ſhortly after ſucceeded his Father in the *Weſt-Saxons*. And *Alla* deſcended alſo of *Woden*, but by another Line, ſet up a ſecond Kingdom in *Deira* the South part of *Northumberland*, and held it thirty Years; while *Adda* the Son of *Ida* and five more after him, reign'd without other Memory in *Bernicia*: And in *Kent*, *Ethelbert* the next Year began. For *Eſca* the Son of *Hengiſt* had left *Otha*, and he *Emeric* to Rule after him; both which without adding to their Bounds, kept what they had in Peace fifty three Years. But *Ethelbert* in length of Reign equall'd both his Progenitors, and as *Beda* counts, three Years exceeded. Young at his firſt Entrance, and unexperienc'd, he was the firſt Raiſer of Civil War among the *Saxons*; claiming from the Priority of time wherein *Hengiſt* took Poſſeſſion here, a kind of Right over the later Kingdoms; and thereupon was troubleſome to their Confines: But by them twice defeated, he who but now thought to ſeem dreadful, became almoſt contemptible. For *Keaulin* and *Cutha* his Son, purſuing him into his own Territory, ſlew there in Battel, at *Wibbandun*, two of his Earls, *Ofac*, and *Cnebban*. By this means the *Britains*, but chiefly by this Victory at *Badon*, for the ſpace of forty four Years ending in 571, receiv'd no great Annoyance from the *Saxons*: But the Peace they enjoy'd, by ill uſing it, prov'd more deſtructive to them than War. For being rais'd on a ſudden by two ſuch eminent Succeſſes, from the loweſt Condition of Thraldom, they whoſe Eyes had beheld both thoſe Deliverances, that by *Ambroſe*, and this at *Badon*, were taught by the Experience of either Fortune, both Kings, Magiſtrates, Prieſts and Private Men, to live orderly. But when the next Age, unacquainted with paſt Evils, and only ſenſible of their preſent Eaſe and Quiet, ſucceeded, ſtrait follow'd the apparent Subverſion of all Truth and Juſtice, in the Minds of moſt Men: Scarce the leaſt Footſtep, or Impreſſion of Goodneſs left remaining through all Ranks and Degrees in the Land; except in ſome ſo very few, as to be hardly viſible in a general Corruption: which grew in ſhort ſpace not only manifeſt, but odious to all the Neighbour Nations. And firſt their Kings, among whom alſo, the Sons or Grand Children of *Ambroſe*, were foully degenerated to all Tyranny and Vitious Life. Whereof to hear ſome Particulars out of *Gildas* will not be impertinent. They avenge, ſaith he, and they protect; not the innocent, but the guilty: They ſwear oft, but perjure; they wage War, but civil and unjuſt War. They puniſh rigorouſly them that rob by the high Way; but thoſe grand Robbers that ſit with them at Table, they honour and reward. They give Alms largely, but in the Face of their Alms-deeds, pile up Wickedneſs to a far higher Heap. They ſit in the Seat of Judgment, but go ſeldom by the Rule of Right; neglecting and proudly overlooking the modeſt and harmleſs; but countenancing the audacious, though guilty of abominableſt Crimes; they ſtuff their Priſons, but with Men committed rather with Circumvention, than any juſt Cauſe. Nothing better were the Clergy, but at the ſame paſs or rather worſe, than when the *Saxons* came firſt in; unlearned, unapprehenſive, yet impudent; ſubtle Prowlers, Paſtors in Name, but indeed Wolves; intent upon all Occaſions, not to feed the Flock, but to pamper and well line themſelves: Not call'd, but ſeiſing on the Miniſtry as a Trade, not as a Spiritual Charge: Teaching the People, not by ſound Doctrine, but by evil Example: Uſurping the the Chair of *Peter*, but through the Blindneſs of their own Worldly Luſts, they ſtumble upon the Seat of *Judas*: Deadly Haters of Truth, Broachers of Lies: Looking on the poor Chriſtian with Eyes of Pride and Contempt; but fawning on the wickedeſt rich Men without Shame: Great Promoters of other Men's Alms with their ſet Exhortations; but themſelves contributing ever leaſt; ſlightly touching the many Vices of the Age, but preaching without end their own Grievances, as done to Chriſt; ſeeking after Preferments and Degrees in the Church more than after Heav'n; and ſo gain'd, make it their whole Study how to keep them by any Tyranny. Yet leaſt they ſhould be thought things of no Uſe in their eminent Places, they have their Niceties and trivial Points to keep in awe the Superſtitious Multitude; but in true ſaving Knowledge leave them ſtill as groſs and ſtupid as themſelves; Bunglers at the Scripture, nay

547. The King-dom of *Northum-berland.* *An. omn. Bed. Epit. Malmsb.*

* *Bamburrow* at this Day.

Malmſ.

552. *Annal omn.*

556. *Cambden.*

560. *Annal. Florent.*

The King-dom of the *Northumbers* divided into two Monar-chies, *Bernicia* and *Deira.*

561. *Malmsb.*

A. D. 568. *Ann omn.* 568. *Walſingham in Sanct.*

Gildas.

A. D. 571. nay forbidding and ſilencing them that know; but in Worldly Matters, practis'd and cunning Shifters; in that only Art and Simony, great Clerks and Maſters, bearing their Heads high, but their Thoughts abject and low. He taxes them alſo as gluttonous, incontinent, and daily Drunkards. And what ſhouldſt thou expect from theſe, poor Laity, ſo he goes on, theſe Beaſts, all Belly? Shall theſe amend thee, who are themſelves laborious in evil Doings? Shalt thou ſee with their Eyes, who ſee right forward nothing but Gain? Leave them rather, as bids our Saviour, leſt ye fall both blind-fold into the ſame Perdition. Are all thus? Perhaps not all, or not ſo groſly. But what avail'd it *Eli* to be himſelf blameleſs, while he connived at others that were abominable? Who of them hath been envy'd for his better Life? Who of them hath been hated to conſort with theſe, or withſtood their entering the Miniſtry, or endeavour'd zealouſly their caſting out? Yet ſome of theſe perhaps by others are legended for great Saints. This was the State of Government, this of Religion among the *Britains*, in that long Calm of Peace, which the Fight at *Badon* Hill had brought forth. Whereby it came to paſs, that ſo fair a Victory came to nothing. Towns and Cities were not reinhabited, but lay ruin'd and waſte; nor was it long e're Domeſtick War breaking out, waſted them more. For *Britain*, as at other times, had then alſo ſeveral Kings. Five of whom *Gildas* living then in *Armorica*, at a ſafe Diſtance, boldly reproves by Name; Firſt *Conſtantine* (fabl'd the Son of *Cador*, Duke of *Cornwall*, *Artur*'s half Brother by the Mother's Side) who then reign'd in *Cornwall* and *Devon*, a Tyrannical and Bloody King, polluted alſo with many Adulteries: He got into his Power, two Young Princes of the Blood Royal, uncertain whether before him in Right, or otherwiſe ſuſpected: And after ſolemn Oath given of their Safety, the Year that *Gildas* wrote, ſlew them with their two Governours in the Church, and in their Mother's Arms, through the Abbot's Cope, which he had thrown over them, thinking by the Reverence of his Veſture to have with-held the Murtherer. Theſe are commonly ſuppos'd to be the Sons of *Mordred*, *Artur*'s Nephew, ſaid to have revolted from his Uncle, given him in a Battel his Death's Wound, and by him after to have been ſlain. Which things were they true, would much diminiſh the Blame of Cruelty in *Conſtantine*, revenging *Artur* on the Sons of ſo falſe a *Mordred*. In another part, but not expreſs'd where, *Aurelius Conanus* was King: Him he charges alſo with Adulteries, and Parricide; Cruelties worſe than the former; to be a Hater of his Countries Peace, thirſting after Civil War and Prey: His Condition it ſeems, was not very proſperous; for *Gildas* wiſhes him, being now left alone, like a Tree withering in the midſt of a barren Field, to remember the Vanity, and Arrogance of his Father and elder Brethren, who came all to untimely Death in their Youth. The third reigning in *Demetia*, or *South Wales*, was *Vortipor*, the Son of a good Father; he was when *Gildas* wrote, grown old, not in Years only, but in Adulteries, and in governing full of Falſhood, and cruel Actions. In his latter Days, putting away his Wife, who dy'd in Divorce, he became, if we miſtake not *Gildas*, inceſtuous with his Daughter. The fourth was *Cuneglas*, imbru'd in Civil War; he alſo had divorc'd his Wife, and taken her Siſter, who had vow'd Widowhood: He was a great Enemy to the Clergy, high-minded, and truſting to his Wealth. The laſt but greateſt of all in Power, was *Maglocune*, and greateſt alſo in Wickedneſs; he had driv'n out or ſlain many other Kings, or Tyrants; and was called the *Iſland Dragon*, perhaps having his Seat in *Angelſey*; a profuſe Giver, a great Warrior, and of a goodly Stature. While he was yet young, he overthrew his Uncle, though in the Head of a compleat Army, and took from him the Kingdom: Then touch'd with Remorſe of his Doings, not without Deliberation took upon him the Profeſſion of a Monk; but ſoon forſook his Vow, and his Wife alſo, which for that Vow he had left, making Love to the Wife of his Brother's Son then living. Who not refuſing the Offer, if ſhe were not rather the firſt that entic'd, found means both to diſpatch her own Husband, and the former Wife of *Maglocune*, to make her Marriage with him the more unqueſtionable. Neither did he this for want of better Inſtructions, having had the learneſt and wiſeſt Man reputed of all *Britain*, the Inſtituter of his Youth. Thus much, the utmoſt that can be learnt by truer Story, of what paſt among the *Britains* from the time of their uſeleſs Victory at *Badon*, to the time that *Gildas* wrote, that is to ſay, as may be gueſs'd, from 527 to 571, is here ſet down all together; not to be reduc'd under any Certainty of Years. But now the *Saxons*, who for the moſt part all this while had been ſtill, unleſs among themſelves, began afreſh to aſſault them, and e're long to drive them out of all which they yet maintain'd on this ſide *Wales*. For *Cuthulf* the Brother of *Keaulin*, by a Victory obtain'd at *Bedanford*, now *Bedford*, took from them four good Towns, [a] *Liganburgh*, * *Eglesburgh*, *Beſington*, now *Benſon* in *Oxfordſhire*, and † *Igniſham*; but outliv'd not many Months his good Succeſs [b]. And after ſix Years more, *Keaulin*, and *Cuthwin* his Son, gave them a great Overthrow at *Deorrham* in *Gloceſterſhire*, ſlew three of their Kings, *Comail*, *Condidan*, and *Farinmail*, and took three of their chief Cities; *Gloceſter*, *Cirenceſter*, and *Badenceſter*. The *Britains* notwithſtanding, after ſome ſpace of time, judging to have out-grown their Loſſes, gather to a head, and encounter *Keaulin* with *Cutha* his Son, at *Fethanlege*; whom valiantly fighting, they ſlew among the thickeſt, and as is ſaid, forc'd the *Saxons* to retire. But *Keaulin* reinforcing the Fight, put them to a main Rout, and following his Advantage, took many Towns, and return'd laden with rich Booty. The laſt of thoſe *Saxons* who rais'd their own Atchievements to a Monarchy, was *Crida*, much about this time [c], firſt Founder of the *Mercian* Kingdom, drawing alſo his Pedigree from *Woden*. Of whom all to write the ſeveral Genealogies, though it might be done without long Search, were, in my Opinion, to encumber the Story with a ſort of barbarous Names, to little Purpoſe. This may ſuffice, that of *Woden*'s three Sons, from the Eldeſt iſſu'd *Hengiſt*, and his Succeſſion; from the ſecond, the Kings of *Mercia*; from the third, all that Reign'd in *Weſt-Saxon*, and moſt of the *Northumbers*. of whom *Alla*

A. D. 571.

Primord. p. 444.

571. *Cambden. Ann. omn.*

* *Alesbury.*
† *Enſham, in Oxfordſhire.*

577. *Durham.*

Bath.

Huntingd.

The Kingdom of *Mercia.*

Huntingd. Mat. Weſt.

Malmſ. l. 1. c. 3.

[a] Poſſibly *Layton* in *Bedfordſhire*. See the Gloſs to the *Saxon* Chronicle.
[b] Some Authors place the founding of the Kingdom of *Eaſt Angles* by *Uffa* at this time, *Anno* 575. Mr. *Tallent* is of this Opinion in his Chronological Tables.
[c] *Henry* of *Huntington* and *Matt. Weſtminſter*, write that *Crida* founded the Kingdom of *Mercia* in the Year 585.

A. D. 584. *Florent. ad ann.* *Alla* was one, the first King of *Deira*; which after his Death, the Race of *Ida* seiz'd, and made it one Kingdom with *Bernicia*, usurping on the Childhood of *Edwin*, *Alla*'s Son, whom *Ethelric* the Son of *Ida* Expell'd. Notwithstanding others write of him; that from a poor Life, and beyond Hope in his old Age, coming to the Crown, he could hardly by the access of a Kingdom, have overcome his former Obscurity, had not the Fame of his Son preserv'd him. Once more the *Britains*, e're they quitted all on this side the Mountains, forgot not to shew some Manhood; for meeting *Keaulin* at *Wodens Beorth*, that is to say, [a] *Wodens Mount* in *Wiltshire*, whether it were by their own Forces, or assisted by the *Angles*, whose hatred *Keaulin* had incurr'd, they ruin'd his whole Army, and chas'd him out of his Kingdom, from whence flying, he dy'd the next Year in Poverty, who a little before was the most Potent and indeed Sole King of all the *Saxons* on this side *Humber*. But who was chief among the *Britains* in this Exploit had been worth remembring, whether it were *Maglocune*, of whose Prowess hath been spoken, or *Teudric* King of *Glamorgan*, whom the Regest of *Landaff* recounts to have been always Victorious in Fight; to have Reign'd about this time, and at length to have exchanged his Crown for a Hermitage; till in the aid of his Son *Mauric*, whom the *Saxons* had reduc'd to Extremes, taking Arms again, he defeated them at *Tintern* by the River *Wye*; but himself receiv'd a mortal Wound. The same Year with *Keaulin*, whom *Keola* the Son of *Cuthulf*, *Keaulin*'s Brother succeeded, *Crida* also the *Mercian* King deceas'd, in whose room *Wibba* succeeded; and in *Northumberland*, *Ethelfred* in the room of *Ethelric*, Reigning twenty four Years. Thus omitting Fables, we have the view of what with reason can be rely'd on for Truth, done in *Britain*, since the *Romans* forsook it. Wherein we have heard the many Miseries and Desolations brought by Divine Hand on a perverse Nation; driven, when nothing else would reform them, out of a fair Country, into a Mountanous and Barren Corner [b], by Strangers and Pagans. So much more tolerable in the Eye of Heaven is Infidelity profess'd, than Christian Faith and Religion dishonoured by unchristian Works. Yet they also at length renounc'd their Heathenism; which how it came to pass, will be the Matter next related.

A. D. 592. 593.

588. *Ann. omn.* 592. *Florent.* *Bed. l. 2. c. 3.* *Malmsb.* *Florent.* *Sax. An.*

[a] 'Tis propably the same place with *Wanburrow*, on the Borders of *Wilts* and *Berks*; or rather a little Village between *Marlborough* and the *Devises*, near *Wansdike*.

[b] The *British* Chronicles put the total Retreat of the *Welsh* into *Wales*, *Anno* 517.

THE History of ENGLAND,

Continued to the NORMAN CONQUEST.

By Mr. *JOHN MILTON*. Book IV.

A. D. 593. THE *Saxons* grown up now to seven *Absolute* Kingdoms, and the latest of them establish'd by Succession, finding their Power arrive well nigh at the utmost of what was to be gain'd upon the *Britains*, and as little fearing to be displanted by them, had time now to survey at leasure one another's Greatness. Which quickly bred among them either Envy or mutual Jealousies; till the *West* Kingdom at length grown over-powerful, put an end to all the rest. Mean while, above others, *Ethelbert* of *Kent*, who by this time had well ripen'd his young Ambition, with more ability of Years and experience in War, what before he attempted to his loss, now successfully attains; and by degrees brought all the other Monarchies between *Kent* and *Humber*, to be at his Devotion. To which design the Kingdom of *West-Saxons*, being the firmest of them all, at that time sore shaken by their overthrow at *Wodens-beorth*, and the Death of *Keaulin*, gave him no doubt a main Advantage; the rest yielded not Subjection, but as he earn'd it by continual Victories. And to win him the more regard abroad, he marries *Bertha* the *French* King's Daughter, though a Christian, and with this Condition, to have the free exercise of her Faith, under the Care and Instruction of *Letardus* a Bishop, sent by her Parents along with her; the King notwithstanding and his People retaining their own Religion. *Beda* out of *Gildas* lays it sadly to the *Britains* charge, that they never would vouchsafe their *Saxon* Neighbours the Means of Conversion: But how far to blame they were, and what Hope there was of Converting in the midst of so much Hostility, at least Falshood from their first Arrival, is not now easie to determine. Howbeit not long after, they had the Christian Faith preach'd to them by a Nation more remote, and (as report went, accounted old in *Beda*'s time) upon this Occasion. The *Northumbrians* had a Custom at that time, and many hundred Years after not abolish'd, to sell their Children for a small value into any Foreign Land. Of which Number, two Comely Youths were brought to *Rome*, whose fair and honest Countenance invited *Gregory*, Arch-Deacon of that City, among others that beheld them, pitying their Condition, to demand whence they were; it was answer'd by some that stood by, that they were *Angli* of the Province of *Deira*, Subjects to *Alla* King of *Northumberland*, and by Religion *Pagans*. Which last *Gregory* deploring, fram'd

A. D. 593. *Bed. l. 1. c. 22.* *Bed. l. 2. c. 1.* *Malmsb. l. 1. c. 3.*

Bed. Malmsf. *Bed. l. 1. c. 25.*

A. D. 593. fram'd, on a ſudden this alluſion to the three Names he heard; that the *Angli*, ſo like to Angels, ſhould be ſnatch'd *de ira*; that is, from the Wrath of God, to ſing *Ha elujah*: And forthwith obtaining Licence of *Benedict* the Pope, had come and preach'd here among them, had not the *Roman* People, whoſe love endur'd not the abſence of ſo vigilant a Paſtor over them, recall'd him, then on his Journey, though but deferr'd his Pious Intention. For a while after, ſucceeding in the Papal Seat, and now in his fourth Year, admoniſh'd, ſaith *Beda*, by Divine Inſtinct, he ſent *Auguſtine*, whom he had deſign'd for Biſhop of the *Engliſh* Nation, and other zealous Monks with him, to preach to them the Goſpel. Who being now on their way, diſcouraged by ſome Reports, or their own carnal Fear, ſent back *Auſtin*, in the Name of all, to beſeech *Gregory* they might return home, and not be ſent a Journey ſo full of Hazard, to a fierce and infidel Nation, whoſe Tongue they underſtood not. *Gregory* with Pious and Apoſtolick Perſuaſions, exhorts them not to ſhrink back from ſo good a Work, but cheerfully to go on in the ſtrength of Divine Aſſiſtance. The Letter itſelf yet extant among our Writers of Eccleſiaſtick Story, I omit here, as not profeſſing to relate of thoſe Matters more than what mixes aptly with Civil Affairs. The Abbot *Auſtin*, for ſo he was ordain'd over the reſt, reincourag'd by the Exhortations of *Gregory*, and his Fellows, by the Letter which he brought them, came ſafe to the Iſle of *Tanet*, in number about Forty, beſides ſome of the *French* Nation, whom they took along as Interpreters. *Ethelbert* the King, to whom *Auſtin* at his landing had ſent a new and wondrous Meſſage, that he came from *Rome* to proffer Heaven and Eternal Happineſs in the Knowledge of another God than the *Saxons* knew, appoints them to remain where they landed, and Neceſſaries to be provided them, conſulting in the mean time what was to be done. And after certain Days coming into the Iſland, choſe a place to meet them under the open Sky, poſſeſs'd with an old Perſuaſion, that all Spells, if they ſhould uſe any to deceive him, ſo it were not within Doors, would be unavailable. They on the other ſide, call'd to his Preſence, advancing for their Standard a Silver Croſs, and the painted Image of our Saviour, came ſlowly forward ſinging their Solemn Letanies; Which wrought in *Ethelbert* more Suſpicion perhaps that they us'd Enchantments; till ſitting down as the King will'd them, they there preach'd to him, and all in that Aſſembly, the Tidings of Salvation. Whom having heard attentively, the King thus anſwer'd: Fair indeed and ample are the Promiſes which ye bring, and ſuch things as have the Appearance in them of much Good; yet ſuch as being new and uncertain, I cannot haſtily aſſent to, quitting the Religion which from my Anceſtors, with all the *Engliſh* Nation, ſo many Years I have retain'd. Nevertheleſs becauſe ye are Strangers, and have endured ſo long a Journey, to impart us the Knowledge of things, which I perſwade me you believe to be the trueſt and the beſt, ye may be ſure we ſhall not recompence you with any Moleſtation, but ſhall provide rather how we may friendlieſt entertain ye; nor do we forbid whom ye can by preaching gain to your Belief. And accordingly their Reſidence he allotted them in *Deroverne* or *Canterbury* his chief City, and made proviſion for their Maintenance, with free leave to preach their Doctrine where they pleaſed. By which, and by the Example of their Holy Life, ſpent in Prayer, Faſting, and continual Labour in the Converſion of Souls, they won many; on whoſe Bounty and the King's, receiving only what was neceſſary, they ſubſiſted. There ſtood without the City, on the Eaſt-ſide, an ancient Church built in honour of St. *Martin*, while yet the *Romans* remain'd here: In which *Bertha* the Queen went out uſually to Pray. Here they alſo began firſt to Preach, Baptize, and openly to Exerciſe Divine Worſhip. But when the King himſelf, convinc'd by their good Life and Miracles, became Chriſtian, and was baptiz'd, which came to paſs in the very firſt Year of their Arrival; then Multitudes [a] daily, conforming to their Prince, thought it Honour to be reckon'd among thoſe of his Faith: To whom *Ethelbert* indeed principally ſhewed his Favour, but compell'd none. For ſo he had been taught by them, who were both the Inſtructors and the Authors of his Faith, that Chriſtian Religion ought to be voluntary, not compell'd. About this time *Kelwulf* the Son of *Cutha*, *Keaulin*'s Brother, reign'd over the *Weſt-Saxons*, after his Brother *Keola* or *Kelric*, and had continual War either with *Engliſh* *Welſh*, *Picts* or *Scots*. But *Auſtin*, whom with his Fellows, *Ethelbert* now had endow'd with a better Place for their Abode in the City, and other Poſſeſſions neceſſary to Livelihood, croſſing into *France*, was by the Archbiſhop of *Arles*, at the Appointment of Pope *Gregory*, ordain'd Archbiſhop of the *Engliſh*: And returning, ſent to *Rome Laurence* and *Peter*, two of his Aſſociates, to acquaint the Pope of his good Succeſs in *England*, and to be reſolv'd of certain *Theological*, or rather *Levitical* Queſtions: With anſwers to which, not proper in this Place, *Gregory* ſends alſo to the great Work of Converting, that went on ſo happily, a ſupply of Labourers, *Mellitus* *Juſtus*, *Paulinus*, *Rufinian*, and many others; who what they were may be gueſs'd by the Stuff which they brought with them, *Veſſels* and *Veſtments* for the Altar, Copes, Relicks, and for the Archbiſhop *Auſtin* a Pall to ſay Maſs in: To ſuch a rank Superſtition that Age was grown, though ſome of them yet retaining an emulation of Apoſtolick Zeal. Laſtly, to *Ethelbert* they brought a Letter with many Preſents. *Auſtin* thus exalted to Archiepiſcopal Authority, recover'd from the Ruins and other profane Uſes, a Chriſtian Church in *Canterbury*, built of old by the *Romans*; which he dedicated by the Name of *Chriſt's Church*, and joining to it built a Seat for himſelf and his Succeſſors; a Monaſtery alſo near the City Eaſtward, where *Ethelbert* at his motion built St. *Peter's*, and enrich'd it with great Endowments, to be a place of Burial for the Archbiſhops and Kings of *Kent*: So quickly they ſtept up into Fellowſhip of Pomp with Kings. While thus *Ethelbert* and his People had their Minds intent, *Ethelfrid* the *Northumbrian* King was not leſs buſied in far different Affairs: For being altogether Warlike, and covetous of Fame, he more waſted the *Britains* than any *Saxon* King before him; winning from them large Territories, which either he made Tributary, or planted with his own Subjects. Whence *Edan* King of thoſe *Scots* that dwelt in *Britain*, jealous of his Succeſſes, came againſt him with a mighty Army, to a place call'd *Degſaſton*; but in the Fight loſing moſt of his Men, himſelf with a few eſcap'd: Only *Theobald* the King's Brother, and the whole Wing which he commanded, unfortunately cut off, made the Victory to *Ethelfrid* leſs entire. Yet from that time no King of *Scots* in hoſtile Manner durſt paſs into *Britain* for a hundred and more Years after: And

A. D. 597.

598. *Ethelbert* the firſt *Engl* King converted to Chriſtianity. *Bed. l.* 2. *c.* 5.

599. *Sax. An. Malmsb.*

601. *Bed. l.* 1. *c.* 27.

Chriſt's Church at Canterbury dedicated by *S. Auſtin* the Apoſtle of the *Engliſh*. *Bed. l.* 2. *c.* 34.

603.

[a] Ten thouſand baptiz'd in the Year 599. *Tall. Tab.*

A. D. 603. and what some Years before, *Kelwulf* of the *West-Saxon* is annal'd to have done against the *Scots* and *Picts*, passing through the Land of *Ethelfrid* a King so potent, unless in his Aid and Alliance, is not likely. *Buchanan* writes as if *Ethelfrid*, assisted by *Keaulin*, whom he mis-titles King of *East-Saxons*, had before this time a Battel with *Aidan*, wherein *Cutha Keaulin's* Son was slain. But *Cutha*, as is above written from better Authority, was slain in Fight against the *Welsh* twenty Years before. The Number of Christians began now to increase so fast, that *Augustine* ordaining Bishops under him, two of his Assistants *Mellitus* [a] and *Justus*, sent them out both to the Work of their Ministry. And *Mellitus* by preaching converted the *East-Saxons*, over whom *Sebert* the Son of *Sleda*, by Permission of *Ethelbert*, being born of his Sister *Ricula*, then reign'd. Whose Conversion *Ethelbert* to gratulate, built them the great Church of St. *Paul* in *London* to be their Bishop's Cathedral; as *Justus* also had his built at *Rochester*, and both gifted by the same King with fair Possessions. Hitherto *Austin* laboured well among Infidels, but not with like Commendation soon after among Christians. For by means of *Ethelbert* summoning the *Britain* Bishops to a Place [b] on the Edge of *Worcestershire*, call'd from that Time *Augustine's* Oak, he requires them to conform with him in the same Day of celebrating *Easter*, and many other Points wherein they differ'd from the Rites of *Rome*: Which when they refus'd to do, not prevailing by Dispute, he appeals to a Miracle, restoring to Sight a blind Man whom the *Britains* could not cure. At this something mov'd, though not minded to recede from their own Opinions, without farther Consultation, they request a second Meeting: To which came seven *Britain* Bishops, with many other learned Men, especially from the famous Monastery of *Bangor*, in which were said to be so many Monks, living all by their own Labour, that being divided under seven Rectors, none had fewer than three hundred. One Man there was who staid behind, a Hermet by the Life he led, who by his Wisdom effected more than all the rest who went: Being demanded, for they held him as an Oracle, how they might know *Austin* to be a Man from God, that they might follow him, he answer'd, that if they found him meek and humble, they should be taught by him, for it was likeliest to be the Yoke of Christ, both what he bore himself, and would have them bear; but if he bore himself proudly, that they should not regard him, for he was then certainly not of God. They took his Advice, and hasted to the Place of Meeting. Whom *Austin*, being already there before them, neither arose to meet, nor receiv'd into any Brotherly sort, but sat all the while pontifically in his Chair. Whereat the *Britains*, as they were counsel'd by the Holy Man, neglected him, and neither hearken'd to his Proposals of Conformity, nor would acknowledge him for an Arch-bishop: And in Name of the rest, *Dimothus* then Abbot of *Bangor*, is said, thus sagely to have answer'd him. As to the Subjection which you require, be thus perswaded of us, that in the Bond of Love and Charity we are all Subjects and Servants to the Church of God, yea to the Pope of *Rome*, and every good Christian to help them forward, both by Word and Deed, to be the Children of God: Other Obedience than this we know not to be due to him whom you term the Pope; and this Obedience we are ready to give both to him and to every Christian continually. Besides, we are govern'd under God by the Bishop of *Caerleon* *, who is to oversee us in Spiritual Matters. To which *Austin* thus presaging, some say menacing, replies, *Since ye refuse to accept of Peace with your Brethren, ye shall have War from your Enemies; and since ye will not with us preach the Word of Life, to whom ye ought, from their hands ye shall receive Death.* This, though Writers agree not whether *Austin* spake it as his Prophecy, or as his Plot against the *Britains*, fell out accordingly. For many Years were not past, when *Ethelfrid*, whether of his own Accord, or at the Request of *Ethelbert*, incens'd by *Austin*, with a powerful Host came to *Westchester*, then *Caer-legion*. Where being met by the *British* Forces, and both Sides in Readiness to give the Onset, he discerns a Company of Men, not habited for War, standing together in a Place of some Safety; and by them a Squadron arm'd. Whom having learn'd upon some Enquiry to be Priests and Monks, assembl'd thither after three Days fasting to pray for the good Success of their Forces against him, therefore they first, saith he, shall feel our Swords; for they who pray against us, fight heaviest against us by their Prayers, and are our dangerousest Enemies. And with that turns his first Charge upon the Monks: *Brocmail*, the Captain, set to guard them, quickly turns his Back, and leaves above 1200 Monks to a sudden Massacree, whereof scarce fifty 'scap'd: But not so easie Work found *Ethelfrid* against another Part of *Britains* that stood in Arms, whom though at last he overthrew, yet with Slaughter nigh as great to his own Soldiers. To excuse *Austin* of this Bloodshed, lest some might think it his revengeful Policy, *Beda* writes that he was dead long before, although if the Time of his fitting Arch-bishop be right computed sixteen Years, he must survive this Action. Other just Ground of charging him with this Imputation appears not, save what evidently we have from *Geoffrey Monmouth*, whose Weight we know. The same Year *Kelwulf* made War on the *South-Saxons*, bloody, saith *Huntingdon*, to both sides, but most to them of the *South* [c]: And four Years after dying left the Government of *West-Saxons* to *Kineglis* and *Cuichelm* the Sons of his Brother *Keola*. Others, as *Florent* of *Worcester*, and *Matthew* of *Westminster*, will have *Cuichelm* Son of *Kineglis*, but admitted to reign with his Father, in whose third Year they are recorded with joynt Forces or Conduct to have fought against the *Britains* in [d] *Beandune*, now *Bindon* in *Dorsetshire*, and to have slain of them above two Thousand. More memorable was the second Year following, by the Death of *Ethelbert* the first Christian King of *Saxons*, and no less a Favourer of all Civility in that rude Age [e]. He gave Laws and Statutes after the Example of *Roman* Emperors, written with the Advice of his

A. D. 604. A. D. 604.

604. *Bel. l. 2. c. 3.*

St. Paul's Church in *London* founded.

2100 Monks in the Monastery of *Bangor*.

Spelman. Council. pag. 108.

* In *Monmouthshire*.

Sax. An. Huntingd. 607.

Malmsh. gest. Pont. c. 1.

Sax. An. 611.

Sax. An. Malmsb. 614.

Cambden. 616.

Sax. An.

[a] *Mellitus*, Bishop of *London*, and *Justus* Bishop of *Rochester*.

[b] *Bede* says, *it was on the Confines of the* Wiccians *and* West-Saxons; whereas *Worcestershire* doth not any where border upon the *West-Saxons*. By his Account, it should have stood about that Part of *Gloucestershire*, which joyns *Somersetshire* and *Wiltshire*.

[c] In this Year 611. *Sebert* King of the *East-Saxons* founded St. *Peter's* Church and Abbey at *Westminster*, which was consecrated by *Mellitus* first Bishop of *London*.

[d] The *Saxon* Chronical calls it *Beamdune*: And it is not unlikely, that 'twas *Bampton* in *Devonshire*, where it borders upon *Somersetshire*, tho' *Cambden* in his *Brit. Tit. Dorsetshire*, says *Beamdune* is *Byndon* near *Wareham* in that County.

[e] He was the first *English* King who coin'd Money. *Cambd. Rem.*

A. D. 616. his ſageſt Counſellors, but in the *Engliſh* Tongue, and obſerv'd long after. Wherein his ſpecial Care was to puniſh thoſe who had ſtoll'n ought from Church or Churchman, thereby ſhewing how gratefully he receiv'd at their Hands the Chriſtian Faith, Which, he no ſooner dead, but his Son *Eadbald* took the Courſe as faſt to extinguiſh; not only falling back to Heatheniſm, but that which Heatheniſm was wont to abhor, marrying his Father's ſecond Wife. Then ſoon was perceiv'd what Multitudes for Fear or Countenance of the King had profeſs'd Chriſtianity, returning now as eagerly to their old Religion. Nor ſtaid the Apoſtaſie within one Province, but quickly ſpread over to the *Eaſt-Saxons*; occaſion'd there likewiſe, or ſet forward by the Death of their Chriſtian King *Sebert*: Whoſe three Sons, of whom two are nam'd, *Sexted* and *Seward*, neither in his Life-time would be brought to Baptiſm, and after his Deceaſe re-eſtabliſh'd the free Exerciſe of Idolatry; nor ſo content, they ſet themſelves in Deſpight to do ſome open Profanation againſt the other Sacrament. Coming therefore into the Church, where *Mellitus* the Biſhop was miniſtring, they requir'd him in Abuſe and Scorn, to deliver to them unbaptiz'd the conſecrated Bread; and him refuſing, drove diſgracefully out of their Dominion. Who croſs'd forthwith into *Kent*, where things were in the ſame plight, and thence into *France*, with *Juſtus* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. But Divine Vengeance deferr'd not long the Puniſhment of Men ſo impious; for *Eadbald*, vext with an evil Spirit, fell often into foul Fits of Diſtraction; and the Sons of *Sebert*, in a Fight againſt the *Weſt-Saxons* periſh'd, with their whole Army. But *Eadbald*, within the Year, by an extraordinary means became penitent. For when *Laurence* the Archbiſhop and Succeſſor of *Auſtin* was preparing to ſhip for *France*, after *Juſtus* and *Mellitus*, the Story goes, if it be worth believing [a], that St. *Peter*, in whoſe Church he ſpent the Night before in watching and praying, appear'd to him, and to make the Viſion more ſenſible, gave him many Stripes for offering to deſert his Flock; at ſight whereof the King (to whom next Morning he ſhewed the Marks of what he had ſuffer'd, by whom and for what Cauſe) relenting and in great Fear diſſolv'd his inceſtuous Marriage, and apply'd himſelf to the Chriſtian Faith more ſincerely than before, with all his People. But the *Londoners*, addicted ſtill to Paganiſm, would not be perſwaded to receive again *Mellitus* their Biſhop, and to compel them was not in his Power.

The Chriſtians of *Kent* apoſtatize. Alſo the *Eaſt-Saxons*.

Malmſb.

617. Thus much through all the South was troubl'd in Religion, as much were the North Parts diſquieted through Ambition. For *Ethelfrid* of *Bernicia*, as was touch'd before, having thrown *Edwin* out of *Deira*, and joyn'd that Kingdom to his own, not content to have bereav'd him of his Right, whoſe known Vertues and high Parts gave Cauſe of Suſpicion to his Enemies, ſends Meſſengers to demand him of *Redwald* King of *Eaſt-Angles*; under whoſe Protection, after many Years wandring obſcurely through all the Iſland, he had plac'd his Safety. *Redwald*, though having promis'd all Defence to *Edwin* as to his Suppliant, yet tempted with continual and large Offers of Gold, and not contemning the Puiſſance of *Ethelfrid*, yielded at length, either to diſpatch him, or to give him into their hands: But earneſtly exhorted by his Wife, not to betray the Faith and inviolable Law of Hoſpitality and Refuge given, prefers his firſt Pro-

Malmſb. l. 1. c. 1.

miſe as the more Religious; nor only refuſes to deliver him; but ſince War was thereupon denounc'd, determines to be beforehand with the Danger; and with a ſudden Army rais'd, ſurprizes *Ethelfrid*, little dreaming an Invaſion, and in a Fight near to the Eaſt-ſide of the River *Idle*, on the *Mercian* Border, now *Nottinghamſhire* [b], ſlays him, diſſipating eaſily thoſe few Forces which he had got to march out overhaſtily with him; who yet as a Teſtimony of his Fortune, not his Valour to be blam'd, ſlew firſt with his own Hands *Reiner* the King's Son. His two Sons *Oſwald*, and *Oſwi*, by *Acca*, *Edwin*'s Siſter, eſcap'd into *Scotland*. By this Victory, *Redwald* became ſo far Superiour to the other *Saxon* Kings, that *Beda* reckons him the next after *Ella* and *Ethelbert*; who beſides this Conqueſt of the North, had likewiſe all on the hither-ſide *Humber* at his Obedience. He had formerly in *Kent* receiv'd Baptiſm, but coming home, and perſwaded by his Wife, who ſtill it ſeems, was his chief Counſellor to good or bad alike, relaps'd into his old Religion; yet not willing to forego his new, thought it not the worſt way, leſt perhaps he might err in either, for more Aſſurance to keep them both; and in the ſame Temple erected one Altar to Chriſt, another to his Idols. But *Edwin*, as with more Deliberation he undertook, and with more Sincerity retain'd the Chriſtian Profeſſion, ſo alſo in Power and Extent of Dominion far exceeded all before him; ſubduing all, ſaith *Beda*, *Engliſh* or *Britiſh*, even to the Iſles, then call'd *Mevanian*, *Angleſey*, and *Man*; ſettl'd in his Kingdom by *Redwald*, he ſought in Marriage *Edelburga*, whom others call'd *Tate*, the Daughter of *Ethelbert*. To whoſe Embaſſadors, *Eadbald* her Brother made anſwer, *That to wed their Daughter to a Pagan, was not the Chriſtian Law.* *Edwin* reply'd, that to her Religion *he would be no Hindrance, which with her whole Houſhold ſhe might freely exerciſe.* And moreover, that if examin'd it were found the better, he would imbrace it. Theſe ingenious Offers, opening ſo fair a way to the Advancement of Truth, are accepted, and *Paulinus* as a ſpiritual Guardian ſent along with the Virgin. He being to that purpoſe made Biſhop by *Juſtus*, omitted no Occaſion to plant the Goſpel in thoſe Parts, but with ſmall Succeſs, till the next Year, *Cuichelm*, at that time one of the two *Weſt-Saxon* Kings, envious of the Greatneſs which he ſaw *Edwin* growing up to, ſent privily *Eumerus* a hir'd Sword-man to aſſaſſin him; who under Pretence of doing a Meſſage from his Maſter, with a poiſon'd Weapon, ſtabs at *Edwin*, conferring with him in his Houſe, by the River *Derwent* in *Yorkſhire*, on an *Eaſter-Day*; which *Lilla*, one of the King's Attendants, at the inſtant perceiving, with a Loyalty that ſtood not then to deliberate, abandon'd his whole Body to the Blow; which notwithſtanding made Paſſage through to the King's Perſon, with a Wound not to be ſlighted. The Murtherer encompaſs'd now with Swords, and deſperate, fore-revenges his own Fall with the Death of another, whom his Poinard reach'd home. *Paulinus* omitting no Opportunity to win the King from Miſ-belief, obtain'd at length this Promiſe from him; that if Chriſt, whom he ſo magnify'd, would give him to recover of his Wound, and Victory of his Enemies who had thus aſſaulted him, he would then become Chriſtian, in Pledge whereof he gave his young Daughter *Eanfled* to be bred up in Religion; who

A. D. 617.

Camden.

Bed. l. 2. c. 15.

625.

626.

[a] *Bede* tells it. [b] Near *Markham*.

A. D. 626.

who with twelve others of his Family, on the Day of *Pentecoſt* was baptiz'd. And by that time well recover'd of his Wound, to puniſh the Authors of ſo foul a Fact, he went with an Army againſt the *Weſt-Saxons*: Whom having quell'd by War, and of ſuch as had conſpir'd againſt him, put ſome to death, others pardon'd, he return'd home victorious; and from that time worſhipp'd no more his Idols, yet ventur'd not raſhly into Baptiſm, but firſt took care to be inſtructed rightly, what he learnt, examining and ſtill conſidering with himſelf and others, whom he held wiſeſt; though *Boniface* the Pope, by large Letters of Exhortation, both to him and his Queen, was not wanting to quicken his Belief. But while he ſtill deferr'd, and his deferring might ſeem now to have paſt the maturity of Wiſdom to a faulty Lingring; *Paulinus* by Revelation, as was believ'd, coming to the knowledge of a Secret, which befel him ſtrangely in the time of his Troubles, on a certain Day went in boldly to him, and laying his right Hand on the Head of the King, ask'd him if he remembred what that Sign meant? The King trembling, and in amaze riſing up, ſtraight fell at his Feet: Behold, ſaith *Paulinus*, raiſing him from the Ground, God hath deliver'd you from your Enemies, and given you the Kingdom, as you deſir'd: Perform now what long ſince you promis'd him, to receive his Doctrine which I now bring you, and the Faith, which if you accept, ſhall to your Temporal Felicity add Eternal. The Promiſe claim'd of him by *Paulinus*, how and wherefore made, though ſavouring much of Legend, is thus related: [a] *Redwald*, as we heard before, dazled with the Gold of *Ethelfrid*, or by his threatning over-aw'd, having promis'd to yield up *Edwin*, one of his faithful Companions, of which he had ſome few with him in the Court of *Redwald*, that never ſhrunk from his Adverſity, about the firſt Hour of Night comes in haſte to his Chamber, and calling him forth for better Security, reveals to him his Danger, offers him his aid to make eſcape; but that courſe not approv'd, as ſeeming diſhonourable without more manifeſt cauſe to begin diſtruſt towards one who had ſo long been his only Refuge, the Friend departs. *Edwin* left alone without the Palace-Gate, full of Sadneſs and perplext Thoughts, diſcerns about the dead of Night a Man, neither by Countenance nor by Habit to him known, approaching towards him: Who, after Salutation, ask'd him, why at this Hour, when all others were at reſt, he alone ſo ſadly ſat waking on a cold Stone? *Edwin* not a little miſdoubting who he might be, ask'd him again, What his ſitting within doors or without concern'd him to know? To whom he again, Think not that who thou art, or why ſitting here, or what Danger hangs over thee, is to me unknown: But what would you promiſe to that Man, who ever would befriend you out of all theſe Troubles, and perſuade *Redwald* to the like? All that I am able, anſwer'd *Edwin*. And he, What if the ſame Man ſhould promiſe to make you greater than any *Engliſh* King hath been before you? I ſhould not doubt, quoth *Edwin*, to be anſwerably grateful. And what if to all this he would inform you, ſaid the other, in a way to Happineſs, beyond what any of your Anceſtors hath known; would you hearken to his Counſel? *Edwin*, without ſtopping, promis'd he would. And the other, laying his right Hand on *Edwin*'s Head, when this ſign, ſaith he, ſhall next befall thee, remember this time of Night, and this Diſcourſe, to perform what thou haſt promis'd; and with theſe Words diſappearing, left *Edwin* much reviv'd, but not leſs fill'd with wonder who this unknown ſhould be. When ſuddenly the Friend who had been gone all this while to liſten farther what was like to be decreed of *Edwin*, comes back, and joyfully bids him riſe to his Repoſe, for that the King's Mind, tho' for a while drawn aſide, was now fully reſolv'd not only not to betray him, but to defend him againſt all Enemies, as he had promis'd. This was ſaid to be the cauſe why *Edwin* admoniſh'd by the Biſhop of a Sign which had befallen him ſo ſtrangely, and as he thought ſo ſecretly, aroſe to him with that Reverence and Amazement, as to one ſent from Heaven, to claim that Promiſe of him which he perceiv'd well was due to a Divine Power that had aſſiſted him in his Troubles. To *Paulinus* therefore he makes anſwer, That the Chriſtian Belief he himſelf ought by promiſe, and intended to receive; but would confer firſt with his chief Peers and Counſellers, that if they likewiſe could be won, all at once might be baptiz'd. They therefore being ask'd in Council what their Opinion was concerning this new Doctrine, and well perceiving which way the King enclin'd, every one hereafter ſhap'd his Reply. The Chief Prieſt ſpeaking firſt, diſcover'd an old Grudge he had againſt his Gods, for advancing others in the King's Favour above him their Chief Prieſt: Another hiding his Court-compliance with a grave Sentence, commended the choice of certain, before uncertain, upon due Examination; to like purpoſe anſwer'd all the reſt of his Sages, none openly diſſenting from what was likely to be the King's Creed: Whereas the preaching of *Paulinus* could work no ſuch effect upon them, toiling till that time without Succeſs. Whereupon *Edwin* renouncing Heatheniſm, became Chriſtian: And the Pagan Prieſt offering himſelf freely to demoliſh the Altars of his former Gods, made ſome amends for his teaching to adore them. With *Edwin*, his two Sons, *Oſfrid* and *Eanfrid*, born to him by *Quenburga*, Daughter, as ſaith *Beda*, of *Kearle* King of *Mercia*, in the time of his Baniſhment, and with them moſt of the People, both Nobles and Commons, eaſily converted, were baptized [b]; he with his whole Family at *York*, in a Church haſtily built up of Wood, the Multitude moſt part in Rivers. *Northumberland* thus chriſten'd, *Paulinus* croſſing *Humber*, converted alſo the Province of *Linſey*, and *Blecca* the Governour of *Lincoln*, with his Houſhold and moſt of that City; wherein he built a Church of Stone, curiouſly wrought, but of ſmall Continuance; for the Roof in *Beda*'s time [c], uncertain whether by Neglect or Enemies, was down, the Walls only ſtanding. Mean while in *Mercia*, *Kearle* a Kinſman of *Wibba*, ſaith *Huntingdon*, not a Son, having long with-held the Kingdom from *Penda*, *Wibba*'s Son, left it now at length to the fiftieth Year of his Age: With whom *Kinelis* and *Cuichelm*, the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings, two Years after, *Sax. An.* having by that time it ſeems recover'd Strength, ſince the Inroad made upon them by *Edwin*, fought at *Cirenceſter*, then made Truce. But *Edwin* ſeeking every way to propagate the Faith, which with ſo much deliberation he had receiv'd, perſuaded [d] *Eorpwald* the Son of *Redwald*, King

A. D. 626.

627.

628.

629.

[a] 'Tis in *Bede*, and happen'd ten Years before.

[b] On *Eaſter-Day*; *Anno* 627.

[c] About eighty Years afterwards.

[d] On the Death of *Redwald* the *Eaſt-Angles* would have beſtow'd their Kingdom on *Edwin*, but he out of Gratitude to his Benefactor *Redwald* permitted his Son *Eorpwald* to reign as his Tributary. *Bede*, ch. 15.

A. D. 632. *Sax. An. Floren. Genealog.*

of *East-Angles*, to embrace the same Belief; willingly or in awe, is not known, retaining under *Edwin* the Name only of a King. But *Eorpwald* not long surviv'd his Conversion, slain in Fight by *Rickbert* a Pagan: Whereby the People having lightly follow'd the Religion of their King, as lightly fell back to their old Superstitions for above three Years after: *Edwin* in the mean while, to his Faith adding Virtue, by the due Administration of Justice, wrought such Peace over all his Territories, that from Sea to Sea, Man or Woman might have travell'd in Safety. His Care also was of Fountains by the Way-side, to make them fittest for the Use of Travellers. And not unmindful of Regal State, whether in War or Peace, he had a Royal Banner carry'd before him. But having Reign'd with much Honour seventeen Years, he was at length by *Kedwalla*, or *Cadwallon*, King of the *Britains*, who with Aid of the *Mercian Pinda* [a], had rebell'd against him, slain in a Battel with his Son *Osfred*, at a Place call'd *Hethfield* [b], and his whole Army overthrown or dispers'd in the Year 633, and the 47th of his Age, in the Eye of Man worthy a more peaceful end. His Head brought to *York*, was there bury'd in the Church by him begun. Sad was this Overthrow both to Church and State of the *Northumbrians*: For *Penda* being a Heathen, and the *British* King, though in Name a Christian, yet in Deeds more bloody than the Pagan, nothing was omitted of barbarous Cruelty in the Slaughter of Sex or Age; *Kedwalla* threatning to root out the whole Nation, though then newly Christian. For the *Britains*, and, as *Beda* saith, even to his Days, accounted *Saxon* Christianity no better than Paganism, and with them held as little Communion. From these Calamities no Refuge being left but Flight, *Paulinus* taking with him *Ethelburga* the Queen and her Children, aided by *Bassus*, one of *Edwin's* Captains made escape by Sea to *Eadbald* King of *Kent*: Who receiving his Sister with all Kindness, made *Paulinus* Bishop of *Rochester*, where he ended his Days. After *Edwin*, the Kingdom of *Northumberland* became divided as before, each rightful Heir seizing his part; in *Deira*, *Osric* the Son of *Elfric*, *Edwin's* Uncle, by Profession a Christian, and baptiz'd by *Paulinus*; in *Bernicia*, *Eanfrid* the Son of *Ethelfrid*; who all the time of *Edwin*, with his Brother *Oswald*, and many of the young Nobility, liv'd in *Scotland* exil'd, and had been there taught and baptiz'd. No sooner had they gotten each a Kingdom, but both turn'd Recreant, sliding back into their old Religion, and both were the same Year slain; *Osric* by a sudden Eruption of *Kedwalla*, whom he in a strong Town had unadvisedly besieg'd; *Eanfrid* seeking Peace, and inconsiderately with a few surrendring himself. *Kedwalla* now rang'd at will through both those Provinces, using cruelly his Conquest; when *Oswald*, [c] the Brother of *Eanfrid*, with a small but Christian Army, unexpectedly coming on, defeated and destroy'd both him and his huge Forces, which he boasted to be invincible, by a little River running into *Tine*, near the ancient *Roman* Wall then call'd *Denisburn* [d], the Place afterwards *Heaven-field*, from the Cross reported miraculous for Cures,

The *Britains* beat the *Saxons*. 633.

634.

The *Britains* disown the Christianity of the *Saxons*, and think it no better than Pagan Idolatry.

which *Oswald* there erected before the Battel, in token of his Faith against the great Number of his Enemies. Obtaining the Kingdom, he took care to instruct again the People in Christianity. Sending therefore to the *Scotish* Elders, *Beda* terms them, among whom he had receiv'd Baptism, requested of them some faithful Teacher, who might again settle Religion in his Realm, which the late Troubles had impair'd; they as readily hearkning to his Request, send *Aidan*, a *Scotch* Monk and Bishop, but of singular Zeal and Meekness, with others to assist him, whom at their own Desire he seated in *Lindisfarne*, as the Episcopal Seat, now *Holy Island*: And being the Son of *Ethelfrid*, by the Sister of *Edwin*, as right Heir, others failing, easily reduc'd both Kingdoms of *Northumberland* as before into one; nor of *Edwin's* Dominion lost any part, but enlarg'd it rather, over all the four *British* Nations, *Angles*, *Britains*, *Picts* and *Scots*, exercising Regal Authority. Of his Devotion, Humility and Almsdeeds, much is spoken; that he disdain'd not to be the Interpreter of *Aidan*, preaching in *Scotch* or bad *English*, to his Nobles and Houshold Servants; and had the Poor continually serv'd at his Gate, after the promiscuous manner of those times: His Meaning might be upright, but the Manner more ancient of Private or of Church Contribution, is doubtless more Evangelical. About this time the *West-Saxons*, anciently call'd *Gevissi*, by the Preaching of *Berinus* a Bishop, whom Pope *Honorius* had sent, were converted to the Faith with *Kineglis* their King: Him *Oswald* receiv'd out of the Font, and his Daughter in Marriage. The next Year *Cuichelm* was baptiz'd in *Dorchester* [e], but liv'd not to the Year's end. The *East-Angles* also this Year were reclaim'd to the Faith of Christ, which for some Years past they had thrown off. *But Sigbert* the Brother of *Eorpwald* now succeeded in that Kingdom, prais'd for a most Christian and Learned Man: Who while his Brother yet reign'd, living in *France* an Exile for some Displeasure conceiv'd against him by *Redwald* his Father, learn'd there the Christian Faith; and reigning soon after, in the same instructed his People, by the Preaching of *Felix* [f] a *Burgundian* Bishop. In the Year 640, *Eadbald* deceasing, left to *Ercombert* his Son by *Emma* the *French* King's Daughter, the Kingdom of *Kent*; recorded the first of *English* Kings, who commanded through his Limits the destroying of Idols; laudably, if all Idols without Exception; and the first to have establish'd *Lent* among us, under strict Penalty, not worth remembring, but only to inform us, that no *Lent* was observ'd here till his time by Compulsion; especially being noted by some to have fradulently usurp'd upon his Elder Brother *Ermenred*, whose Right was Precedent to the Crown. *Oswald* having Reign'd eight Years, worthy also as might seem of longer Life [g], fell into the same Fate with *Edwin*, and from the same Hand, in a great Battel overcome and slain by *Penda*, at a Place call'd *Maserfield*, now [h] *Oswestre* in *Shropshire*, miraculous, as saith *Beda*, after his Death. His Brother *Oswi* succeeded him, Reigning, tho' in much Trouble, twenty eight Years; oppos'd either by *Penda*, or his own Son *Alfred*, or his Brother's

A. D. 634.

635. *Sax. An.* The *West-Saxons* converted to Christianity. 636.

640. *Ercombert* the first *Engl.* King who commanded Idols to be destroy'd.

Mat. West.

642.

Cambden.

Bed. l. 3. *c.* 14.

[a] *Geoffrey* says, he first conquer'd *Pinda*.
[b] 'Tis prabably *Hatfield*, in the Bounds of *Yorkshire* and *Lincolnshire*. See the *Glossary* to the *Saxon Chronicle*.
[c] Nephew to *Edwin* by his Sister *Occa*.
[d] *Dilston*, the Seat and Barony of the Earl of *Darwentwater*, call'd in old Books *Devilstone*, by *Bede*, *Devilsburn*. *Vid. Camb. Britan. Tit. Northumberland*.
[e] By *Byrinus* an *Italian*, the first Bishop of *Dorchester* in *Oxfordshire*.
[f] The first Bishop of *Dunwich* in *Suffolk*.
[g] He liv'd 38 Years only.
[h] *Oswaldstre* on the Borders of *Denbighshire*.

A. D. 643. *Sax. An.* Brother's Son *Ethelwald*. Next Year *Kinegils* the *West-Saxon* dying, left his Son *Kenwalk* in his ſtead, though as yet unconverted. About this time *Sigebert*, King of *East-Angles*, having learn'd in *France*, e'er his coming to reign, the manner of their Schools, with the Aſſiſtance of ſome Teachers out of *Kent*, inſtituted a School here after the ſame Diſcipline, thought to be the Univerſity of *Cambridge* then firſt founded [a]: And at length weary of his Kingly Office, betook him to a Monaſtical Life; commending the Care of Government to his Kinſman *Egric*, who had ſuſtain'd with him part of that Burthen before. It happen'd ſome Years after, that *Penda* made War on the *East-Angles*: They expecting a ſharp Encounter, beſought *Sigebert*, whom they eſteem'd an expert Leader, with his Preſence to confirm the Soldiery: And him refuſing carried by Force out of the Monaſtery into the Camp; where acting the Monk rather than the Captain, with a ſingle Wand in his Hand, he was ſlain with *Egric*, and his whole Army put to Flight. *Anna* of the Royal Stock, as next in Right, ſucceeded; and hath the Praiſe of a vertuous and moſt Chriſtian Prince. But *Kenwalk* the *West-Saxon* having married the Siſter of *Penda*, and divorc'd her, was by him with more Appearance of a juſt Cauſe vanquiſh'd in Fight, and depriv'd of his Crown: Whence retiring to *Anna* King of the *East-Angles*, after three Years abode in his Court, he there became Chriſtian, and afterwards regain'd his Kingdom. *Oſwi* in the former Years of his Reign, had Sharer with him, *Oſwin* Nephew of *Edwin*, who rul'd in *Deira* ſeven Years, commended much for his Zeal in Religion, and for Comelineſs of Perſon, with other Princely Qualities, belov'd of all. Notwithſtanding which, Diſſentions growing between them, it came to Arms. *Oſwin* ſeeing himſelf much exceeded in Numbers, thought it more Prudence, diſmiſſing his Army, to reſerve himſelf for ſome better Occaſion. But committing his Perſon with one faithful Attendant to the Loyalty of *Hunwald* an Earl, his imagin'd Friend, he was by him treacherouſly diſcover'd and by Command of *Oſwi* ſlain. After whom within twelve Days, and for Grief of him whoſe Death he foretold, dy'd Biſhop *Aidan*, famous for his Charity, Meekneſs, and Labour in the Goſpel. The Fact of *Oſwi* was deteſtable to all; which therefore to expiate, a Monaſtery was built in the Place where it was done, and Prayers there daily offer'd up for the Souls of both Kings, the ſlain and the Slayer. *Kenwalk* by this Time reinſtall'd in his Kingdom, kept it long, but with various Fortune; for *Beda* relates him oft-times afflicted by his Enemies with great Loſſes: And in 652 by the Annals, fought a Battel (Civil War *Ethelward* calls it) at *Bradanford* by the River *Afene*; againſt whom, and for what Cauſe, or who had the Victory, they write not. *Cambden* names the Place *Bradford* in *Wiltſhire*, by the River *Avon*, and *Cuthred* his near Kinſman, againſt whom he fought, but cites no Authority; certain it is, that *Kenwalk* four Years before had given large Poſſeſſion to his Nephew *Cuthred*, the more unlikely therefore now to have rebell'd. The next Year *Peuda*, whom his Father *Penda*, though a Heathen, had for his Princely Virtues made Prince of *Middle Angles*, belonging to the *Mercians*, was with that People converted to the Faith. For coming to *Oſwi* with Requeſt to have in Marriage *Alfleda* his Daughter, he was deny'd her but on Condition, that he with all his People ſhould receive Chriſtianity. Hearing therefore not unwillingly what was preach'd to him of Reſurrection and Eternal Life, much perſwaded alſo by *Alfrid* the King's Son, who had his Siſter *Kyniburg* to Wife, he eaſily aſſented, for the Truth's ſake only, as he profeſs'd, whether he obtain'd the Virgin or no, and was baptiz'd with all his Followers. Returning, he took with him four Presbyters to teach the People of his Province; who by their daily preaching won many. Neither did *Penda*, though himſelf no Believer, prohibit any in his Kingdom to hear or believe the Goſpel, but rather hated and deſpis'd thoſe, who profeſſing to believe, atteſted not their Faith by good Works; condemning them for miſerable and juſtly to be deſpis'd, who obey not that God in whom they chuſe to believe. How well might *Penda*, this Heathen, riſe up in Judgment againſt many pretending Chriſtians, both of his own and theſe Days! Yet being a Man bred up to War (as no leſs were others then reigning, and oft-times one againſt another, though both Chriſtian) he warr'd on *Anna*, King of the *East-Angles*, perhaps without Cauſe, for *Anna* was eſteem'd a juſt Man, and at length ſlew him. About this time the *East-Saxons*, who, as above hath been ſaid, had expell'd their Biſhop *Mellitus*, and renounc'd the Faith, were by the Means of *Oſwi* thus reconverted. *Sigebert*, ſirnam'd the *Small*, being the Son of *Seward*, without other Memory of his Reign, left his Son King of that Province, after him *Sigebert* the Second, who coming often to viſit *Oſwi* his great Friend, was by him at ſeveral Times fervently diſſuaded from Idolatry, and convinc'd at length to forſake it, was there baptiz'd; on his return home, taking with him *Kedda* a laborious Preacher, afterwards made Biſhop; by whoſe teaching with ſome help of others, the People were again recover'd from Misbelief. But *Sigebert* ſome Years * after, though ſtanding faſt in Religion, was by the Conſpiracy of two Brethren in place near about him, wickedly murther'd; who being ask'd what mov'd them to do a Deed ſo heinous, gave no other than this barbarous Anſwer; *That they were angry with him for being ſo gentle to his Enemies, as to forgive them their Injuries whenever they beſought him.* Yet his Death ſeems to have happen'd not without ſome Cauſe by him given of Divine Diſpleaſure. For one of thoſe Earls who ſlew him, living in unlawful Wedlock, and therefore excommunicated ſo ſeverely by the Biſhop, that no Man might preſume to enter into his Houſe, much leſs to ſit at Meat with him, the King not regarding this Church Cenſure, went to feaſt with him at his Invitation. Whom the Biſhop meeting in his return, though penitent for what he had done, and fall'n at his Feet, touch'd with the Rod in his Hand, and angerly thus foretold: *Becauſe thou haſt neglected to abſtain from the Houſe of that Excommunicate, in that Houſe thou ſhalt die:* And ſo it fell out perhaps from that Prediction, God bearing Witneſs to his Miniſter in the Power of Church Diſcipline, ſpiritually executed, not juridically on the Contemner thereof. This Year 655 prov'd fortunate to *Oſwi*, and fatal to *Penda*, for *Oſwi* by the continual Inroads of *Penda*, having long endur'd much Devaſtation, to the endangering once by Aſſault and Fire *Bebbanburg*, his ſtrongeſt City, now *Banborrow* Caſtle, unable to reſiſt him,

The Univerſity of *Cambridge* ſaid to be founded.

645. *Sax. An.*

646.

651. *Beda.*

Bed. l. 3. *c.* 7.

652.

653.

The *Mercians* converted.

A. D. 653.

654. *Sax. An.*

* *Anno* 662

655.

Bed. l. 3. *c.* 16. *Cambd.*

[a] *Bede* ſays, 'twas a little deſolate City in his time, and takes no notice of it as an Univerſity, *Anno* 700. *Robert* of *Remington* writes, that in the Reign of *Edward* the Firſt, *Grant-Bridge* or *Cambridge*, from a School was made an Univerſity like *Oxford*. *Cambd. Tit. Cambr.*

A. D. 655. him, with many rich Presents offer'd to buy his Peace. Which not accepted by the Pagan, who intended nothing but Destruction to that King, though more than once in Affinity with him, turning Gifts into Vows, he implores Divine Assistance, devoting, if he were deliver'd from his Enemy, a Child of one Year old, his Daughter to be a Nun, and twelve Portions of Land whereon to build Monasteries. His Vows, as may be thought, found better Success than his proffer'd Gifts; for hereupon with his Son *Alfrid* gathering a small Power, he encounter'd and *Cambd.* discomfited the *Mercians*, thirty times exceeding his in Number, and led on by expert Captains; at a Place call'd *Loydes*, now *Leeds* in *Yorkshire*. Besides, this *Ethelwald*, the Son of *Oswald*, who rul'd in *Deira*, took Part with the *Mercians*, but in the Fight withdrew his Forces, and in a safe Place expected the Event: With which unseasonable Retreat, the *Mercians* perhaps terrify'd and misdouting more Danger, fled; their Commanders, with *Penda* himself, most being slain, among whom *Edelhere* the Brother of *Anna*, who rul'd after him the *East Angles*, and was the Author of this War; many more flying were drown'd in the River, which *Mat. West.* *Beda* calls [a] *Winwed*, then swoll'n above his Banks. The Death of *Penda*, who had been the Death of so many good Kings, made general rejoicing, as the Song witness'd. At the River *Winwed*, *Anna* was aveng'd. To *Edelhere* succeeded *Ethelwald* his Brother, in the *East Angles*; to *Sigebert* in the *East Saxons*, *Suidelhelm* the Son *Bed. l. 3. c. 22.* of *Sexbald*, saith *Bede*, the Brother of *Sigebert*, saith *Malmsbury*; he was baptiz'd by *Kedda*, then residing in the *East Angles*, and by *Ethelwald* the King, receiv'd out of the Font. But 658. *Oswi* in the Strength of his late Victory, within *Sax. An.* three Years after subdu'd all *Mercia*, and of the *Pictish* Nation greatest Part at which Time he gave to *Peada* his Son-in-Law the Kingdom of *South-Mercia*, divided from the Northern by 659. *Trent*. But *Peada* the Spring following, as was said, by the Treason of his Wife the Daughter of *Oswi*, married by him for a special Christian, on the Feast of *Easter*, not protected by the holy time, was slain. The *Mercian* Nobles, *Immin*, *Eaba*, and *Eadbert*, throwing off the Government of *Oswi*, set up *Wulfer* the other Son of *Penda* to be their King, whom till then they had kept hid, and with him adhered to the Christian Faith. *Kenwalk* the *West Saxon*, now settl'd at home, and desirous to enlarge his Dominion, prepares against the *Britains*, joins Battel with them at *Pen* in *Somersetshire*, and overcoming pursues them to *Pedridan*. Another Fight he had with them before, at a Place call'd *Witgeornesbrug*, barely mention'd by the Monk 661. of *Malmsbury*. Nor was it long e'er he fell at *Sax. An.* Variance with *Wulfer* the Son of *Penda*, his old Enemy, scarce yet warm in his Throne, fought with him at [b] *Possentesburg*, on the *Easter* Holydays, and as *Ethelwerd* saith, took him Prisoner; but the *Saxon* Annals, quite otherwise, that *Wulfer* winning the Field, wasted the *West-Saxon* Country as far as *Eskesdun* [c]; nor staying there, took and wasted the Isle of *Wight*, but causing the Inhabitants to be baptiz'd, till then Unbelievers, gave the Island to *Ethelwald* King of the *South Saxons*, whom he had receiv'd out of the 664. Font [d]. The Year 664. a Synod of *Scotch* and *Bede.* *English* Bishops, in the Presence of *Oswi* and *Alfred* his Son, was held at a Monastery in those Parts [e], to debate upon what Day *Easter* should be kept; a Controversie which long before had disturb'd the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches: Wherein the *Scots* not agreeing with the way of *Rome*, nor yielding to the Disputants on that side, to whom the King most inclin'd, such as were Bishops here, resign'd, and return'd home with their Disciples. Another Clerical Question was there also much controverted, not so superstitious in my Opinion as ridiculous, about the right shaving of Crowns. The same Year was seen an Eclipse of the Sun in *May*, followed by a sore Pestilence beginning in the South, but spreading to the North, and over all *Ireland* with great Mortality. In which time the *East-Saxons* after *Swithelm*'s Decease, being govern'd by *Siger* the Son of *Sigebert* the *Small*, and *Sebbi* of *Seward*, though both subject to the *Mercians*. *Siger* and his People unsteady of Faith, supposing that this Plague was come upon them for renouncing their old Religion, fell off the second time to Infidelity. Which the *Mercian* King *Wulfer* understanding, sent *Jerumannus* a faithful Bishop, who with other his Fellow Labourers, by sound Doctrine and gentle Dealing, soon recur'd them of their second Relapse. In *Kent*, *Ercombert* expiring, was succeeded by his Son *Ecbert*. In whose fourth 668. Year by means of *Theodore*, a Learned *Greekish* *Sax. An.* Monk of *Tarsus*, whom Pope *Vitalian* had ordain'd Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongue, with other Liberal Arts, Arithmetick, Musick, Astronomy, and the like; began first to flourish among the *Saxons*; as did also the whole Land, under Potent and Religious Kings, more than ever before, as *Bede* affirms, till his own Days. Two Years after, in 670. *Northumberland* dy'd *Oswi*, much addicted to *Sax. An.* *Romish* Rites, and resolv'd, had his Disease releas'd him, to have ended his Days at *Rome*: *Ecfrid* the eldest of his Sons begot in Wedlock, succeeded him. After other three Years, *Ecbert* *Sax. An.* in *Kent* deceasing, left nothing memorable be- 673. hind him, but the general Suspicion to have slain or conniv'd at the Slaughter of his Uncle's [e] two Sons, *Elbert* and *Egelbright*. In Recom- *Malms.* pence whereof, he gave to the Mother of them part of *Tanet*, wherein to build an Abbey; the Kingdom fell to his Brother *Lothair*. And much about this time, by best Account it should be, however plac'd in *Beda*, that *Ecfrid* of *Northum-* *Bed. l. 4.* *berland*, having War with the *Mercian Wulfer*, *c. 12.* won from him *Lindsey*, and the Country thereabout. *Sebbi* having reign'd over the *East-Saxons* thirty Years, not long before his Death, though long before desiring, took on him the Habit of a Monk; and drew his Wife at length, though unwilling, to the same Devotion. *Kenwalk* also dying, left the Government to *Sexbarga* his Wife, who out-liv'd him in it but one Year, driven out, saith *Mat. West.* by the Nobles, disdaining Female Government. After 674. whom several petty Kings, as *Beda* calls them, for ten Years space divided the *West-Saxons*; *Bed. l. 4.* others name two, *Escwin* the Nephew of *Kini-* *c. 12.* *gils*, and *Kentwin* the Son, not petty by their *Sax. An.* Deeds: For *Escwin* fought a Battel with *Wulfer*, *Malms.* at *Bedanhafde* [f], and about a Year after both 676. deceas'd; but *Wulfer* not without a Stain left behind him, of selling the Bishoprick of *London*, Simony to *Wini* the first *Simonist* we read of in this Sto- first pra- ry; *Kenwalk* had before expell'd him from his ctis'd in Chair at *Winchester*; *Ethelfred* the Brother of *England.* *Wulfer* obtaining next the Kingdom of *Mercia*, not

A. D. 664. *Streams shall flow at Whitby in Yorkshire.* The *Scots* disagree with the *Saxons* Bishops who were zealous for the *Romish* Discipline. *Malms.*

The Liberal Arts begin to flourish in *England.*

[a] Suppos'd to be the River *Aire*.
[b] *Pontesbury* in *Shropshire*.
[c] *Aston* near *Wallingford* in *Berkshire*.
[d] *Bede* agrees with the *Saxon* Annals.
[e] *Matt.* of *Westminster* calls them his Cousins.
[f] Suppos'd to be *Bedwin* in *Wiltshire*.

A. D. 676. not only recover'd *Lindsey*, and what besides in those Parts *Wulfer* had lost to *Ecfrid* some Years before, but found himself strong enough to extend his Arms another way, as far as *Kent*, wasting that Country without respect to Church or Monastery, much also endamaging the City of *Rochester*: Notwithstanding what Resistance *Lothair* could make against him. In *August* 678. was seen a Morning Comet for three Months following, in manner of a fiery Pillar. And the *South-Saxons* about this time were converted to the Christian Faith, upon this Occasion. *Wilfrid* Bishop of the *Northumbrians* entring into Contention with *Ecfrid* the King, was by him depriv'd of his Bishoprick, and long wandring up and down as far as *Rome*, return'd at length into *England*, but not daring to approach the North, whence he was banish'd, bethought him where he might to best purpose elsewhere exercise his Ministry. The South of all other *Saxons* remain'd yet Heathen; but *Edelwalk* their King not long before had been baptiz'd in *Mercia*, persuaded by *Wulfer*, and by him, as hath been said, receiv'd out of the Font. For which Relation's sake he had the Isle of *Wight*, and a Province of the *Meanuari* adjoining, given him on the Continent about *Meanesborow* in *Hantshire*, which *Wulfer* had a little before gotten from *Kenwalk*. Thither *Wilfrid* takes his Journey, and with the Help of other Spiritual Labourers about him, in short time planted there the Gospel. It had not rain'd, as is said, of three Years before in that Country, whence many of the People daily perish'd by Famine; till on the first Day of their publick Baptism, soft and plentiful Showers descending, restor'd all Abundance to the Summer following. Two Years after this, *Kentwin* the other *West-Saxon* King above-nam'd, chac'd the *Welch-Britains*, as is chronicl'd without Circumstance to the very Sea Shoar. But in the Year, by *Beda*'s reck'ning, 683, *Kedwalla* a *West-Saxon* of the Royal Line (whom the *Welch* will have to be *Cadwallader*, last King of the *Britains*) thrown out by Faction, return'd from Banishment, and invaded both *Kentwin*, if then living, or whoever else had divided the Succession of *Kenwalk*, slaying in Fight *Edelwalk* the *South-Saxon*, who oppos'd him in their Aid; but soon after was repuls'd by two of his Captains, *Bertune*, and *Andune*, who for a while held the Province in their Power, But *Kedwalla* gathering new Force, with the Slaughter of *Bertune*, and also of *Edric* the Successor of *Edelwalk*, won the Kingdom: But reduc'd the People to heavy Thraldom. Then addressing to conquer the Isle of *Wight*, till that time *Pagan*, saith *Beda* (others otherwise, as above hath been related) made a Vow, though himself yet unbaptiz'd, to devote the fourth Part of that Island, and the Spoils thereof, to holy Uses. Conquest obtain'd, paying his Vow as then was the Belief, he gave his fourth to Bishop *Wilfrid*, by chance there present; and he to *Bertwin* a Priest, his Sister's Son, with Commission to baptize all the vanquish'd, who meant to save their Lives. But the two young Sons of *Arwald*, King of that Island, met with much more Hostility; for they at the Enemies approach flying out of the Isle, and betray'd where they were hid not far from thence, were led to *Kedwalla*, who lay then under Cure of some Wounds receiv'd, and by his Appointment, after Instruction and Baptism, first given them, harshly put to Death, which the Youths are said above their Age to have Christianly suffer'd. In *Kent*, *Lothair* dy'd this Year of his Wounds receiv'd in Fight against the *South-Saxons*, led on by *Edric*, who descending from *Ermenred*, it seems challeng'd the Crown; and wore it, though not commendably, one Year and a half: But coming to a violent Death, left the Land expos'd a Prey either to home-bred Usurpers, or Neighbouring Invaders. Among whom *Kedwalla*, taking Advantage from their Civil Distempers, and marching easily through the *South-Saxons*, whom he had subdu'd, sorely harrass'd the Country, untouch'd of long time by any hostile Incursion. But the *Kentish* Men, all Parties uniting against a Common Enemy, with joynt Power so oppos'd him, that he was constrain'd to retire back; his Brother *Mollo* in the Fight with twelve Men of his Company, seeking Shelter in a House, was beset and therein burnt by the Pursuers: *Kedwalla* much troubl'd at so great a Loss, recalling and soon rallying his disordered Forces, return'd fiercely upon the chasing Enemy: nor could be got out of the Province, till both by Fire and Sword, he had aveng'd the Death of his Brother. At length *Victred* the Son of *Ecbert*, attaining the Kingdom, both settl'd at home all things in Peace, and secur'd his Borders from all outward Hostility. While thus *Kedwalla* disquieted both West and East, after his winning the Crown, *Ecfrid* the *Northumbrian*, and *Ethelfred* the *Mercian*, fought a sore Battel by the River *Trent*; wherein *Elfwin* Brother to *Ecfrid*, a Youth of eighteen Years, much belov'd, was slain; and the Accident likely to occasion much more shedding of Blood, Peace was happily made by the grave Exhortation of Archbishop *Theodore*, a Pecuniary Fine only paid to *Ecfrid*, as some Satisfaction for the Loss of his Brother's Life. Another Adversity befel *Ecfrid* in his Family, by means of *Ethildrith* his Wife, King *Anna*'s Daughter, who having taken him for her Husband, and professing to love him above all other Men, persisted twelve Years in the obstinate Refusal of his Bed, thereby thinking to live the purer Life. So perversly then was Chastity instructed against the Apostles Rule. At length obtaining of him with much Importunity her Departure, she veil'd her self a Nun, then made Abbess of *Ely*, dy'd seven Years after the Pestilence; and might with better Warrant have kept faithfully her undertaken Wedlock, though now canoniz'd St. *Audrey* of *Ely*. In the mean while *Ecfrid* had sent *Bertus* with a Power to subdue *Ireland*, a harmless Nation, saith *Beda*, and ever friendly to the *English*; in both which they seem to have left a Posterity much unlike them at this Day: Miserably wasted, without Regard had to Places hallowed or prophane, they betook them partly to their Weapons, partly to implore Divine Aid; and, as was thought, obtain'd it in their full Avengement upon *Ecfrid*, for he the next Year, against the Mind and Persuasion of his sagest Friends, and especially of *Cudbert*, a famous Bishop of that Age, marching unadvisedly against the *Picts*, who long before had been subject to *Northumberland*, was by them, feigning Flight, drawn unawares into narrow Streights overtopt with Hills, and cut off with most of his Army. From which Time, saith *Bede*, Military Valour began among the *Saxons* to decay, nor only the *Picts* till then peaceable, but some Part of the *Britains* also recover'd by Arms their Liberty for many Years after. Yet *Alfred* elder, but base Brother to *Ecfrid*, a Man said to be learned in the Scriptures, recall'd from *Ireland*, to which Place in his Brother's Reign he had retir'd, and now succeeding, upheld with much Honour, though in narrower Bounds, the Residue of his Kingdom. *Kedwalla* having now with great Disturbance of his

Bede l. 4. c. 12.

The *South-Saxons* are converted to Christianity.

Bed. l. 4. c. 13. *Cambden.*

Sax. An.

Bed. l. 4. c. 15.

Malms.

Bed. l. 4. c. 16.

A. D. 678. 679. 681. 682. *Sax. An.* 684. 685. *Malms.* 686. 687. *Bede.*

Sax. An. *Malms.*

The *Saxons* invade *Ireland*.

They grow effeminate.

A. D. 686. his Neighbours, reign'd over the *West-Saxons* two Years, besides what time he spent in gaining it; weary'd perhaps with his own turbulence, went to *Rome*, desirous there to receive Baptism, which till then his worldly Affairs had deferr'd; 689. and accordingly on *Easter-Day* 689, [a] he was baptiz'd by *Sergius* the Pope, and his Name chang'd to *Peter*. All which notwithstanding, surpriz'd with a Disease, he out-liv'd not the Ceremony so far sought, much above the Space of five Weeks, in the thirtieth Year of his Age, and in the Church of St. *Peter* was there bury'd, with a large Epitaph upon his Tomb. Him succeeded *Ina* of the Royal Family, and from the time of his coming in, for many Years oppress'd the Land with like Grievances, as *Kedwalla* had done before him, insomuch that in those Times there was no Bishop among them. His first Expedition was into *Kent*, to demand Satisfaction for the burning of *Mollo*: *Victred*, loth to hazard all for the rash Act of a few, deliver'd up thirty of of those that could be found accessory; or, as others say, pacify'd *Ina* with a great Sum of Money [b]. Mean while, at the Incitement of *Ecbert*, a devout Monk, *Wilbrod* a Priest, eminent for Learning, pass'd over Sea, having twelve others in Company, with Intent to preach the 694. Gospel in *Germany*. And coming to *Pepin*, chief Regent of the *Franks*, who a little before had conquer'd the hither *Frisia*, by his Countenance and Protection, promise also of many Benefits to them who should believe, they found the Work of Conversion much the easier, and *Wilbrod* the first Bishop in that Nation [c]. But two Priests, each of them *Hewald* by Name, and for Distinction surnam'd from the Colour of their Hair, the Black and the White, by his Example, piously affected to the Souls of their Countrymen the old *Saxons*, at their coming thither to convert them, met with much worse Entertainment. For in the House of a Farmer, who had promis'd to convey them, as they desir'd, to the Governour of that Country, discover'd by their daily Ceremonies to be Christian Priests, and the cause of their coming suspected, they were by him and his Heathen Neighbours cruelly butcher'd; yet not unaveng'd, for the Governor enrag'd at such Violence offer'd to his Strangers, sending arm'd Men, slew all those Inhabitants, and burnt their Village. 697. After three Years in *Mercia*, *Osfred* the Queen, Wife to *Ethelred*, was kill'd by her own Nobles, as *Beda's* Epitome records; *Florence* calls them *Southimbrians*, negligently omitting the Cause of 698. so strange a Fact. And the Year following, *Bertred*, a *Northumbrian* General, was slain by the *Picts*. *Ethelred*, seven Years after the violent 704. Death of his Queen, put on the * Monk, and resign'd his Kingdom to *Kenred* the Son of *Wulfer* his Brother. The next Year, *Aldfrid* in *Northumberland* dy'd, leaving *Osfred* a Child of eight Years 705. to succeed him. Four Years after which, *Kenred* 709. having a while with praise govern'd the *Mercian* Kingdom, went to *Rome* in the time of Pope *Constantine*, and shorn a Monk spent there the Residue of his Days. *Kelred* succeded him, the Son of *Ethelred*, who had reign'd the next before.

Malms. Sax. An. Ethelwerd.

* At *Bardeney* Abbey in *Lincolnshire.*

With *Kenred* went *Offa* the Son of *Siger*, King of *East-Saxons*, and betook himself to the same Habit, leaving his Wife and Native Country; a comely Person in the prime of his Youth, much desir'd of the People; and such his Virtue, by Report, as might have otherwise been worthy to have reign'd. *Ina* the *West-Saxon* one Year after fought a Battel, 710. at first doubtful, at last successful, against [b] *Gerent* King of *Wales*. The next Year *Bertfrid*, another *Northumbrian* Captain, fought with the *Picts*, and 711. slaughter'd them, saith *Huntingdon*, to the full Avengement of *Ecfrid's* Death. The fourth Year after, *Ina* had another doubtful and cruel Battel 715. at *Wodnesburg* in *Wiltshire*, with *Kelred* the *Mercian*, who dy'd the Year following a lamentable Death: For as he sat one day feasting with his Nobles, 716. suddenly possess'd with an Evil Spirit, he expir'd in despair, as *Boniface* Archbishop of *Mentz*, an Englishman, who taxes him for a Defiler of Nuns, writes by way of Caution to *Ethelbald*, his next of kin, who succeeded him. *Osred* also the young *Northumbrian* King, slain by his Kindred in the eleventh of his Reign, for his vicious Life and Incest committed with Nuns; was by *Kenred* succeeded and aveng'd. He Reigning two Years, left *Osric* in his room. In whose seventh Year, if *Beda* calculate right, *Victred* King of *Kent* deceas'd, 718. having reign'd thirty four Years, and some part of them with *Suebhard*, as *Beda* testifies. He left *L. 5. c. 9.* behind him three Sons, *Ethelbert*, *Eadbert*, and 725. *Alric* his Heirs [c]. Three Years after which, ap- 728. pear'd two Comets about the Sun, terrible to behold, the one before him in the Morning, the other after him in the Evening, for the Space of two Weeks in *January*, bending their Blaze toward the North; at which time the *Saracens* furiously invaded *France*, but were expell'd soon after with great overthrow. The same Year in *Northumberland*, *Osric* dying or slain, adopted *Bed. l. 5. c. 24.* *Kelwulf* the Brother of *Kenrid* his Successor, to whom *Beda* dedicates his Story; but writes this only of him, that the Beginning and the Process of his Reign met with many adverse Commotions, whereof the Event was then doubtfully expected. Mean while *Ina* seven Years before having slain *Kenwulf*, to whom *Florent* gives the Addition of *Clito*, given usually to none but of the Blood Royal, and the fourth Year after overthrown and slain *Albright* another *Clito*, driven from *Taunton* to the *South-Saxons* for aid, vanquish'd also the *East-Angles* in more than one Battel, as *Malmsbury* writes, but not the Year, whether to expiate so much Blood, or infected with the contagious Humour of those Times, *Malmsbury* saith, at the Persuasion of *Ethelburga* his Wife, went to *Rome*, and there ended his Days; yet this Praise left behind him, to have made good Laws, the first of *Saxon* that remain extant to this day, and to his Kinsman *Edelard*, bequeath'd the Crown: No less than the whole Monarchy of *England* and *Wales*. For *Ina*, if we believe a Digression in the Laws of *Edward* Confessor, was the first King crown'd of *English* and *British*, since the *Saxon* Entrance; of the *British* by means of his second Wife, some way related to *Cadwallader* last King of *Wales*, which I had not noted, being unlikely, but

A. D. 709.

The Apostle of the *Germans.*

Ina crown'd King of *England* and *Wales.*

[a] Dr. *Powell* and Mr. *Vaughan*, in their Notes on *Caradoc's Welsh Chronicle*, suppose that this *Cadwalla* was *Edwal*, sirnam'd *Ywrch*, Prince of *Wales*; who about this time went to *Rome*, and there dy'd. Other *Welsh* Authors pretend, *Cadwalla* here mention'd was their King *Cadwallader*; who, according to *Caradoc*, publish'd by Dr. *Powell*, went to *Rome*, *Anno* 664. and dy'd there eight Years afterwards

[b] *Ina* in the Year 693. held a Great Council of his Bishops, Elder Men, and the Antients of his People, by whom several Laws were made, and is the first Authentick Great Council, whose Laws are come to us entire. *Spelm. Brit. Counc.*

[c] His See was *Weltaburgh*, in the *Gallick* Tongue *Trajectum*, now *Utrecht*.

[d] Suppos'd to be King of *Cornwall*, there being no such Name in the Catalogue of the Kings of *North* or *South-Wales*.

[e] *Peter-Pence* was granted to the Pope about the Year 725, by *Ina* King of the *West-Saxons*.

A. D. 731. but for the place where I found it [a]. After *Ina*, by a ſurer Author, *Ethelbald* King of *Mercia* commanded all the Provinces on this ſide *Humber*, with their Kings; the *Picts* were in League with the *Engliſh*, the *Scots* peaceable within their bounds, and the *Britains* part were in their own Government, part ſubject to the *Engliſh*. In which peaceful State of the Land, many in *Northumberland*, both Nobles and Commons, laying aſide the exerciſe of Arms, betook them to the Cloiſter: And not content ſo to do at home, many in the Days of *Ina*, Clerks and Laicks, Men and Women, haſting to *Rome* in Herds, thought themſelves no where ſure of Eternal Life, till they were cloiſter'd there. Thus repreſenting the ſtate of Things in this Iſland, *Beda* ſurceas'd to write. Out of whom chiefly hath been gather'd, ſince the *Saxons* arrival, ſuch as hath been deliver'd, a ſcatter'd Story pick'd out here and there, with ſome trouble and tedious Work from among his many Legends of Viſions and Miracles; toward the latter end ſo bare of Civil Matters, as what can be thence collected may ſeem a Kalendar rather than a Hiſtory, taken up for the moſt part with Succeſſion of Kings, and Computation of Years, yet thoſe hard to be reconcil'd with the *Saxon Annals*. Their Actions, we read of, were moſt commonly Wars, but for what Cauſe wag'd, or by what Counſels carry'd on, no care was had to let us know: Whereby their Strength and Violence we underſtand, of their Wiſdom, Reaſon, or Juſtice; little or nothing, the reſt Superſtition and Monaſtical Affectation; Kings, one after another, leaving their Kingly Charge, to run their Heads fondly into a Monk's Cowle: Which leaves us uncertain, whether *Beda* was wanting to his Matter, or his Matter to him. Yet from hence to the *Daniſh* Invaſion it will be worſe with us, deſtitute of *Beda*. Left only to obſcure and blockiſh Chronicles; whom *Malmsbury* and *Huntingdon*, (for neither they than we had better Authors of thoſe times) ambitious to adorn the Hiſtory, make no ſcruple oft-times, I doubt, to interline with Conjectures and Surmiſes of their own: Them rather than imitate, I ſhall chooſe to repreſent the Truth naked, though as lean as a plain Journal. Yet *William* of *Malmsbury* muſt be acknowledg'd, both for Stile and Judgment, to be by far the beſt Writer of them all: But what labour is to be endur'd, turning over Volumes of Rubbiſh in the reſt, *Florence* of *Worceſter*, *Huntingdon*, *Simeon* of *Durham*, *Hoveden*, *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*, and many others of obſcurer note, with all their Monachiſms, is a penance to think. Yet theſe are our only Regiſters, Tranſcribers one after another for the moſt part, and ſometimes worthy enough for the things they regiſter. This travel rather than not know at once what may be known of our Ancient Story, ſifted from Fables and Impertinences, I voluntarily undergo; and to ſave others, if they pleaſe, the like unpleaſing labour; except thoſe who take pleaſure to be all their Life-time raking in the Foundations of old Abbies and Cathedrals: But to my Task now as it befalls. In the Year 733. on the 18th Kalends of *September*, was an Eclipſe of the Sun about the third Hour of Day, abſcuring almoſt his whole Orb, as with a black Shield [b]. *Ethelbald* of *Mercia* beſieg'd and took the Caſtle or Town of *Somerton*: And two Years after, *Beda* our Hiſtorian dy'd, ſome ſay the Year before. *Kelwulf* in *Northumberland* three Years after, became Monk in *Lindisfarne*, yet none of the ſevereſt; for he brought thoſe Monks from Milk and Water, to Wine and Ale; in which Doctrine no doubt but they were ſoon docile; and well might, for *Kelwulf* [c] brought with him good Proviſion, great Treaſure and Revenues of Land, recited by *Simeon*, yet all under pretence of following (I uſe the Author's words) poor *Chriſt*, by voluntary Poverty: No marvel then if ſuch Applauſe were given by Monkiſh Writers to Kings turning Monks, and much Cunning perhaps us'd to allure them. To *Eadbert*, his Uncle's Son, he left the Kingdom, whoſe Brother *Ecbert*, Archbiſhop of *York*, built a Library there. But two Years after, while *Eadbert* was buſy'd in War againſt the *Picts*, *Ethelbald* the *Mercian*, by foul fraud, aſſaulted part of *Northumberland* in his abſence, as the Supplement of *Beda*'s Epitomy Records. In the *Weſt-Saxons*, *Edelard* who ſucceeded *Ina*, having been much moleſted in the beginning of his Reign, with the Rebellion of *Oſwald* his Kinſman, who contended with him for the Right of Succeſſion; overcoming at laſt thoſe Troubles, dy'd in Peace 741, leaving *Cuthred* one of the ſame Lineage to ſucceed him: Who at firſt had much War with *Ethelbald* the *Mercian*, and various Succeſs, but joining with him in League two Years after, made War on the *Welſh*: *Huntingdon* doubts not to give them a great Victory. And *Simeon* reports, another Battel fought between *Britains* and *Picts* the Year enſuing. Now was the Kingdom of *Eaſt-Saxons* drawing to a Period; for *Sigeard* and *Senfred*, the Sons of *Sebbi*, having reign'd a while, and after them young *Offa*, who ſoon quitted his Kingdom to go to *Rome* with *Kenred*, as hath been ſaid, the Government was conferr'd on *Selred* Son of *Sigebert* the Good, who having rul'd thirty eight Years, came to a violent Death; how or wherefore, is not ſet down. After whom *Swithred* was the laſt King, driven out by *Ecbert* the *Weſt-Saxon*: But *London*, with the Countries adjacent, obey'd the *Mercians* till they alſo were diſſolv'd. *Cuthred* had now reign'd about nine Years, when *Kenric* his Son a valiant young Prince, was in military Tumult ſlain by his own Soldiers. The ſame Year *Eadbert* dying in *Kent*, his Brother *Edilbert* reign'd in his ſtead. But after two Years, the other *Eadbert* in *Northumberland*, whoſe War with the *Picts* hath been above mention'd, made now ſuch Progreſs there, as to ſubdue *Kyle* [d], ſo ſaith the Auctary of *Bede*, and other Countries thereabout, to his Dominion; while *Cuthred* the *Weſt-Saxon* had a Fight with *Ethelbun*, one of his Nobles, a ſtout Warrier, envy'd by him in ſome matter of the Commonwealth, as far as by the Latin of *Ethelwerd* can be underſtood, (others interpret it Sedition) and with much ado overcoming, took *Ethelbun* for his Valour into Favour, by whom faithfully ſerv'd in the twelfth or thirteenth of his Reign, he encounter'd in a ſet Battel with *Ethelbald* the *Mercian* at *Beorford*, now *Burford* in *Oxfordſhire*; one Year after againſt the *Welch*, which was the laſt but one of his Life. *Huntingdon*, as his manner is to comment upon the Annal Text, makes a terrible Deſcription of that Fight between *Cuthred* and *Ethelbald*,

Bede's Hiſtory goes no farther than this Time.

William of *Malmſbury* our beſt Hiſtorian.

733. *Sax. An. Ethelwerd.*

A. D. 735. *Malmsb.* 738. 740. 741. *Malmsb.* *Sax. Ann.* 743. *Sim. Dun.* 744. *Florent.* *Hoveden.* *Sax. Ann.* 746. 748. *Sax. Ann.* *Huntingd.* 750. *Huntingd.* 752. *Cambden.* 753.

[a] Among the Laws of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, 'tis inſerted, That *Ina* marry'd *Gaula* the Daughter of *Cadwallader* King of *Wales*. *Vid. Lambert's Archieves cap.* 17.

[b] The next Year, 734. the Moon appear'd as it were ſtain'd with Blood, which, ſays *Simeon* of *Durham*, laſted one whole Hour, then follow'd a Blackneſs, and then it return'd to its Natural Colour. In this or the next Year *Bede* dy'd.

[c] To this *Kelwulf Bede* dedicated his Hiſtory.

[d] Or *Drumbritton-Frith* in *Scotland*.

A. D. *Ethelbald*, and the Proweſs of *Ethelhun*, at *Beor-*
753. *ford*, but ſo affectedly, and therefore ſuſpici-
ouſly, that I hold it not worth rehearſal; and
both in that and the latter Conflict, gives Vic-
Sax. An. tory to *Cuthred*; after whom *Sigebert*, uncertain
754. by what Right his Kinſman, ſaith *Florent*, ſtep'd
Malmſ. into the Throne, whom hated for his Cruelty
and other evil Doings, *Kinwulf* joyning with
755. moſt of the [a] Nobility, diſpoſſeſs'd of all but
The firſt *Hampſhire*, that Province he loſt alſo within a
Inſtance Year, together with the Love of all thoſe who
of an *Engliſh* King till then remain'd his Adherents, by ſlaying
ſolemnly *Cumbram*, one of his chief Captains, who for a
depos'd. long time had faithfully ſerv'd, and now diſ-
Hunting. ſuaded him from incenſing the People by ſuch
Hunting. Tyrannical Practices. Thence flying for Safety
into *Andreds* Wood, forſaken of all, he was at
length ſlain by the Swineherd of *Cumbran* in Re-
venge of his Maſter, and *Kinwulf* who had un-
doubted Right to the Crown, joyfully ſaluted
756. King. The next Year *Eadbert* the *Northumbrian*
Cambden. joining Forces with *Unuſt* King of the *Picts*, as *Si-*
meon writes, beſieg'd and took by ſurrender the
City *Alcluith*, now *Dunbritton* in *Lenox*, from
the *Britains* of *Cumberland*; and ten Days after,
the whole Army periſhed about *Niwanbirig*, but
Cambden. to tell us how, he forgets. In *Mercia*, *Ethelbald*
757. was ſlain, at a Place call'd *Secandune*, now *Seck-*
Sax. An. *ington* in *Warwickſhire*, the Year following, in a
bloody Fight againſt *Cuthred*, as *Huntingdon* ſur-
Epit. Bed. miſes, but *Cuthred* was dead two or three Years
Sim. Dun. before; others write him murther'd in the Night
by his own Guard, and the Treaſon, as ſome
ſay, of *Beornred*, who ſucceeded him; but e're
many Months, was defeated and ſlain by *Offa*.
Yet *Ethelbald* ſeems not without Cauſe, after a
long and proſperous Reign, to have fallen by a
violent Death; not ſhaming on the vain Confi-
dence of his many Alms, to commit Uncleanneſs with conſecrated Nuns, beſides Laick Adul-
* *Boniface.* teries, as the * Arch-biſhop of *Ments* in a Let-
ter taxes him and his Predeceſſors, and that by
his Example moſt of his Peers did the like;
which adulterous Doings he foretold him were
likely to produce a ſlothful Off-ſpring, good for
758. nothing but to be the Ruin of that Kingdom,
as it fell out not long after. The next Year *Of-*
mund, according to *Florence*, ruling the *South-*
Saxons, and *Swithred* the *Eaſt-Eadbert* in *Northum-*
berland, following the Steps of his Predeceſſor, got
Sim Dun. him into a Monk's Hood; the more to be won-
Eccleſ. l. 2. der'd, that having reign'd worthily twenty one
Years, with the Love and high Eſtimation of
all, both at home and abroad, able ſtill to go-
vern, and much intreated by the Kings his
Neighbours, not to lay down his Charge; with
Offer on that Condition to yield up to him part
of their own Dominion; he could not be mov'd
from his Reſolution, but relinquiſh'd his Regal
759. Office to *Oſwulf* his Son; who at the Years end,
though without juſt Cauſe, was ſlain by his own
Servants. And the Year after dy'd *Ethelbert*,
Son of *Victred*, the ſecond of that Name in *Kent*.
762. After *Oſwulf*, *Ethelwald*, otherwiſe call'd *Mollo*,
Sim. Dun. was ſet up King; who in his third Year had a
Mat. Weſt. great Battel at *Eldune*, by *Melros*, ſlew *Oſwin* a
great Lord, rebelling, and gain'd the Victory.
765. But the third Year after, fell by the Treachery
Sim. Dun. of *Alcred*, who aſſum'd his Place. The fourth
769. Year after which [b], *Cataracta* an ancient and fair
City in *Yorkſhire*, was burnt by *Arnred* a certain
Tyrant, who the ſame Year came to like end.
And after five Years more, *Alcred* the King de-
774. poſ'd and forſaken of all his People, fled with
a few, firſt to *Bebba*, a ſtrong City of thoſe *Sim. Dun.*
Parts, thence to *Kinot* King of the *Picts*. *Ethel-*
red the Son of *Mollo*, was crown'd in his ſtead.
Mean while *Offa* the *Mercian*, growing powerful,
had ſubdu'd a Neighbouring People, by *Simeon*
call'd *Heſtings* [c]; and fought ſucceſsfully this
Year with *Alric* King of *Kent*, at a Place call'd
* *Ottanford*: The Annals alſo ſpeak of wondrous * *Otford in*
Serpents then ſeen in *Eſſex*. Nor had *Kinwulf* *Kent.*
the *Weſt-Saxon* given ſmall proof of his Valour
in ſeveral Battels againſt the *Welch* heretofore,
but this Year 775. meeting with *Offa*, at a Place 775.
call'd † *Beſington*, was put to the worſe, and *Offa* *Sax. An.*
won the Town for which they contended. In † *Benſing-*
Northumberland, *Ethelred* having caus'd three of *ton* in *Ox-*
his Nobles, *Aldwulf*, *Renwulf*, and *Ecca*, trea- *fordſhire*,
now *Benſon*
cherouſly to be ſlain by two other Peers, was 778.
himſelf the next Year driven into Baniſhment [d], *Sim. Dun.*
Elfwald the Son of *Oſwulf* ſucceeding in his Place,
yet not without Civil Broils; for in his ſecond 780.
Year *Osbald* and *Ethelheard*, two Noblemen, *Sim. Dun.*
raiſing Forces againſt him, routed *Bearne* his
General, and purſuing, burnt him at a Place
call'd *Seletune*. I am ſenſible how wearyſome it
may likely be to read of ſo many bare and
reaſonleſs Actions, ſo many Names of Kings
one after another, acting little more than mute
Perſons in a Scene. What would it be to have
inſerted the long Bead-roll of Arch-biſhops, Bi-
ſhops, Abbots, Abbeſſes, and their Doings, nei-
ther to Religion profitable, nor to Morality;
ſwelling my Authors each to a voluminous Bo-
dy, by me ſtudiouſly omitted; and left as their
Propriety, who have a mind to write the Eccle-
ſiaſtical Matters of thoſe Ages; neither do I care
to wrinkle the Smoothneſs of *Hiſtory with*
rugged Names of Places unknown, better harp'd
at in *Cambden*, and other Chorographers. Six 786.
Years therefore paſs'd over in Silence, as whol- *Ethelwerd.*
ly of ſuch Argument, bring us to relate next *Malmſ.*
the unfortunate End of *Kinwulf* the *Weſt-Saxon*;
who having laudably reign'd about thirty one
Years, yet ſuſpecting that *Kineard* Brother of
Sigebert the former King, intended to uſurp the
Crown after his Deceaſe, or revenge his Brother's
Expulſion, had commanded him into Baniſh- *Sax. An.*
ment; but he lurking here and there on the
Borders with a ſmall Company, having had In-
telligence that *Kinwulf* was in the Country *Cambd.*
thereabout, at *Merantun*, or *Merton* in *Surrey*,
at the Houſe of a Woman whom he lov'd, went
by Night and beſet the Place. *Kinwulf* over-
confident either of his Royal Preſence, or per-
ſonal Valour, iſſuing forth with the few about
him, runs fiercely at *Kineard*, and wounds him
ſore, but by his Followers hemm'd in, is kill'd
among them. The Report of ſo great an Acci-
dent ſoon running to a Place not far off, where
many more Attendants awaited the King's re-
turn, *Oſric* and *Wivert*, two Earls, haſted with
a great Number to the Houſe, where *Kineard*
and his Fellows yet remain'd. He ſeeing him-
ſelf ſurrounded, with fair Words and Promiſe
of great Gifts, attempted to appeaſe them; but
thoſe rejected with Diſdain, fights it out to the
laſt, and is ſlain with all but one or two of his
Retinue, which were nigh a hundred. *Kinwulf*
was ſucceedd by *Birthric*, being both deſcended
of

[a] The *Saxon* Annals call them the Wiſe and Noblemen of the *Weſt-Saxons*.
[b] *Catarick-bridge*, of the Antiquity whereof ſee the Additions, in the late Edition of *Cambden*'s *Britannia*.
[c] *Lambert* in his Gloſſary, at the end of the *Decem Scriptores*, thinks they were *Danes*.
[d] *Roger Hovedon* ſays he was depos'd by the Common Council, and Conſent of his own Subjects.

A. D. 788. of *Kerdic* the Founder of that Kingdom. Not better was the end of *Elfwald* in *Northumberland*, two Years after slain miserably by the Conspiracy of *Siggan*, one of his Nobles, others say, of the whole People at *Scilcester* by the *Roman* Wall; yet undeservedly, as his Sepulchre at *Hagulstald*, now *Hexam* upon *Tine*, and some Miracles there said to be done, are alledg'd to witness; and *Siggan* five Years after laid violent hands on himself. *Ofred*, Son of *Alcred*, advanc'd into the room of *Elfwald*, and within one Year driven out, left his Seat vacant to *Ethelred* Son of *Mollo*, who after ten Years of Banishment (Imprisonment, saith *Alcuin*) had the Scepter put again into his hand. The third Year 789. of *Birthric* King of *West-Saxons*, gave beginning from abroad to a new and fatal Revolution of Calamity on this Land. For three *Danish* Ships, the first that had been seen here of that Nation arriving in the West, to visit these, as was suppos'd, Foreign Merchants, the King's Gatherer of Customs taking Horse from *Dorchester* [a], found them Spies and Enemies. For being commanded to come and give Account of their lading at the King's Custom-House, they slew him and all who came with him; as an earnest of the many Slaughters, Rapines, and Hostilities, which they return'd not long after to commit over all the Island. Of this *Danish* first Arrival, and on a sudden worse than Hostile Aggression, the *Danish* History far otherwise relates, as if their landing had been at the Mouth of *Humber*, and their spoilful March far into the Country; tho' soon repell'd by the Inhabitants, they hasted back as fast to their Ships: But from what Cause, what Reason of State, what Authority or publick Council the Invasion proceeded, makes not mention, and our Wonder yet the more, by telling us that *Sigefrid* then King in *Denmark*, and long after, was a Man studious more of Peace and Quiet, than of Warlike Matters. These therefore seem rather to have been some Wanderers at Sea, who with publick Commission, or without, through Love of Spoil, or Hatred of Christianity, seeking Booties on any Land of Christians, came by Chance or Weather on this Shoar. The next Year *Ofred* in *Northumberland*, 790. who driven out by his Nobles had given place to *Ethelred*, was taken and forcibly shaven a Monk at *York*. And the Year after, 791. *Oelf*, and *Oelfwin*, Sons of *Elfwald*, formerly King, were drawn by fair Promises from the Principal Church of *York*, and after by Command of *Ethelred*, cruelly put to Death at *Wonwaldremere*, a Village by the great Pool in *Lancashire*, now call'd * *Winandermere*. Nor was the third Year less bloody; for *Ofred*, who not liking a shaven Crown, had desired Banishment and obtain'd it, returning from the Isle of *Man* with small Forces, at the secret but deceitful Call of certain Nobles, who by Oath had promis'd to assist him, was also taken, and by *Ethelred* dealt with in the same manner; who the better to avouch his Cruelties, thereupon married *Elfled* the Daughter of *Offa*: For in *Offa* was found as little Faith or Mercy. He the same Year having drawn to his Palace *Ethelbrite* King of *East-Angles*, with fair Invitations to marry his Daughter, caus'd him to be there inhospitably beheaded, and his Kingdom wrongfully seiz'd, by the wicked Counsel of his Wife, saith *Matt. West.* annexing thereto a long unlikely Tale. For which Violence and Bloodshed to make Attonement, with Fryars at least, he bestows the Reliques of St. *Alban*, in a Shrine of Pearl and Gold. Far worse it far'd the next Year with 793. the Reliques in *Lendisfarne*; where the *Danes* landing, pillag'd that Monastery, and of Fryars kill'd some, carried away others Captive, sparing neither Priest nor Lay: Which many strange Thunders and fiery Dragons, with other Impressions in the Air seen frequently before, were judg'd to foresignifie. This Year *Alric* third Son of *Vitred*, ended in *Kent* his long Reign of thirty four Years. With him ended the Race of *Hengist*: Thenceforth whomsoever Wealth or Faction advanc'd, took on him the Name and State of a King. The *Saxon Annals* of 784. name *Ealmund* then reigning in *Kent*; but that consists not with the time of *Alric*, and I find him no where else mention'd. The Year 794. following was remarkable for the Death of *Offa* the *Mercian*, a strenuous and subtle King; he had much Intercourse with *Charles* the Great, at first Enmity, to the interdicting of Commerce on either side, at length much Amity and firm League, as appears by the Letter of *Charles* himself yet extant, procur'd by [b] *Alcuin* a learned and prudent Man, though a Monk, whom the King's of *England* in those Days had sent Orator into *France*, to maintain good Correspondence between them and *Charles* the Great. He granted, saith *Huntingdon*, a perpetual Tribute to the Pope, out of every House in his Kingdom; for yielding perhaps to translate the Primacy of *Canterbury* to *Lichfield* in his own Dominion. He drew *Asser. Men.* a Trench [c] of wondrous length [d] between *Mercia* and the *British* Confines, from Sea to Sea. *Ecferth* the Son of *Offa*, a Prince of great Hope, who also had been crown'd nine Years before his Father's Decease, restoring to the Church what his Father had seiz'd on: Yet within four Months by a Sickness ended his Reign. And to *Kenulf* next in right of the same Progeny bequeath'd his Kingdom. Mean while the *Danish* Pirates who still wasted *Northumberland*, venturing on Shoar to spoil another Monastery at the Mouth of the River *Don*, were assail'd by the *English*, their chief Captain slain on the Place; then returning to Sea, were most of them ship-wreck'd; others driven again on Shoar, were put all to the Sword. *Simeon* attributes this their Punishment to the Power of St. *Cudbert*, offended with them for the rifling of his Convent. Two Years after 796. this, dy'd *Ethelred* twice King, but not exempted at last from the Fate of his many Predecessors, miserably slain by his People, some say deservedly, as not inconscious with them who train'd *Ofred* to his Ruine. *Osbald*, a Nobleman, exalted to the Throne, and in less than a Month, deserted and expelled, was forc'd to fly at last from *Lindisfarne* by Sea to the *Pictish* King, and dy'd an Abbot. *Eardulf* whom *Ethelred* six Years before had commanded to be put to Death at *Ripon*, before the Abbey-Gate, dead as was suppos'd, and with solemn Dirge carried into the Church, after Midnight found there alive, I read not how, then banish'd, now recall'd, was in *York* created King. In *Kent*, *Ethelbert* or *Pren*, whom the Annals call *Eadbright*

The *Danes* first land in *England*.

Pontan. l. 3.

Pontan. l. 4.

790. *Sim. Dun.*

791. *Sim. Dun.*

Cambden.

792. * Commonly call'd *Windermer. Sim. Dun. Eccles. l.* 2.

A. D. 792.

Sim. Dun.

Malmsf.

Cambden.

Malmsf.

Sim. Dun.

Sim. Dun.

[a] *Cambden*, in his *Brit. Tit Devonshire*, tells us, that the *Danes* first landed at *Teignmouth* in that County: Now *Tinmouth*, a Fisher-Town, which was burnt by the *French* in the last War.

[b] He assisted *Cherlemagne* in his Founding the University of *Paris*.

[c] Call'd *Offa*'s *Dyke*, about 90 Miles long, says Mr. *Cambden*.

[d] From the Mouth of *Dee* to that of the River *Wye*. Mr. *Lloyd*, in his Additions to *Wales* (in the late Edition of *Cambden*) has set down the exact Course of it, *Pag.* 587.

A. D. 796. *Eadbright* (ſo different they often are one from another, both in Timing and in Naming) by ſome means having uſurp'd Regal Power, after two Years Reign contending with *Kenulf* the *Mercian*, was by him taken Priſoner, and ſoon after, out of pious Commiſeration, let go: But not receiv'd of his own, what became of him, *Malmsbury* leaves in doubt. *Simeon* writes, that *Kenulf* commanded to put out his Eyes, and lop off his Hands; but whether the Sentence were executed or not, is left as much in doubt by his want of expreſſion. The ſecond Year after this, 798. *Sim Dun.* they in *Northumberland* who had conſpir'd againſt *Ethelred*, now alſo raiſing War againſt *Eardulf*, under *Wada* their chief Captain, after much havock on either ſide at *Langho*, by *Whaley* in *Lancaſhire*, the Conſpirators at laſt flying, *Eardulf* return'd with Victory. The ſame Year *London*, with a great multitude of her Inhabitants, by a 800. ſudden Fire was conſum'd. The Year 800 made way for great alteration in *England*, uniting her ſeven Kingdoms into one, by *Ecbert* the famous *Weſt-Saxon*; him *Birthric*, dying Childleſs, left next to reign, the only Survivor of that Lineage deſcended from *Inegild* the Brother of King *Ina*. *Malmſ.* And according to his Birth, liberally bred, he began early from his Youth to give ſignal Hopes of more than ordinary Worth growing up in him; which *Birthric* fearing, and withal his juſter Title to the Crown, ſecretly ſought his Life, and *Ecbirt* perceiving, fled to *Offa* the *Mercian*: But he having marry'd *Eadburg* his Daughter to *Birthric*, eaſily gave ear to his Am- *Sax. An.* baſſadors coming to require *Ecbert*. He again put to his ſhifts, eſcap'd thence into *France*; but after three Years baniſhment there, which perhaps contributed much to his Education, *Charles* the Great then reigning, he was call'd over by the publick Voice (for *Birthric* was newly dead) and with general Applauſe [a] created King of *Weſt-Saxons*. The ſame day *Ethelmund* at [b] *Kinmeresford*, paſſing over with the *Worceſterſhire* Men, was met by *Weolſtan* another Nobleman with thoſe of *Wiltſhire*, between whom happen'd a great Fray, wherein the *Wiltſhire* Men overcame, but both Dukes were ſlain; no reaſon of their Quarrel written. Such Bickerings to recount, met often in theſe our Writers; what more Worth is it than to Chronicle the Wars of Kites or Crows flocking and fighting in the Air? 801. The Year following, *Eardulf* the *Northumbrian*, *Sim. Dun.* leading forth an Army againſt *Kenulf* the *Mercian*, for harbouring certain of his Enemies, by the diligent mediation of other Princes and Prelates, Arms were laid aſide, and Amity ſoon *Malmſ. L. 2. Aſſer.* ſworn between them. But *Eadburga* the Wife of *Birthric*, a Woman every way wicked, in Malice eſpecially cruel, could not or car'd not to appeaſe the general Hatred juſtly conceiv'd againſt 802. *Sim. Dun.* her; accuſtom'd in her Husband's Days to accuſe any whom ſhe ſpighted; and not prevailing to his Ruine, her Practice was by Poiſon ſecretly to contrive his Death. It fortun'd that the King her Husband, lighting on a Cup which ſhe had temper'd, not for him, but for one of his great Favourites, whom ſhe could not harm by accuſing, ſipp'd thereof only, and in a while after ſtill pining away, ended his Days; the Favourite drinking deeper, found ſpeedier the Operation. She fearing to be queſtion'd for theſe Facts, with what Treaſure ſhe had, paſs'd over Sea to *Charles* the Great, whom with rich Gifts coming to his preſence, the Emperor courtly re- A. D. 802. ceiv'd with this pleaſant Propoſal: Chooſe, *Eadburga*, which of us two thou wilt, me or my Son (for his Son ſtood by him) to be thy Huſband: She, no Diſſembler of what ſhe lik'd beſt, made eaſie anſwer: Were it in my choice, I ſhould chooſe of the two your Son rather, as the younger Man. To whom the Emperor, between jeſt and earneſt, Hadſt thou choſen me, I had beſtow'd on thee my Son; but ſince thou haſt choſen him, thou ſhalt have neither him nor me. Nevertheleſs he aſſign'd her a rich Monaſtery to dwell in as Abbeſs; for that Life, it may ſeem, ſhe choſe next to profeſs: But being a while after detected of Unchaſtity with one of her Followers, ſhe was commanded to depart thence; from that time wandring poorly up and down with one Servant, in *Pavia* a City of *Italy*, ſhe finiſh'd at laſt in Beggary her ſhameful Life. In the Year 805, *Cuthred*, 805. whom *Kenulf* the *Mercian* had, inſtead of *Pren*, made King in *Kent*, having obſcurely reign'd *Malmsb. Sax. An.* eight Years, deceas'd. In *Northumberland*, *Ear-* 806. *dulf* the Year following was driven out of his Realm by *Alfwold*, who reign'd two Years in *Huntingd. Sim. Dun.* his room; after whom *Eandred*, Son of *Eardulf*, 808. thirty three Years. But I ſee not how this can *Mat. Weſt.* ſtand with the ſequel of Story out of better Authors: Much leſs that which *Bachanan* relates the Year following of *Acaius* King of *Scots*, who 809. having reign'd thirty two Years, and dying in 809, had formerly aided (but in what Year of his Reign tells not) *Hungus* King of *Picts*, with 10000 *Scots*, againſt *Athelſtan* a *Saxon* or *Engliſhman*, then waſting the *Pictiſh* Borders; that *Hungus*, by the aid of thoſe *Scots*, and the Help of St. *Andrew* their *Patron*, in a Viſion by Night, and the Appearance of his Croſs by Day, routed the aſtoniſh'd *Engliſh*, and ſlew *Athelſtan* in fight. Who this *Athelſtan* was, I believe no Man knows: *Buchanan* ſuppoſes him to have been ſome *Daniſh* Commander, on whom King *Alured*, or *Alfred*, had beſtow'd *Northumberland*: But of this I find no footſtep in our ancient Writers; and if any ſuch thing were done in the time of *Alfred*, it muſt be little leſs than one hundred Years after: This *Athelſtan* therefore, and this great Overthrow ſeems rather to have been the Fancy of ſome Legend, than any warrantable Record. Mean while, *Ecbert* having with much Prudence, *Sim. Dun* Juſtice and Clemency, a Work of more than one 813. Year, eſtabliſh'd his Kingdom, and himſelf in *Sax. An.* the Affections of his People, turns his firſt Enterprize againſt the *Britains*, both them of *Cornwall*, and thoſe beyond *Severn*, ſubduing both. In *Mercia*, *Kenulf* the ſixth Year after, having reign'd with great Praiſe of his religious Mind and Virtues, both in Peace and War, deceas'd. His Son *Kenelm*, a Child of ſeven Years, was 819. committed to the Care of his Eldeſt Siſter *Quen-* *Sax. Ann.* *dred*; who with a Female Ambition aſpiring to *Malmſ.* the Crown, hir'd one who had the charge of his Nurture, to murther him, led into a woody Place upon Pretence of Hunting. The Murther, as is reported, was miraculouſly reveal'd; but to tell how, by a Dove dropping a written Note on the Altar at *Rome*, is a long Story told, tho' out of order, by *Malmsbury*; and under the Year 821, by *Matt. Weſt.* where I leave it to be ſought by ſuch as are more credulous than I wiſh

[a] *Ethelwerd* ſays, he was ordain'd King; Dr. *Lloid* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, from *Aſſer*'s *Annals*, *Simeon* of *Durham*, *Roger Hoveden*, and others, proves *Egbert*'s Acceſſion to the Throne to be two Years forwarder, *Anno* 802.

[b] It ſeems to be *Kempsford* on the Edge of *Glocesterſhire*, next to *Wiltſhire*.

A. D. 819. wiſh my Readers. Only the Note was to this purpoſe:

Low in a Mead of King under a Thorn,
Of Head bereaſt li'th poor Kenelm *King-born.*

820. *Ingulf.* *Keolwulf*, the Brother of *Kenulf*, after one Year's Reign was driven out by one *Bernulf* an Uſurper: Who in his third Year, uncertain whether invading or invaded, was by *Ecbert*, though with great Loſs on both Sides, overthrown and put to flight at *Ellandune*, or *Wilton*: Yet *Malmſbury* accounts this Battel fought in 806, a wide difference, but frequently found in their Computations. *Bernulf* thence retiring to the *Eaſt-Angles*, as part of his Dominion by the late Seizure of *Offa*, was by them met in the Field and ſlain: But they doubting what the *Mercians* might do in revenge hereof, forthwith yielded themſelves, both King and People, to the Sovereignty of *Ecbert*. As for the Kings of *Eaſt-Angles*, our *Annals* mention them not ſince *Ethelwald*; him ſucceeded his Brother's Sons, as we find in *Malmsbury*, *Aldulf* (a good King, well acquainted with *Bede*) and *Elwold* who left the Kingdom to *Beorn*, he to *Ethelred* the Father of this *Ethelbrite*, whom *Offa* perfidiouſly put to Death. *Simeon* and *Hoveden*, in the Year 749, write, that *Elfwald* King of *Eaſt-Angles* dying, *Humbeanna* and *Albert* ſhar'd the Kingdom between them; but where to inſert this among the former Succeſſions, is not eaſie, nor much material: After *Ethelbrite* none is nam'd of that Kingdom till their ſubmitting now to *Ecbert*: He from this Victory againſt *Bernulf* ſent part of his Army under *Ethelwulf* his Son, with *Alſtan* Biſhop of *Shirburn*, and *Wulfred* a Chief Commander, into *Kent*. Who finding *Baldred* there reigning in his eighteenth Year, overcame and drove him over the *Thames*; whereupon all *Kent*, *Surrey*, *Suſſex*, and laſtly *Eſſex*, with her King *Swithred*, became ſubject to the Dominion of *Ecbert*. Neither were theſe all his Exploits of this Year, the firſt in order ſet down in *Saxon Annals*, being his Fight againſt the *Devonſhire Welſh*, at a Place call'd *Gafulford*, now *Camelford* in *Cornwall*. *Ludiken* the *Mercian*, after two Years preparing to avenge *Bernulf* his Kinſman on the *Eaſt-Angles*, was by them with his five Conſuls, as the *Annals* call them, ſurpriz'd and put to the Sword: And *Witlaf* his Succeſſor firſt vanquiſh'd, then upon Submiſſion with all *Mercia*, made Tributary to *Ecbert*. Mean while the *Northumbrian* Kingdom of it ſelf was fallen to ſhivers; their Kings, one after another, ſo often ſlain by the People, no Man daring, tho' never ſo ambitious, to take up the Scepter, which many had found ſo hot, (the only effectual Cure of Ambition that I have read) for the Space of thirty three Years after the Death of *Ethelred* Son of *Mello*, as *Malmsbury* writes, there was no King: Many Noblemen and Prelates were fled the Country. Which miſ-rule among them, the *Danes* having underſtood, oft-times from their Ships entring far into the Land, infeſted thoſe Parts with wide Depopulation, waſting Towns, Churches and Monaſteries, for they were yet Heathen: The *Lent* before whoſe coming, on the North-ſide of St. *Peter's* Church in *York*, was ſeen from the Roof to rain Blood. The Cauſes of theſe Calamities, and the Ruin of that Kingdom, *Alcuin*, a learned Monk living in thoſe Days, attributes in ſeveral Epiſtles, and well may to the general Ignorance and decay of Learning, which crept in among them after the Death of *Beda*, and of *Ecbert* the Archbiſhop; their neglect of breeding up Youth in the Scriptures, the ſpruce and gay Apparel of their Prieſts and Nuns, diſcovering their vain and wanton Minds; Examples are alſo read, even in *Beda's* Days, of their wanton Deeds: Thence Altars defil'd with Perjuries, Cloiſters violated with Adulteries, the Land polluted with Blood of their Princes, Civil Diſſentions among the People, and finally all the ſame Vices which *Gildas* alledg'd of old to have ruin'd the *Britains*. In this Eſtate, *Ecbert*, who had now conquer'd all the South, finding them in the Year 827, (for he was march'd thither with an Army to compleat his Conqueſt of the whole Iſland) no wonder if they ſubmitted themſelves to the Yoke without reſiſtance, *Eandred* their King becoming Tributary. Thence turning his Forces the Year following, he ſubdu'd more throughly what remain'd of *North-Wales*.

Florent. Genealog. Bed. l. 2. c. 15.

Camden. 825. *Ingulf.*

A. D. 825. 827. 828. *Mat. Weſt.*

THE History of ENGLAND,

Continued to the NORMAN CONQUEST.

By Mr. *JOHN MILTON*. Book V.

A. D. 828.

THE Sum of things in this Iſland, or the beſt Part thereof, reduc'd now under the Power of one Man; and him one of the worthieſt, which, as far as can be found in good Authors, was by none attain'd at any time here before unleſs in Fables; Men might with ſome Reaſon have expected from ſuch Union, Peace and Plenty, Greatneſs, and the flouriſhing of all Eſtates and Degrees: But far the contrary fell out ſoon after, Invaſion, Spoil, Deſolation, Slaughter of many, Slavery of the reſt, by the forcible landing of a fierce Nation; *Danes* commonly called, and ſometimes *Dacians* by others, the ſame with *Normans*; as barbarous as the *Saxons* themſelves were at firſt reputed, and much more; for the *Saxons* firſt invited came hither to dwell; theſe unſent for, unprovoked, came only to deſtroy. But if the *Saxons*, as is above related, came moſt of them from *Jutland* and *Anglen*, a part of *Denmark*, as *Daniſh* Writers affirm, and that *Danes* and *Normans* are the ſame; then in this Invaſion, *Danes* drove out *Danes*, their own Poſterity: And *Normans* afterwards, none but Ancienter *Normans*. Which Invaſion perhaps, had the Heptarchy ſtood divided as it was, had either not been attempted, or not uneaſily reſiſted; while each Prince and People, excited by their neareſt Concernments, had more induſtriouſly defended their own Bounds, than depending on the neglect of a deputed Governor, ſent oft-times from the remote Reſidence of a ſecure Monarch. Though as it fell out in thoſe Troubles, the leſſer Kingdoms revolting from the *Weſt-Saxon* Yoke, and not aiding each other, too much concern'd with their own Safety, it came to no better paſs; while ſeverally they ſought to repel the Danger nigh at hand, rather than jointly to prevent it far off. But when God hath decreed Servitude on a ſinful Nation, fitted by their own Vices for no Condition but ſervile, all Eſtates of Government are alike unable to avoid it. God had purpos'd to puniſh our inſtrumental Puniſhers, though now Chriſtians, by other Heathen, according to his Divine Retaliation, Invaſion for Invaſion, Spoil for Spoil, Deſtruction for Deſtruction. The *Saxons* were now full as wicked as the *Britains* were at their Arrival, broken with Luxury and Sloth, either ſecular or ſuperſtitious; for laying aſide the Exerciſe of Arms, and the Study of all vertuous Knowledge, ſome betook them to over-worldly or vitious Practice, others to Religious Idleneſs and Solitude, which brought forth nothing but vain and deluſive Viſions; eaſily perceiv'd ſuch, by their commanding of things, either not belonging to the Goſpel, or utterly forbidden, Ceremonies, Reliques, Monaſteries, Maſſes, Idols, add to theſe Oſtentation of Alms, got oft-times by Rapine and Oppreſſion, or intermixt with violent and luſtful Deeds, ſometimes prodigally beſtow'd, as the Expiation of Cruelty and Bloodſhed. What longer Suffering could there be, when Religion itſelf grew ſo void of Sincerity, and the greateſt Shews of Purity were impur'd. A. D. 828.

Calviſius.

Pontan.

ECBERT.

ECBERT in full heighth of Glory, having now enjoy'd his Conqueſt ſeven peaceful Years, his victorious Army long ſince disbanded, and the Exerciſe of Arms perhaps laid aſide, the more was found unprovided *againſt a ſudden* Storm of *Danes* from the Sea, who landing in the 32 of his Reign, waſted *Shepey* in *Kent*. *Ecbert* the next Year, gathering an Army, for he had heard of their Arrival in 35 Ships, gave them Battel by the River *Carr* [a] in *Dorſetſhire*; the Event whereof was, that the *Danes* kept their Ground, and encamp'd where the Field was fought; two *Saxon* Leaders, *Dudda* and *Oſmund*, and two Biſhops as ſome ſay, were there ſlain. This was the only Check of Fortune we read of, that *Ecbert* in all his time receiv'd. For the *Danes* returning two Years after with a great Navy, and joyning Forces with the *Corniſh*, who had enter'd League with them, were overthrown and put to flight [b]. Of theſe Invaſions againſt *Ecbert*, the *Daniſh* Hiſtory is not ſilent; whether out of their own Records or ours, may be juſtly doubted; for of theſe Times at home, I find them in much Uncertainty, and beholding rather to out-landiſh Chronicles than any Records of their own. The Victor *Ecbert*, as one who had done enough, ſeaſonably now, after proſperous Succeſs, the next Year with Glory ended his Days, and was buried at *Wincheſter*.

Ecbert firſt Monarch of *England*; which Name was at this time given to this Kingdom.

832. *Sax. An.*

833. *Sax. An.*

835. *Sax. An. Pontan. Hiſt. Dan. l.* 4.

836. *Sax. An.*

ETHELWOLF.

ETHELWOLF the Son of *Ecbert* ſucceeded; by *Malmsbury* deſcrib'd a Man of mild Nature, not inclin'd to War, or delighted with much Dominion; that therefore contented with the ancient

[a] Near *Charmouth* in *Dorſetſhire*.
[b] At *Hengſton* in *Cornwall*: So call'd from *Hengiſt* the *Saxon*.

A. D. ancient *West-Saxon* Bounds, he gave to *Ethalstan* his Brother, or Son, as some write, the King-
836. dom of *Kent* and *Essex*. But the *Saxon* Annalist,
Mat. West. whose Authority is elder, saith plainly, that both these Countries and *Sussex*, were bequeath'd to *Ethelstan* by *Ecbert* his Father. The unwarlike Disposition of *Ethelwolf*, gave Encouragement no doubt, and easier Entrance to the
837. *Danes*, who came again the next Year with thir-
Sax. An. ty three Ships; but *Wulfheard*, one of the King's Chief Captains, drove them back at *Southampton* with great Slaughter; himself dying the same Year of Age, as I suppose, for he seems to have been one of *Ecbert*'s old Commanders, who was sent with *Ethelwulf* to subdue *Kent*. *Ethelhelm* another of the King's Captains with the *Dorsetshire* Men, had at first like Success against the *Danes* at [a] *Portsmouth*; but they reinforcing stood their Ground, and put the *English* to rout. Worse was the Success of Earl *Herbert* at a Place call'd
Sax. An. [b] *Mereswar*, slain with the most Part of his Ar-
839. my. The Year following in *Lindsey* also, *East-*
Sax. An. *Angles*, and *Kent*, much Mischief was done by their landing; where the next Year, imbolden'd by Success, they came on as far as *Canterbury*, *Rochester*, and *London* it self, with no less cruel Hostility: And giving no respite to the peaceable Mind of *Ethelwolf*, they yet return'd with
840. the next Year in thirty five Ships, fought with him, as before with his Father, at the River
Sax. An. *Carr*, and made good their Ground. In *Northum-*
Sim. Dun. *berland Eandred* the Tributary King deceasing,
Mat. West. left the same Tenure to his Son *Ethelred*, dri-
844. ven out in his fourth Year, and succeeded by *Readwulf*, who soon after his Coronation, hasting forth to Battel against the *Danes* at *Alvetheli*, fell with the most part of his Army; and *Ethelred* like in Fortune to the former *Ethelred*, was re-exalted to his Seat: And to be yet farther like him in Fate, was slain the fourth Year after. *Osbert* succeeded in his room. But more
845. Southerly, the *Danes* next Year after met with
Sax. An. some stop in the full course of their outragious Insolencies. For *Earnulf* with the Men of *Somerset*, *Alstan* the Bishop, and *Osric* with those of *Dorsetshire*, setting upon them at the River's
Parret in Somersetshire. Mouth of * *Pedridan*, slaughter'd them in great Numbers, and obtain'd a just Victory [c]. This Repulse quell'd them, for ought we hear, the
851. Space of six Years; then also renewing their In-
Sax. An. *Asser.* vasion, with little better Success. For *Keorle* an Earl, aided with the Forces of *Devonshire*, assaulted and overthrew them at *Wigganbeorch* [d] with great Destruction; as prosperously were they fought with the same Year at *Sandwich*, by King *Ethelstan*, and *Ealker* his General, their great Army defeated, and nine of their Ships taken, the rest driven off, however to ride out the Winter on that Shoar, *Asser* saith, they then first winter'd in *Shepey Isle*. Hard it is through the bad Expression of these Writers to define this Fight, whether by Sea or Land; *Hoveden* terms it a
Huntingd. Sea-fight. Nevertheless, with fifty Ships (*Asser*
Mat West. and others add three hundred) they enter'd the Mouth of *Thames*, and made Excursions as far as *Canterbury* and *London*, and as *Ethelwerd* writes, destroy'd both; of *London*, *Asser* signifies only that they pillag'd it. *Bertulf* also the *Mercian*, Successor of *Withlaf*, with all his Army they forc'd to fly, and him beyond the Sea. Then passing over *Thames* with their Powers into *Sur-* A. D.
rey, and the *West-Saxons*, and meeting there with 851.
King *Ethelwolf* and *Ethelbald* his Son, at a Place call'd [e] *Ak-Lea*, or *Oak-Lea*, they receiv'd a total Defeat with memorable Slaughter. This was counted a lucky Year to *England*, and brought to *Ethelwolf* great Reputation. *Burhed* therefore 853.
who after *Bertulf* held of him the *Mercian* King- *Sax. An.*
dom, two Years after this, imploring his Aid *Asser.*
against the *North-Welch*, as then troublesome to his Confines, obtain'd it of him in Person, and thereby reduc'd them to Obedience. This done, *Ethelwolf* sent his Son *Alfrid*, a Child of five Years, well accompanied to *Rome*, whom *Leo* the Pope both consecrated to be King afterward, and adopted to be his Son. At home *Ealker* with the Forces of *Kent*, and *Huda* with those of *Surrey*, fell on the *Danes* at their landing in *Thanet*, and at first put them back; but the slain and drown'd were at length so many on either side, as left the Loss equal on both: Which yet hinder'd not the Solemnity of a Marriage [f] at the Feast of *Malms.*
Easter, between *Burhed* the *Mercian*, and *Ethelswida* King *Ethelwolf*'s Daughter. Howbeit the
Danes next Year winter'd again in *Shepey*. 854.
Whom *Ethelwolf* not finding humane Health *Sax. An.*
sufficient to resist, growing daily upon him, in hope of Divine Aid, register'd in a Book, and dedicated to God, the tenth Part of his own Lands, and of his whole Kingdom, eas'd of all Impositions, but converted to the Maintenance of Masses and Psalms weekly to be sung for the prospering of *Ethelwolf* and his Captains, as appears at large by the Patent it self, in *William of Malmsbury*. *Asser* saith, he did it for the Redemption of his Soul, and the Soul of his Ancestors. After which, as having done some great Matter, to shew himself at *Rome*, and be applauded of the Pope, he takes a long and cumbersome Journey thither with young *Alfrid* again, and there stays a Year, when his Place 855.
requir'd him rather here in the Field against Pa- *Asser.*
gan Enemies left wintering in his Land. Yet so much Manhood he had, as to return thence no Monk; and in his way home took to Wife *Judith* Daughter of *Charles* the Bald, King of
France. But e'er his Return, *Ethelbard* his eld- *Asser.*
est Son, *Alstan* his trusty Bishop, and *Enulf* Earl of *Somerset* conspir'd against him; their Complaints were, that he had taken with him *Alfrid* his youngest Son to be there inaugurated King, and brought home with him an out-landish Wife; for which they endeavour'd to deprive him of his Kingdom. The Disturbance was expected to bring forth nothing less than War: But the King abhorring Civil Discord, after many Conferences tending to Peace, condescended to divide the Kingdom with his Son: Division was made, but the Matter so carried, that the Eastern and worst part was malignly afforded to the Father: The Western and best given to the Son; at which many of the Nobles had great Indignation, offering to the King their utmost Assistance for the Recovery of all; whom he peacefully dissuading, sat down contented with his Portion assign'd. In the *East-Angles*, *Edmund*, Lineal from the Ancient Stock of those Kings, a Youth of fourteen Years only, but of great Hopes, was with consent of all but his own crown'd at
Burie. About this time, as *Buchanan* relates, the 857.
Picts,

[a] At *Port* now call'd *Portland*.
[b] *On Merscwarum*, says the *Saxon* Chronicle, *i. e.* Among the *Marshers*, or Inhabitants of the Marshes or Fenns. The Name does not denote any particular Place, as Mr. *Milton* imagin'd.
[c] This Battel is rather suppos'd to be fought at the Mouth of the River *Axe*, on *Bladen-Down* in *Somersetshire*; the Village being from the Slaughter of that Day, call'd *Bleadon* or *Bloody-Down*.
[d] Thought to be *Wenbury* in *Devonshire*.
[e] *Okely* in *Surrey*, upon the Borders of *Sussex*.
[f] At *Chippenham* in *Wiltshire*.

A. D. 857. *Picts*, who not long before had by the *Scots* been driven out of their Country, part of them coming to *Osbert* and *Ella*, then Kings of *Northumberland*, obtain'd Aid against *Donaldus* the *Scotish* King, to recover their ancient Possession. *Osbert*, who in Person undertook the Expedition, marching into *Scotland*, was at first put to a Retreat; but returning soon after on the *Scots*, oversecure of their suppos'd Victory, put them to flight with great Slaughter, took Prisoner their King, and pursu'd his Victory beyond *Sterlingbridge*. The *Scots* unable to resist longer, and by Ambassadors intreating Peace, had it granted them on these Conditions: The *Scots* were to quit all they had possess'd within the Wall of *Severus*: The Limits of *Scotland* were beneath *Sterlingbridge* to be the River *Forth*, and on the other side *Dunbritton-Frith*; from that time so call'd of the *British* then seated in *Cumberland*, who had join'd with *Osbert* in this Action, and so far extended on that Side the *British* Limits. If this be true, as the *Scotch* Writers themselves witness (and who would think them fabulous to the Disparagement of their own Country?) How much wanting have been our Historians to their Country's Honour, in letting pass unmention'd an Exploit so memorable, by them remember'd and attested, who are wont ofter to extenuate than to amplifie ought done in *Scotland* by the *English*? *Donaltus* on these Conditions releas'd, soon after dies, according to *Buchanan*, in 858. *Ethelwolf*, chief King in *England*, had the Year before ended his Life, and was bury'd as his Father at *Winchester*. He *Mat. West.* was from his Youth much addicted to Devotion; so that in his Father's time he was ordain'd Bishop of *Winchester*; and unwillingly, for want of other Legitimate Issue, succeeded him in the Throne: Managing therefore his greatest Affairs by the Activity of two Bishops, *Alstan* of *Sherburne*, and *Swithin* of *Winchester*. But *Alstan* is *Malmsb.* noted of Covetousness and Oppression, by *William* of *Malmsbury*; the more vehemently, no doubt, for doing some notable Damage to that Monastery. The same Author writes, that *Ethel-* *Sigon. de Regn. Ital. l. 5.* *wolf* at *Rome* paid a Tribute to the Pope, continu'd to his Days. However he were facile to his Son and seditious Nobles, in yielding up part of his Kingdom; yet his Queen he treated not the less honourably, for whomsoever it dis- *Asser.* pleas'd. The *West-Saxons* had decreed, ever since the time of *Eadburga*, the infamous Wife of *Birthric*, that no Queen should sit in State with the King, or be dignify'd with the Title of *Queen*. But *Ethelwolf* permitted not that *Judith* his Queen should lose any point of Regal State by that Law. At his Death he divided the Kingdom between his two Sons, *Ethelbald* and *Ethelbert*; to the younger, *Kent*, *Essex*, *Surrey*, *Sussex*; to the Elder, all the rest: To *Peter* and *Paul* certain Revenues yearly, for what Uses let others relate, who write also his Pedigree, from Son to Father, up to *Adam*.

ETHELBALD, and ETHELBERT,

Asser. Malmsb. Sim. Dun. ETHELBALD, unnatural and disloyal to his Father, fell justly into another, though contrary Sin, of too much Love to his Father's Wife; and whom at first he oppos'd coming into the Land, her now unlawfully marrying, he takes into his Bed; but not long enjoying, dy'd at three Years end, without doing ought more worthy to be remember'd; having reign'd two Years with his Father, impiously usurping, and three after him, as unworthily inheriting. And his hap was all that while to be unmolested by the *Danes*; not of Divine Favour doubtless, but to his great Condemnation, living the more securely his incestuous Life. *Huntingdon* on the other side much praises *Ethelbald*, and writes him bury'd at *Sherburn*, with great Sorrow of his People, who miss'd him long after. *Mat West.* saith, that he repented of his Incest with *Judith*, and dismiss'd her: But *Asser* an Eye-witness of those Times, mentions no such thing.

A. D. 860 *Sax. An.*

ETHELBERT alone.

ETHELBALD by Death remov'd, the whole Kingdom came rightfully to *Ethelbert* his next Brother. Who though a Prince of great Virtue and no Blame, had as short a Reign allotted him as his faulty Brother, nor that so peaceful; once or twice invaded by the *Danes*. But they having landed in the West with a great Army, and sack'd *Winchester*, were met by *Osric* Earl of *Southampton*, and *Ethelwolf* of *Barkshire*, beaten to their Ships, and forc'd to leave their Booty. Five Years after, about the Time of his Death, 865. they set foot again in *Tanet*; the *Kentishmen* *Sax. An.* weary'd out with so frequent Alarms, came to agreement with them for a certain Sum of Money; but e'er the Peace could be ratify'd, and the Money gather'd, the *Danes* impatient of delay by a sudden Eruption in the Night, soon wasted all the East of *Kent*. Mean while, or something before, *Ethelbert* deceasing was bury'd as his Brother at *Sherburn*.

ETHELRED.

ETHELRED the third Son of *Ethelwolf*, at his 866. first coming to the Crown was entertain'd with a fresh Invasion of *Danes*, led by *Hinguar* *Sax An.* and *Hubba*, two Brothers, who now had got foot- *Huntingd.* ing among the *East-Angles*; there they winter'd, and coming to terms of Peace with the Inhabitants *, furnish'd themselves of Horses, forming * The *Danes* by that means many Troops with Riders of their winter'd own: These Pagans, *Asser* saith, came from the in *England.* River *Danubius*. Fitted thus for a long Expedition, they ventur'd the next Year to make their 867. way over Land and over *Humber*, as far as *York*, *Sax An.* them they found to their hands embroil'd in Civil Dissentions; their King *Osbert* they had thrown out, and *Ella* Leader of another Faction chosen in his room; who both, though late, admonish'd by their common Danger, toward's the Year's end, with united Powers made Head against the *Danes* and prevail'd; but pursuing them over-eagerly into *York*, then but slenderly wall'd, the *North-* *Asser.* *thumbrians* were every where slaughter'd, both within and without; their Kings also both slain, their City burnt, saith *Malmsbury*, the rest as they could made their Peace, over-run and vanquish'd as far as the River *Tine*, and *Ecbert* of *English* Race appointed King over them. *Bromton*, no antient Author (for he wrote since *Mat. West.*) nor of much Credit, writes a particular Cause of the *Danes* coming to *York*: That *Bruern* a Nobleman, whose Wife King *Osbert* had ravish'd, call'd in *Hinguar* and *Hubba* to revenge him. The Example is remarkable, if the Truth were as evident. Thence Victorious, the *Danes* next Yeare enter'd into *Mercia* towards *Notting-* 868. *ham*, where they spent the Winter. *Burhed*, then King of that Country, unable to resist, implores,

A. D. 868. plores the Aid of *Ethelred* and young *Alfred* his Brother, they aſſembling their Forces and joining with the *Mercians* about *Nottingham*, offer Battel: The *Danes*, not daring to come forth, kept themſelves within that Town and Caſtle, ſo that no great Fight was hazarded there; at length the *Mercians*, weary of long Suſpence, enter'd into Conditions of Peace with their Enemies. After which the *Danes* returning back to *York*, made their abode there the ſpace of one Year, committing, ſome ſay, many Cruelties.

869. *Sim. Dun.* Thence imbarking to *Lindſey*, and all the Summer deſtroying that Country, about *September* they came with like Fury into *Keſteven*, another part of *Lincolnſhire*, where *Algar*, the Earl of *Howland*, now *Holland*, with his Forces, and two hundred ſtout Soldiers belonging to the Abby of *Croiland*, three hundred from about *Boſton*, *Morcard* Lord of *Brunne*, with his numerous Family, well train'd and arm'd, *Oſgot* Governor of *Lincoln*, with five hundred of that City, all joining together, gave Battel to the *Danes*, ſlew of them a great Multitude, with three of their Kings, and purſu'd the reſt to their Tents: But the Night following, *Gothurn*, *Baſeg*, *Osketil*, *Halfden*, and *Hamond*, five Kings; and as many Earls, *Frena*, *Hinguar*, *Hubba*, *Sidroc* the Elder and Younger, coming in from ſeveral parts with great Forces and Spoils, great part of the *Engliſh* began to ſlink home. Nevertheleſs *Algar*, with ſuch as forſook him not, all next Day in order of Battel facing the *Danes*, and ſuſtaining unmov'd the brunt of their Aſſaults, could not withhold his Men at laſt from purſuing their counterfeited Flight; whereby open'd and diſorder'd, they fell into the Snares of their Enemies, ruſhing back upon them. *Algar*, and thoſe Captains fore-nam'd with him, all reſolute Men, retreating to a Hill-ſide, and ſlaying of ſuch as follow'd them, *manifold their own* Number, dy'd at length upon heaps of Dead which they had made round about them. The *Danes* thence paſſing on into the Country of *Eaſt-Angles*, rifled and burnt the Monaſtery of *Ely*, overthrew Earl *Wulketul* with his whole Army, and lodg'd out the Winter at *Thetford*; where King *Edmund* aſſailing them, was with his whole Army put to flight, himſelf taken, bound to a Stake, and ſhot to Death with Arrows, his whole Country ſubdu'd *. The next Year with great Supplies, ſaith *Huntingdon*, bending their march toward the *Weſt-Saxons*, the only People now left, in whom might ſeem yet to remain Strength or Courage likely to oppoſe them, they came to *Reading*, fortify'd there between the two Rivers of *Thames* and *Kennet*; and about three Days after, ſent out Wings of Horſe under two Earls to forage the Country; but *Ethelwulf* Earl of *Barkſhire*, at *Engleſield* a Village nigh, encounter'd them, ſlew one of their Earls, and obtain'd a great Victory. Four Days after came the King himſelf and his Brother *Alfred* with the main Battel; and the *Danes* iſſuing forth, a bloody Fight began, on either ſide great Slaughter, in which Earl *Ethelwulf* loſt his Life; but the *Danes* loſing no Ground, kept their place of ſtanding to the end. Neither did the *Engliſh* for this make leſs haſte to another Conflict at *Eceſdune*, or *Aſhdown* †, four Days after, where both Armies with their whole Forces on either ſide met. The *Danes* were imbattel'd in two great Boddies, the one led by *Baſcai* and *Halfden*, their two Kings, the other by ſuch Earls as were appointed. In like manner the *Engliſh* divided their Powers, *Ethelred* the King ſtood againſt their Kings; and though on the lower Ground, and coming later into the Battel from his *Oriſons*, gave a fierce Onſet, wherein *Baſcai* (the *Daniſh* Hiſtory names him *Ivarus* the Son of *Regnerus*) was ſlain. *Alfred* was plac'd againſt the Earls, and beginning the Battel e're his Brother came into the Field, with ſuch Reſolution charg'd them, that in the ſhock moſt of them were ſlain; they are nam'd, *Sedroc*, Elder and Younger, *Osbern*, *Frean*, *Harald*; at length in both Diviſions, the *Danes* turn their Backs; many thouſands of them cut off, the reſt purſu'd till Night. So much the more it may be wonder'd to hear next in the Annals, that the *Danes* fourteen Days after ſuch an Overthrow, fighting again with *Ethelred* and his Brother *Alfred* at *Baſing*, under conduct, ſaith the *Daniſh* Hiſtory, of *Agnerus* and *Hubbo*, Brothers of the ſlain *Ivarus*, ſhould obtain the Victory; eſpecially ſince the new Supply of *Danes*, mention'd by *Aſſer*, arriv'd after this Action. But after two Months, the King and his Brother fought with them again at *Mertun* *, in two Squadrons as before, in which Fight hard it is to underſtand who had the better; ſo darkly do the *Saxon Annals* deliver their Meaning with more than wonted infancy. Yet theſe I take (for *Aſſer* is here ſilent) to be the chief Fountain of our Story, the Ground and Baſis upon which the *Monks* later in Time Gloſs and Comment at their Pleaſure. Nevertheleſs it appears, that on the *Saxon* part, not *Heamund* the Biſhop only, but many valiant Men loſt their Lives. This Fight was follow'd by a heavy Summer Plague; whereof, as is thought, King *Ethelred* dy'd in the fifth of his Reign, and was bury'd at *Winburne*, where his Epitaph inſcribes, that he had his Death's Wound by the *Danes*, according to the *Daniſh* Hiſtory 872 [a]. Of all theſe terrible Landings and Devaſtations by the *Danes*, from the Days of *Ethelwolf* till their two laſt Battels with *Ethelred*, or of their Leaders, whether Kings, Dukes, or Earls, the *Daniſh* Hiſtory of beſt Credit ſaith nothing; ſo little Wit or Conſcience it ſeems they had to leave any Memory of their Britiſh, rather than Manly Actions; unleſs we ſhall ſuppoſe them to have come, as above was cited out of *Aſſer*, from *Danubius*, rather than from *Denmark*, more probably ſome barbarous Nations of *Pruſſia*, or *Livonia*, not long before ſeated more Northward on the *Baltick* Sea.

A. D. 871.

* By *Hinguar* and *Hubba*.

871. *Sax. An.*

Aſſer.

† *Aſton* in *Barkſhire*.

Pontan. Hiſt Dan. l. 4.

* *Merton* in *Surrey*.

Cambden.

ALFRED.

ALfred [b] the fourth Son of *Ethelwolf*, had ſcarce perform'd his Brother's Obſequies, and the Solemnity of his own Crowning, when at the Month's end in haſte with a ſmall Power he encounter'd the whole Army of *Danes* at *Wilton*, and moſt part of the Day foil'd them; but unwarily following the Chaſe, gave others of them the Advantage to rally; who returning upon him now weary, remained Maſters of the Field.

[a] It appears by the Inſcription on his Tomb, which may be read in *Winbourn* Church, that he fell *per manus Danorum Paganorum*, by the Hands of the *Pagan Danes*, the 23d of *April*, *Anno* 872.

[b] *Aſſerius Menevenſis*, *Aſſer* Biſhop of St. *David*'s, wrote the Life of this Prince, in whoſe Reign he liv'd. The Life of King *Alfred* was alſo written at large by Sir *John Spelman*, (Son to Sir *Henry*) the Original Manuſcript whereof is now in the *Bodleian* Library. It was tranſlated into Latin; and publiſh'd in Folio, with Mr. *Walker*'s Notes, ſome Years ago.

A. D. 871. Field. This Year, as is affirm'd in the Annals, nine Battels had been fought againſt the *Danes* on the South-ſide of *Thames*, beſides innumerable Excurſions made by *Alfred* and other Leaders; one King, nine Earls were ſlain in Fight, ſo that weary on both ſides at the Years end, League or Truce was concluded. Yet next Year the 872. *Sax. An.* *Danes* took their march to *London*, now expos'd their Prey, there they winter'd, and thither came the *Mercians* to renew Peace with them. The Year following they revok'd back to the Parts beyond *Humber*, but winter'd at *Torkſey* in *Lincolnſhire*, where the *Mercians* now the third time 873. *Sax. An.* *Cambden.* made Peace with them. Notwithſtanding which, removing their Camp to *Rependune* in *Mercia*, 874. *Sax. An.* now *Repton* upon *Trent* in *Darbyſhire*, and there wint'ring, they conſtrain'd *Burhead* the King to fly into Foreign Parts, making Seiſure of his Kingdom, he running the direct way to *Rome*, with better Reaſon than his Anceſtors, dy'd there, and was buried in a Church by the *Engliſh* School. His Kingdom the *Danes* farmed out to *Kelfwulf*, one of his Houſhold Servants or Officers, with Condition to be reſign'd them when they com- 875. *Sax. Ann.* manded. From *Rependune* they diſlodg'd, *Hafden* their King, leading part of his Army Northward, winter'd by the River *Tine*, and ſubjecting all thoſe Quarters, waſted alſo the *Picts* and *Britiſh* beyond: But *Cuthrun*, *Oskitell*, and *Anwynd*, other three of their Kings moving from *Repton in Darbyſhire. †Cambridge.* * *Rependune*, came with a great Army to † *Grantbrig*, and remain'd there a whole Year. *Alfred* that Summer purpoſing to try his Fortune with a Fleet at Sea (for he had found that the want of Shipping and neglect of Navigation, had expos'd the Land to theſe Piracies) meet with ſeven *Daniſh* Rovers, took one, the reſt eſcaping; an acceptable Succeſs from ſo ſmall a Beginning: For the *Engliſh* at that time were but little experi- 876. *Sax. An.* enc'd in Sea Affairs. The next Years firſt Motion of the *Danes* was towards *Warham* Caſtle: When *Alfred* meeting them, either by Policy, or their Doubt of his Power; *Ethelwerd* ſaith, by Money brought them to ſuch Terms of Peace, as that they ſwore to him upon a hollow'd Bracelet, *Florent.* others ſay upon certain Reliques (a ſolemn Oath it ſeems which they never vouchſafed before to any other Nation) forthwith to depart the Land: But falſifying that Oath, by Night with all the *Florent.* Horſe they had (*Aſſer* ſaith, ſlaying all the Horſemen he had) ſtole to *Exeter*, and there winter'd. In *Northumberland*, *Hafden* their King began to ſettle, to divide the Land, to till, and to inhabit. Mean while they in the Weſt who were marched to *Exeter*, enter'd the City, courſing now and then to *Warham*; but their Fleet the 877. *Sax. Ann.* next Year ſailing or rowing about the Weſt, met *Swanwick in Hampſhire.* with ſuch a Tempeſt near to *Swanſwich* *, or *Gnavewic*, as wrack'd 120 of their Ships, and left the reſt eaſie to be maſter'd by thoſe Gallies *Aſſer.* which *Alfred* had ſet there to guard the Seas, and ſtreiten *Exeter* of Proviſion. He the while beleaguering them in the City; now humbled with the Loſs of their Navy (two Navies, ſaith *Aſſer*, the one at *Gnavewic*, the other at *Swanwine*) diſtreſs'd them ſo, as that they gave him as many Hoſtages as he requir'd, and as many Oaths, to keep their covenanted Peace, and kept it. For the Summer coming on, they departed into *Mercia*, whereof part they divided amongſt themſelves, part left to *Kelwulf* their ſubſtituted King. The Twelfthtide following, all Oaths forgotten they came to *Chippenham* in *Wiltſhire* diſpeopling the Countries round, diſpoſſeſſing ſome; driving others beyond the Sea; *Alfred* himſelf with a ſmall Company was forc'd to keep within Woods and Fenny Places [a], and for ſome time all alone, as *Florent* ſaith, ſojourn'd with *Dunwulf* a Swine-herd, made afterwards for his Devotion, and Aptneſs to Learning, Biſhop of *Winchester*. *Hafden* and the Brother of *Hinguar*, coming with twenty three Ships from *North-Wales*, where they had made great Spoil, landed in *Devonſhire*, nigh to a ſtrong Caſtle nam'd *Kinwith*; where by the Garriſon iſſuing forth unexpectedly, they were ſlain with twelve Hundred of their Men. Mean while the King about *Aſſer.* *Eaſter*, not deſpairing of his Affairs, built a Fortreſs at a Place call'd *Athelney* in *Somerſetſhire*, therein valiantly defending himſelf and his Followers, frequently ſallying forth. The ſeventh Week after, he rode out to a Place call'd * *Ecbryt-ſtone* in the Eaſt part of *Selwood*: Thither reſorted to him with much Gratulation, the *Somerſet* and *Wiltſhire* Men, with many out of *Hampſhire*, ſome of whom a little before had fled *Cambden.* their Country; with theſe marching to *Ethandune* now *Edindon* in *Wiltſhire*, he gave Battel to the whole *Daniſh* Power, and put them to flight. Then beſieging their Caſtle, within fourteen Days took it. *Malmsbury* writes, that in this time of his Receſs, to go a Spy into the *Daniſh* Camp, he took upon him with one Servant the Habit of a Fidler; by this means gaining Acceſs to the King's Table, and ſometimes to his Bed-Chamber, got Knowledge of their Secrets, their careleſs encamping, and thereby this Opportunity of aſſailing them on a ſudden. The *Danes* by this Misfortune broken, gave him more Hoſtages, and renew'd their Oaths to depart out of his Kingdom. Their King *Gytro*, or *Gothrum*, offer'd willingly to receive Baptiſm, and accordingly came with thirty of his Friends, to a *Cambd.* Place call'd *Aldra*, or * *Aulre*, near to *Athelney*, *Auler.* and were baptiz'd at *Wedmore*; where *Alfred* receiv'd him out of the Font, and nam'd him *Athelſtan*. After which, they abode with him twelve Days, and were diſmiſs'd with rich Preſents. Whereupon the *Danes* remov'd next Year 879. to *Cirenceſter*, thence peaceably to the *Eaſt-Angles*; which *Alfred*, as ſome write have beſtow'd *Sax. An.* The *Danes* have the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles* given them. on *Gothrun* to hold of him; the Bounds whereof may be read among the Laws of *Alfred*. Others of them went to *Fulham* on the *Thames*, and joining there with a great Fleet newly come into the River, thence paſs'd over into *France* and *Flanders*, both which they enter'd, ſo far conquering or waſting, as witneſs'd ſufficiently, that the *French* and *Flemiſh* were no more able than the *Engliſh*, by Policy or Proweſs to keep off that *Daniſh* Inundation from their Land. *Alfred* thus rid of them, and intending for the future to prevent their Landing; three Years after 882. (quiet the mean while) with more Ships and bet- *Sax. An.* ter provided, puts to Sea, and at firſt met with four of theirs, whereof two he took, throwing the Men over-board, then with two others, wherein were two of their Princes, and took them alſo, but not without ſome Loſs of his own. After 885. three Years another Fleet of them appear'd *Sax. An.* on theſe Seas, ſo huge, that one part thought themſelves ſufficient to enter upon *Eaſt-France*, the other came to *Rocheſter*, and beleaguer'd it, they within ſtoutly defending themſelves, till *Alfred* with great Forces, coming down upon the *Danes*, drove them to their Ships, leaving for haſt all their Horſes behind them. The ſame Year *Alfred* ſent a Fleet toward the *Eaſt-Angles*, then inhabited

[a] Between the Rivers *Tone* and *Parret* in *Somerſetſhire*, about *North-Petherton*.
[b] Poſſibly *Brixton* on the Weſt-ſide of *Wiltſhire*. See the Gloſs to the *Saxon* Chronicle.

A. D. 885. inhabited by the *Danes*, which at the Mouth of *Stour*[a], metting with fixteen *Daniſh* Ships, after ſome fight took them all, and ſlew the Soldiers aboard; but in the way home lying careleſs, were overtaken by another Part of that Fleet, and came off with Loſs; whereupon perhaps thoſe *Danes* who were ſettled among the *Eaſt-Angles*, erected with new Hopes, violated the Peace which they had ſworn to *Alfred*, who ſpent the next Year in repairing *London*, (beſieging, ſaith *Huntingdon*) much ruin'd and unpeopl'd by the *Danes*; the *Londoners*, all but thoſe who had been led away Captive, ſoon return'd to their Dwellings, and *Ethred* Duke of *Mercia*, was by the King appointed their Governour [b]. But after thirteen Years reſpite of Peace, another *Daniſh* Fleet of 250 Sail [c], from the Eaſt part of *France* arriv'd at the Mouth of a River in *Eaſt Kent*, call'd [d] *Limen*, nigh to the great Wood [e] *Andred*, famous for Length and Breadth; into that Wood they drew up their Ships four Mile from the River's Mouth, and built a Fortreſs. After whom *Haeſten* with another *Daniſh* Fleet of eighty Ships, entring the Mouth of *Thames*, built a Fort at *Middleton*, the former Army remaining at a Place call'd *Apeltree*. *Alfred* perceiving this, took of thoſe *Danes* who dwelt in *Northumberland*, a new Oath of Fidelity, and of thoſe in *Eſſex*, Hoſtages, leſt they ſhould join, as they were wont, with their Country-men newly arriv'd. And by the next Year, having got together his Forces, between either Army of the *Danes* encamp'd ſo, as to be ready for either of them, who firſt ſhould happen to ſtir forth; Troops of Horſe alſo he ſent continually abroad, aſſiſted by ſuch as could be ſpar'd from ſtrong Places, wherever the Countries wanted them, to encounter Foraging Parties of the Enemy. The King alſo divided ſometimes his whole Army, marching out with one Part by turns, the other keeping intrench'd. In Concluſion, rowling up and down, both ſides met at *Farnham* in *Surry* [f]; where the *Danes* by *Alfred*'s Horſe Troops were put to flight, and croſſing the *Thames* to a certain Iſland near *Coln* in *Eſſex*, or as *Cambden* thinks, by *Colebroke*, were Beſieg'd there by *Alfred* till Proviſion fail'd the Beſiegers, another Part ſtaid behind with the King wounded. Mean while *Alfred* preparing to reinforce the Siege at *Colney*, the *Danes* of *Northumberland* breaking Faith, came by Sea to the *Eaſt-Angles*, and with a Hundred Ships coaſting Southward, landed in *Devonſhire*, and Beſieged *Exeter*; thither *Alfred* haſted with his Powers, except a Squadron of *Welch* that came to *London*: With whom the Citizens marching forth to * *Beamfleet*, where *Haeſtan* the *Dane* had built a ſtrong Fort, and left a Garriſon, while he himſelf with the Main of his Army was enter'd far into the Country, luckily ſurprize the Fort, maſter the Garriſon, make prey of all they find there; their Ships alſo they burnt or brought away with good Booty, and many Priſoners, among whom, the Wife and two Sons of *Heaſten* were ſent to the King, who forthwith ſet them at Liberty. Whereupon *Heaſten* gave Oath of

Sim. Dun.

Sax. An. 886.

Sim. Dun. 893. *Sax. An.*

Appledore in Kent.

Sax An. 894.

Cambden Tit Buckinghamſhire,

*South Bamfleet in Eſſex.

Amity and Hoſtages to the King; he in requital, whether freely, or by Agreement, a Sum of Money. Nevertheleſs, without regard of Faith given, while *Alfred* was buſied about *Exeter*, joyning with the other *Daniſh* Army, he built another Caſtle in *Eſſex* at *Shoberie*, thence marching Weſtward by the *Thames*, aided with *Northumbrians* and *Eaſt-Angliſh Danes*, they came at length to *Severn*, pillaging all in their way. But, *Ethred*, *Ethelm*, and *Ethelnoth*, the King's Captains, with united Forces † pitch'd nigh to them at *Buttingtun*, on the *Severn* Bank in *Montgomery-ſhire*, the River running between, and there many Weeks attended; the King mean while blocking up the *Danes*, who Beſieg'd *Exeter*, having eaten part of their Horſes, the reſt urg'd with Hunger broke forth to their Fellows, who lay encamp'd on the Eaſt-ſide of the River, and were all there diſcomfited, with ſome Loſs of valiant Men on the King's Party; the reſt fled back to *Eſſex* and their Fortreſs there. Then *Laf*, one of their Leaders, gather'd before Winter a great Army of *Northumbrian* and *Eaſt-Angliſh Danes*, who leaving their Money, Ships and Wives with the *Eaſt-Angles*, and marching Day and Night, ſat down before a City in the Weſt call'd [g] *Wirheal* near to *Cheſter*, and took it e'er they could be overtaken. The *Engliſh* after two Days Seige, hopeleſs to diſlodge them, waſted the Country round to cut off from them all Proviſion, and departed. Soon after which, next Year the *Danes* no longer able to hold *Wirheal*, deſtitute of Victuals, enter'd *North-Wales*; thence laden with Spoils, part return'd into *Northumberland*, others to the *Eaſt-Angles* as far as *Eſſex*, where they ſeiz'd on a ſmall Iſland call'd *Mereſig*. And here again the Annals record them to beſiege *Exeter*, but without Coherence of Sence or Story. Others relate to this purpoſe, that returning by Sea from the Siege of *Exeter*, and in their way landing on the Coaſt of *Suſſex*, they of *Chicheſter* ſallied out, and ſlew of them many Hundreds, taking alſo ſome of their Ships. The ſame Year they who poſſeſs'd *Mereſig*, intending to winter thereabouts, drew up their Ships, ſome into the *Thames*, others into the River *Lee*, and on the Bank thereof built a Caſtle twenty Miles from *London*; to aſſault which the *Londoners* aided with other Forces, march'd out the Summer following, but were ſoon put to flight, loſing four of the King's Captains. *Huntingdon* writes quite the contrary, that theſe four were *Daniſh* Captains, and the overthrow theirs: But little Credit is to be plac'd in *Huntingdon* ſingle. For the King thereupon with his Forces, lay encamp'd nearer the City, that the *Danes* might not infeſt them in time of Harveſt; in the mean time, ſubtlely deviſing to turn *Lee* Stream ſeveral ways; whereby the *Daniſh* Bottoms were left on dry Ground: Which they ſoon perceiving march'd over the Land to *Quatbrig* [h] on the *Severn*, built a Fortreſs and winter'd there; while their Ships left in *Lee*, were either broken or brought away by the *Londoners*; but their Wives and Children they had left in Safety with the *Eaſt-Angles*. The next Year was peſtilent, and

A. D. 894.

† Out of *Sommerſetſhire* *Cambden.*

Mercey.

Sim. Dun. Florent.

Sax. An. 895.

Sax. An. 896.

[a] Not that in *Kent*, but that which runs by *Harwich* in *Eſſex*.

[b] In the Year 886, 'tis ſaid *Alfred* founded the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and in the next, he held that great Council wherein all the Laws were made that go under his Name. *Cambd. Spelm.*

[c] In 885. Mr *Milton* ſays the *Danes* invaded *England*, and in 893. they came again; ſo there cou'd be but 8 Years Peace.

[d] The Mouth of this River then ran into the Sea near *Rumney*, but 'tis now turn'd.

[e] The *Weald* of *Kent*, *Suſſex*, and the Wood-land part of *Hampſhire*.

[f] Mr. *Cambden* writes, that the Battel of *Farnham* was fought in the Year 893. *Brit. Tit. Surrey.*

[g] Mr. *Milton* miſtakes the Name of the Country for that of the City. *H. Huntingdon* ſays 'twas a certain City in *Werheal* call'd *Legaceſter*, now *Cheſter*, and the Country that runs into the Sea to the N. W. is by Mr. *Cambden* call'd *Wirrall*. *Brit. Tit. Cheſhire.*

[h] This is moſt like to be *Bridgenorth* in *Shropſhire*. For what Reaſons, ſee the Gloſs of the *Saxon* Chronicle, under the Title of *Cwathrigge*. Suppos'd by others to be *Cambridge*, in *Glouceſterſhire*, now a Village ſituated on the River *Cam*, where it falls into the *Severn*.

A. D 897. *Sax. An.* and besides the common sort took away many great Earls, *Kelmond* in *Kent*, *Brithulf* in *Essex*, *Wulfred* in *Hampshire*, with many others; and to this Evil, the *Danes* of *Northumberland* and *East-Angles* ceas'd not to endamage the *West-Saxons*, especially by stealth, robbing on the South-shoar in certain long Galleys. But the King causing to be built others twice as long as usually were built, and some of sixty or seventy Oars higher, swifter and steddier than such as were in use before either with *Danes* or *Frisons*, his own Invention, some of these he sent out against six *Danish* Pirates, who had done much harm in the Isle of *Wight* and Parts adjoyning. The Bickering was doubtful and intricate, part on the Water, part on the Sands; not without Loss of some Eminent Men on the *English* side. The Pirates at length where either slain or taken, two of them stranded; the Men brought to *Winchester*, where the King then was, were executed by his Command; one of them escap'd to the *East-Angles*, her Men much wounded: The same Year not fewer than twenty of their Ships perish'd on the South Coast with all their Men. And *Rollo* the *Dane* or *Norman* landing here, as *Mat. West.* writes, though not in what part of the Island, after an unsuccessful Fight against those Forces which first oppos'd him, sail'd into *France*, and conquer'd the Country, since that time called *Normandy*. This is the Sum of what pass'd in three Years against the *Danes*, returning out of *France*, set down so perplexedly by the *Saxon* Annalist, ill-gifted with Utterance, as with much ado can be understood sometimes what is spoken, whether meant of the *Danes* or of the *Saxons*. After which troublesome time, *Alfred* enjoying three Years of Peace, by him spent, as his manner was, not idly or voluptuously, but in all vertuous Employments both of Mind and Body, becoming a Prince of his Renown, ended his Days in the Year 900, the 51 of his Age, the 30th of his Reign, and was buried Regally at *Winchester*: He was born *at a Place call'd † *Wanading* in *Berkshire*, his Mother *Osburga* the Daughter of *Oslac* the King's Cup-bearer, a [a] *Goth* by Nation, and of Noble Descent. He was of Person comelier than all his Brethren, of pleasing Tongue and graceful Behaviour, ready Wit and Memory; yet through the Fondness of his Parents towards him, had not been taught to read till the twelfth Year of his Age; but the great Desire of Learning which was it him, soon appear'd, by his conning of *Saxon* Poems Day and Night, which with great Attention he heard by others repeated. He was besides, excellent at Hunting, and the new Art then of Hawking, but more exemplary in Devotion, having collected into a Book certain Prayers and Psalms, which he carried ever with him in his Bosom to use on all Occasions. He thirsted after all Liberal Knowledge, and oft complain'd that in his Youth he had no Teachers, in his middle Age so little Vacancy from Wars, and the Cares of his Kingdom; yet leisure he found sometimes, not only to learn much himself, but to communicate thereof what he could to his People, by translating Books out of Latin into English, *Orosius*, *Boethius*, *Beda*'s History, and others, permitted none unlearn'd to bear Office, either in Court or Common-wealth: At twenty Years of Age, not yet Reigning, he took to Wife *Egelswitha* the Daughter of *Ethelred* a *Mercian* Earl. The Extremities which befel him in the sixth of his Reign, *Neo-*

906. *Asser.* * A.D.849. † *Wantage.*

than Abbot told him, were justly come upon him for neglecting in his younger Days the Complaints of such as injur'd and oppress'd repair'd to him, as then second Person in the Kingdom for Redress; which neglect, were it such indeed, were yet excusable in his Youth, through Jollity of Mind, unwilling perhaps to be detain'd long with sad and sorrowful Narrations; but from the time of his undertaking Regal Charge, no Man more patient in hearing Causes, more inquisitive in Examining, more exact in doing Justice, and providing good Laws, which are yet extant; more severe in punishing unjust Judges or obstinate Offenders. Thieves especially and Robbers, to the Terrour of whom in Cross-ways were hung upon a high Post certain Chains of Gold, as it were daring any one to take them thence; so that Justice seem'd in his Days not to flourish only, but to triumph: No Man than he more frugal of two precious things in Man's Life, his Time and his Revenue; no Man wiser in the Disposal of both. His Time, the Day and Night, he distributed by the burning of certain Tapours into three equal Portions: The one was for Devotion, the other for Publick or Private Affairs, the third for Bodily Refreshment: How each Hour past, he was put in mind by one who had that Office. His whole Annual Revenue, which his first Care was should be justly his own, he divided into two equal Parts; the first he employ'd to Secular Uses, and subdivided those into three, the first to pay his Soldiers, Houshold Servants and Guard, of which divided into three Bands, one attended Monthly by turn; the second was to pay his Architects and Workmen, whom he had got together of several Nations; for he was also an Elegant Builder, above the Custom and Conceit of *Englishmen* in those Days: The third he had in Readiness to relieve or honour Strangers according to their Worth, who came from all Parts to see *him, and to live under him.* The other equal Part of his Yearly Wealth he dedicated to Religious Uses; those of four Sorts; the first to relieve the Poor, the second to Building and Maintenance of two Monasteries, the third of a School, where he had perswaded the Sons of many Noblemen to study Sacred Knowledge and Liberal Arts, [b] some say at *Oxford*; the fourth was for the Relief of Foreign Churches, as far as *India* to the Shrine of St. *Thomas*, sending thither *Sigelm* Bishop of *Sherburn*, who both return'd safe, and brought with him many rich Gems and Spices; Gifts also, and a Letter he receiv'd from the Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, sent many to *Rome*, and for them receiv'd Reliques. Thus far, and much more might be said of his Noble Mind, which render'd him the Mirrour of Princes; his Body was diseas'd in his Youth with a great Soreness in the Siege, and that ceasing of it self, with another inward Pain of unknown Cause, which held him by frequent Fits to his dying Day; yet not disenabl'd to sustain those many glorious Labours of his Life both in Peace and War.

A. D. 900.

Malmsb.

EDWARD the Elder.

EDWARD the Son of *Alfred* succeeded, in Learning not equal, in Power and Extent of Dominion, surpassing his Father. The beginning of his Reign had much Disturbance by *Ethelwald* an

Malmsb. Huntingd.

[a] A *Saxon* Lord descended from *Withgar* first Prince of the Isle of *Wight*.
[b] The Truth of it is so clearly made out by several Authors, that he had no reason to mention it so suspiciously.

A. D. 901. an ambitious young Man, Son of the King's Uncle, or Cuosin-German, or Brother, for his Genealogy is variously deliver'd. He vainly avouching to have equal Right with *Edward* of Succession to the Crown, possess'd himself of *Winburne* in *Dorset*, and another Town diversly nam'd, giving out that there he would live or die; but encompass'd with the King's Forces at *Badburie*, a Place nigh, his Heart failing him, he stole out by Night, and fled to the *Danish* Army beyond *Humber*. The King sent after him, but not overtaking, found his Wife in the Town, whom he had married out of a Nunnery, and com- 902. manded her to be sent back thither [a]. About this time the *Kentish* Men, against a Multitude of *Danish* Pirates, fought prosperously at a Place call'd *Holme*, as *Hoveden* records, *Ethelwald* aided by the *Northumbrians* with Shipping, three 905. Years after, sailing to the *East-Angles*, perswaded *Sax. An.* the *Danes* there to fall into the King's Territory, who marching with him as far as *Crecklad*, and passing the *Thames* there, wasted as far beyond as they durst venture, and laden with Spoils return'd home. The King with his Powers making Speed after them, between the [b] *Dike* and *Ouse*, suppos'd to be *Suffolk* and *Cambridgeshire*, as far as the Fens Northward, laid waste all before him. Thence intending to return, he commanding that all his Army should follow him close without delay; but the *Kentish* Men, though often call'd upon, lagging behind, the *Danish* Army prevented them, and joyn'd Battel with the King: Where Duke *Sigulf* and Earl *Sigelm*, with many other of the Nobles were slain; on the *Danes* part, *Eoric* their King, and *Ethelwald* the Author of this War, with others of high Note, and of them greater Number, but with great Ruine on both sides; yet the *Danes* kept in their Power the burying of their slain. Whatever followed upon this Conflict, which 907. we read not, the King two Years after with the *Sax. An.* *Danes*, both of *East-Angles* and *Northumberland*, 910. concluded Peace, which continu'd three Years, *Sax. An.* by whomsoever broken; for at the end thereof King *Edward* raising great Forces out of *West-Sex*, and *Mercia*, sent them against the *Danes* beyond *Humber*; where staying five Weeks, they made great Spoil and Slaughter. The King offer'd them Terms of Peace, but they rejecting 911. all, enter'd with the next Year into *Mercia*, *Sax. An.* rendring no less Hostility then they had suffer'd; but at *Tetnal* in *Staffordshire*, saith *Florent*, were by the *English* in a set Battel overthrown. King *Edward* then in *Kent*, had got together of Ships about a Hundred Sail, others gone Southward, came back and met him. The *Danes* now supposing that his main Forces were upon the Sea, took Liberty to rove and plunder up and down, as hope of Prey led them, beyond *Severn*. The *Ethelwerd.* King guessing what might imbolden them, sent before him the lightest of his Army to entertain them; then following with the rest, set upon *Cambridg.* them in their return over *Cantbrig* in *Gloucestershire*, and slew many Thousands, among whom *Ecwils*, *Hasden*, and *Hinguar* their Kings, and many other harsh Names in *Huntingdon*; the Place also of this Fight is variously written by *Ethelwerd* and *Florent*, call'd *Wodensfield*. The A. D. Year following *Ethred* Duke of *Mercia*, to whom 912. *Alfred* had given *London*, with his Daughter in Marriage; now dying, King *Edward* resum'd *Sax. An.* that City, and *Oxford*, with the Countries adjoyning, into his own hands, and the Year after, 913. built, or much repair'd by his Soldiers, the Town *Sax. An.* of *Hertford* on either side *Lee*, and leaving a sufficient Number at the Work, march'd about middle Summer with the other part of his Forces into *Essex*, and encamp'd at *Maldon*, while his Soldiers built *Witham*; where a good part of the Country, subject formerly to the *Danes*, yielded themselves to his Protection [c]. Four 917. Years after (*Florent* allows but one Year) the *Sax. An.* *Danes* from *Leister* and *Northampton*, falling into *Oxfordshire*, committed much Rapine, and in some Towns thereof great Slaughter; while another Party wasting *Hertfordshire*, met with other Fortune; for the Country-people inur'd now to such kind of Incursions, joyning stoutly together, fell upon the Spoilers, recover'd their own Goods, with some Booty from their Enemies. About the same time *Elsled* the King's Sister sent her Army of *Mercians* into *Wales*, who routed the *Hunting.* *Welch*, took the Castle of [d] *Bricenam-mere* by *Cambden.* *Brecknock*, and brought away the King's Wife of that Country, with other Prisoners. Not long after she took *Derby* from the *Danes*, and the Castle by a sharp Assault. But the Year ensu- 918. ing brought a new Fleet of *Danes* to *Lidwic* in *Sax. An.* *Devonshire*, under two Leaders, *Otter* and *Roald*; who sailing thence Westward about the Lands End, came up to the Mouth of *Severn* [e]; there landing wasted the *Welch* Coast, and *Irchenfield* part of *Herefordshire*; where they took *Kuneleac* a *British* Bishop, for whose Ransome King *Edward* gave forty Pound, but the Men of *Hereford* and *Gloucestershire* assembling, put them to flight; slaying *Roald* and the Brother of *Otter*, with many more, pursu'd them to a Wood, and there beset, compell'd them to give Hostages of present Departure. The King with his Army sat not far off, securing from the South of *Severn* to *Avon*; so that openly they durst not, by Night they twice ventur'd to land; but found such welcome, that few of them came back; the rest anchor'd by a small Island, where many of them famish'd; then sailing to a Place call'd [f] *Deomed*, they cross'd into *Ireland*. The King with his Army went to *Buckingham*, staid there a Month, and built two Castles or Forts on either Bank of *Ouse* e'er his departing, and *Turkitel* a *Danish* Leader, with those of *Bedford* and *Northampton*, yielded him Subjection Whereupon 919. the next Year he came with his Army to the *Sax. An.* Town of *Bedford*, took Possession thereof, staid there a Month, and gave order to build another part of the Town, on the South-side of *Ouse*. Thence the Year following went again to *Maldon*, 920. repair'd and fortifi'd the Town. *Turkitel* the *Sax. An.* *Dane* having small hope to thrive here, where things with such Prudence were manag'd against his Interest, got leave of the King, with as ma- 921. ny Voluntaries as would follow him, to pass in- *Sax. An.* to *France*. Early the next Year King *Edward* *Tocester* in re-edifi'd *Tovecheser*, now *Torcheser*; and ano- *Northamptonshire.* ther

[a] *Ran Higden*, in his *Polychron*, says he took her out of the Monastery of *Winburne*, and went away with her to the *Danes*.

[b] The *Devil's Ditch*, which formerly divided the Kingdoms of the *Mercians* and the *East-Angles*.

[c] The next Year 914. the *Danes* committed great Outrages in *Buckinghamshire* about *Bernwood*, and destroy'd an ancient *Roman* Burgh, which stood where now *Briel* stands.

[d] *Brecenanmere* is the right Name: In English *Brecknock Mere*.

[e] Where they besieg'd an Island, which *Florence* of *Worcester* calls *Reoric*, suppos'd to be *Stepholm*; and when they had taken it, were almost starv'd with Hunger. This Island is now of no Use nor Defence, yielding nothing fit for Humane Nourishment: It lies about two Leagues from the Shore, over-against *Uphill* in *Somersetshire*.

[f] *Deomod* the *Saxon* Annals call it. 'Tis no particular Place, but a Country; the same which the Ancients call'd *Demetæ*, including *Carmarthenshire*, *Pembrokeshire*, and *Cardiganshire*.

A. D. 921. ther City in the Annals call'd *Wigingmere*. Mean while the *Danes* of *Leiſter* and *Northamptonſhire*; not liking perhaps to be neighboured with ſtrong Towns, laid Siege to *Torcheſter*, but they within, repelling the Aſſault one whole Day till Supplies came, quitted the Siege by Night; and purſu'd cloſe by the beſieged, between *Brinwood* [a] and *Ailsbury* were ſurpriz'd, many of them made Priſoners, and much of their Baggage loſt. Other of the *Danes* at *Huntingdon*, aided from the *Eaſt-Angles*, finding that Caſtle not commodious, left it, and built another at *Temsford*, judging that Place more opportune from whence to make their Excurſions; and ſoon after went forth with deſign to aſſail *Bedford*: But the Garriſon iſſuing out, ſlew a great part of them, the reſt fled. After this, a great Army of them gather'd out of *Mercia* and the *Eaſt-Angles*, came and beſieg'd the City call'd *Wingingamere* a whole Day; but finding it defended ſtoutly by them within, thence alſo departed, driving away much of their Cattel: Whereupon the *Engliſh*, from Towns and Cities round about joyning Forces, laid Siege to the Town and Caſtle of *Temsford*, and by Aſſault took both; ſlew their King with *Toglea* a Duke, and *Mannan* his Son an Earl, with all the reſt there found; who choſe to die rather than yield. Encourag'd by this, the Men of *Kent*, *Surrey*, and part of *Eſſex*, enterprize the Siege of *Colcheſter*, nor gave over till they won it, ſacking the Town, and putting to Sword all the *Danes* therein, except ſome who eſcap'd over the Wall To the Succour of theſe, a great number of *Danes* inhabiting Ports and other Towns in the *Eaſt-Angles*, united their Forces; but coming too late, as in Revenge beleaguer'd *Maldon*; but that Town alſo timely reliev'd, they departed, not only fruſtrate of their Deſign, but ſo hotly purſu'd, that many Thouſands of them loſt their Lives in the Flight. Forthwith King *Edward*, with his *Weſt-Saxons*, went to *Paſham* upon *Ouſe*, there to guard the Paſſage, while others were building a Stone Wall about *Torcheſter*; to him the Earl *Thurſert*, and other Lord *Danes*, with their Army there about as far as *Weolud*, came and ſubmitted. Whereat the King's Soldiers joyfully cry'd out to be diſmiſs'd home: Therefore with another part of them he enter'd *Huntingdon*, and repair'd it, where Breaches had been made; all the People thereabout returning to Obedience. The like was done at *Colncheſter* by the next remove of his Army; after which both *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Angles*, and the *Daniſh* Forces among them, yielded to the King, ſwearing Allegiance to him both by Sea and Land: The Army alſo of *Danes* at *Grantbrig*, ſurrendring themſelves, took the ſame Oath. The Summer following he came with his Army to *Stamford*, built a Caſtle there on the South-ſide of the River, where all the People of thoſe Quarters acknowledg'd him Supream. During his abode there, *Elfled* his Siſter a Martial Woman, who after her Husband's Death would no more marry, but gave her ſelf to Publick Affairs, repairing and fortifying many Towns, warring ſometimes, dy'd at *Tamworth* the chief Seat of *Mercia*, whereof by Gift of *Alfred* her Father, ſhe was Lady or Queen; whereby that whole Nation became obedient to King *Edward*, as did alſo *North-Wales*, with *Howel*, *Cledaucus*, and *Jeothwell* their Kings. Thence paſſing to *Nottingham*, he enter'd and repair'd the Town, plac'd there part *Engliſh*, part *Danes*, and receiv'd Fealty from all in *Mercia* of either Nation. The next Autumn, coming with his Army into *Cheſhire*, he built and fortify'd *Thelwel*; and while he ſtaid there, call'd another Army out of *Mercia*, which he ſent to repair and fortifie [b] *Mancheſter*. About Midſummer following ing, he march'd again to *Nottingham*, built a Town over-againſt it on the South-ſide of that River, and with a Bridge joyn'd them both; thence journeyed to a Place call'd *Bedecanwilan* in [c] *Pictland*; there alſo built and fenc'd a City on the Borders, where the King of *Scots* did him Honour as to his Sovereign, together with the whole *Scotiſh* Nation; the like did *Reginald* and the Son of *Eadulf*, *Daniſh* Princes, with all the *Northumbrians*, both *Engliſh* and *Danes*. The King alſo of a People thereabout call'd *Streatgledwalli* (the *North-Welch*, as *Cambden* thinks, of *Strat-Cluid* in *Denbighſhire*, perhaps rather the *Britiſh* of *Cumberland*) did him Homage, and not undeſerv'd. For *Buchanan* himſelf confeſſes, that this King *Edward*, with a ſmall number of Men compar'd to his Enemies, overthrew in a great Battel, the whole United Power both of *Scots* and *Danes*, ſlew moſt of the *Scotiſh* Nobility, and forc'd *Malcolmb*, whom *Conſtantine* the *Scotiſh* King had made General, and deſign'd Heir of his Crown, to ſave himſelf by flight, ſore wounded. Of the *Engliſh*, he makes *Athelſtan* the Son of *Edward* Chief Leader; and ſo far ſeems to confound Times and Actions, as to make this Battel the ſame with that fought by *Athelſtan*, about twenty four Years after at *Bruneford*, againſt *Anlaf* and *Conſtantine*, whereof hereafter. But here *Buchanan* takes occaſion to inveigh againſt the *Engliſh* Writers, upbraiding them with Ignorance, who affirm *Athelſtan* to have been Supream King of *Britain*, *Conſtantine* the *Scotiſh* King with others to have held of him; and denies that in the Annals of *Marianus Scotus*, any mention is to be found thereof; which I ſhall not ſtand much to contradict; for in *Marianus*, whether by Sirname or by Nation *Scotus*, will be found as little mention of any other *Scotiſh* Affairs, till the time of King *Dunchand* ſlain by *Machetad*, or *Mackbeth*, in the Year 1040. which gives Cauſe of Suſpicion, that the Affairs of *Scotland* before that time were ſo obſcure as to be unknown to their own Country-man, who liv'd and wrote his Chronicle not long after. But King *Edward* thus nobly doing, and thus honour'd, the Year following dy'd at *Farendon*; a Builder and Reſtorer even in War, not a Deſtroyer of his Land. He had by ſeveral Wives many Children; his Eldeſt Daughter *Edgith*, he gave in Marriage to *Charles* King of *France*, Grand-child of *Charles* the *Bald* above mention'd; of the reſt in Place convenient. His Laws are yet to be ſeen. He was buried at *Wincheſter*, in the Monaſtery by *Alfred* his Father. And a few Days after him dy'd * *Ethelwerd* his Eldeſt Son, the Heir of his Crown. He had the whole Iſland in Subjection, yet ſo as petty Kings reign'd under him. In *Northumberland*, after *Ecbert* whom the *Danes* had ſet up, and the *Northumbrians* yet unruly under their Yoke, at the end of ſix Years had expell'd, one *Ricſig* was ſet up King, and bore

Wigmore in *Herefordſhire.*

In *Northamptonſhire.*

922. *Sax. An.*

A. D. 922.

924. *Sax. An.*

The *Scots* King do Homage to King *Edward.*

Buch. l. 6.

Buch. l. 6.

925. *Sax. An.* In *Barkſhire.* *Huntingd.* *Mat. Weſt.*

*At *Oxford*

Sim. Dun.

[a] Foreſt of *Bernwood*. See *Kennet*'s Paroch. Antiquities of *Ambroſden*, &c.

[b] This is an Error which has been handed down to our Hiſtorians by *Marianus*, who miſtook the *Saxon* Annals. Theſe do not tell us, that King *Edward* repair'd *Mancheſter*, but that he repair'd manige ceaſtep, i. e. *Many Cities*: Which is certainly the Senſe of the Place.

[c] The *Cottonian* Copy of the *Saxon* Annals relate, that he went from *Nottingham* into *Peakland*, the *Peak* in *Darbyſhire*, and thence to *Bedecanwell*, ſuppos'd to be *Bakewell* in that County.

A. D. 925. bore the Name three Years; then another *Ecbert*, and *Guthred*; the latter if we believe Legends, of a Servant made King by Command of St. *Cudbert*, in a Viſion; and enjoyn'd by another Viſion of the ſame Saint, to pay well for his Royalty many Lands and Privileges to his Church and Monaſtery. But now to the Story.

ATHELSTAN.

926. *Athelſtan* next in Age to *Ethelward* his Brother, who deceas'd untimely few Days before, though born of a Concubine, yet for the great Appearance of many Vertues in him, and his Brethren being yet under Age, was exalted to the Throne [a], at *Kingſtone* upon *Thames*, and by his Father's laſt Will, ſaith *Malmsbury*, yet not without ſome Oppoſition of one *Alfred* and his Accomplices; who not liking he ſhould reign, had conſpir'd to ſeize on him after his Father's *Malmſb.* Death, and put out his Eyes. But the Conſpiratours diſcover'd, and *Alfred* denying the Plot, was ſent to *Rome* to aſſert his Innocence before the Pope; where taking his Oath on the Altar, he fell down immediately, and carried out by his Servants, three Days after dy'd. Mean while beyond *Humber*, the *Danes* though much *Sim. Dun.* aw'd were not idle. *Inguald*, one of their Kings, took Poſſeſſion of *York*. *Sitric*, who ſome Years before had ſlain *Niel* his Brother, by force took *Davenport* in *Cheſhire*; and however he defended theſe Doings, grew ſo conſiderable, that *Athelſtan* with great Solemnity gave him his Siſter *Malmsb* *Edgith* to Wife: But he enjoy'd her not long, *Mat. Weſt.* dying e're the Year's end, nor his Sons *Anlaf* 927. and *Guthfert* the Kingdom, driven out the next *Sax. An.* Year by *Athelſtan*; not unjuſtly ſaith *Huntingdon*, as being firſt Raiſers of the War. *Simeon* calls him *Gudfrid a Britiſh* King, whom *Athelſtan* this Year drove out of his Kingdom; and perhaps they were both one, the Name and Time not much differing, the Place only miſtaken. *Malmsbury* differs in the Name alſo, calling him *Aldulf* a certain Rebel. Them alſo I wiſh as much miſtaken, who write that *Athelſtan*, jealous of his younger Brother *Edwin's* towardly Vertues, leſt added to the Right of Birth, they might ſome time or other call in queſtion his il- *Sim.Dun.* legitimate Precedence, caus'd him to be drown'd in the Sea; expos'd, ſome ſay, with one Servant in a rotten Bark, without Sail or Oar; where the Youth far off Land, and in rough Weather deſpairing, threw himſelf over-board; †At *Whit-* the Servant more patient, got to Land † and re- *ſand* near *Calice.* ported the Succeſs. But this *Malmsbury* confeſſes to be ſung in old Songs, not read in warrantable Authors: And *Huntingdon* ſpeaks as of a ſad Accident to *Athelſtan*, that he loſt his Brother *Edwin* by Sea; far the more credible, in that *Athelſtan*, as is written by all, tenderly lov'd, and bred up the reſt of his Brethren, of whom he 934. had no leſs Cauſe to be jealous. And the Year *Sax. An.* following he proſper'd better than from ſo foul *Sim. Dun.* a Fact, paſſing into *Scotland* with great Puiſſance, both by Sea and Land, and chaſing his Enemies before him, by Land as far as *Dunfeader*, and *Wertermore*, by Sea as far as *Cathneſs*. The Cauſe of this Expedition, ſaith *Malmsbury*, was to demand *Gudfert* the Son of *Sitric*, thither fled, though not deny'd at length by *Conſtantine*, who with *Eugenius* King of *Cumberland*, at a Place call'd *Dacor* or *Dacre* in that Shire, ſurrender'd himſelf and each his Kingdom to *Athelſtan*, who brought back with him for Hoſtage the Son of *Conſtantine*. But *Gudfert* eſcaping in the mean *Florent.* while out of *Scotland*, and *Conſtantine* exaſperated by this Invaſion, perſwaded *Anlaf* the other Son of *Sitric* then fled into *Ireland*, others write *Anlaf* *Florent.* King of *Ireland* and the *Iſles*, his Son-in-Law, with *Sim. Dun.* 615 Ships, and the King of *Cumberland* with other Forces, to his Aid. This within four Years effected, 938. they enter'd *England* by *Humber*, and fought with *Sax. An.* *Athelſtan* at a Place call'd *Wendune*, others term it *Malmſb.* **Brunanburg*, others *Bruneford*, which *Ingulf* pla- **Bromrig* in the ces beyond *Humber*, *Cambden* in *Glendale* of *Nor-* County *thumberland* on the *Scotch* Borders: the bloodieſt of *Nor-* Fight, ſay Authors, that ever this Iſland ſaw; *thumber-* to deſcribe which, the *Saxon* Annaliſt wont to *land.* be ſober and ſuccinct, whether the ſame or another Writer, now labouring under the Weight of his Argument, and over-charg'd, runs on a ſudden into ſuch [b] extravagant Fancies and Metaphors, as bear him quite beſide the Scope of being underſtood. *Huntingdon*, though himſelf peccant enough in this kind, tranſcribes him word for word as a Paſtime to his Readers. I ſhall only ſum up what I can attain, in uſual Language. The Battel was fought eagerly from Morning till Night; ſome fell of King *Edward's* old Army, try'd in many a Battel before; but on the other ſide great Multitudes, the reſt fled to their Ships. Five Kings, and ſeven of *Anlaf's* Chief Captains were ſlain on the Place, with *Froda* a *Norman* Leader; *Conſtantine* eſcap'd home, but loſt his Son in the Fight, if I underſtand my Author; *Anlaf* by Sea to *Dublin*, with a ſmall remainder of his great Hoſt. *Malmsbury* relates this War, adding many Circumſtances after this manner. That *Anlaf* joyning with *Conſtantine* and the whole Power of *Scotland*, beſides thoſe which he brought with him out of *Ireland*, came on far Southwards, till *Athelſtan* who had retir'd on ſet purpoſe to be the ſurer of his Enemies, encloſed from all Succour and Retreat, met him at *Bruneford*. *Anlaf* perceiving the Valour and Reſolution of *Athelſtan*, and miſtruſting his own Forces though numerous, reſolv'd firſt to ſpy in what Poſture his Enemies lay: And imitating perhaps what he heard attempted by King *Alfred* the Age before, in the Habit of a Muſician, got acceſs by his Lute and Voice to the King's Tent, there playing both the Minſtrel and the Spy: Then towards Evening diſmiſs'd, he was obſerv'd by one who had been his Soldier and well knew him, viewing earneſtly the King's Tent, and what Approaches lay about it, then in the Twilight to depart. The Soldier forthwith acquaints the King, and by him blamed for letting go his Enemy, anſwer'd, that he had given firſt his Military Oath to *Anlaf*, whom if he had betray'd, the King might ſuſpect him of like treaſonous Mind towards himſelf; which to diſprove, he adviſ'd him to remove his Tent a good diſtance off; and ſo done, it happen'd that a Biſhop with his Retinue coming that Night to the Army, pitch'd his Tent in the ſame Place, from whence the King had remov'd. *Anlaf* coming by Night, as he had deſign'd to aſſault the Camp, and eſpecially the King's Tent, finding there the Biſhop in ſtead, ſlew him with all his Followers. *Athelſtan* took the Alarm, and as it ſeems, was not found ſo unprovided, but that the

A. D. 934.

[a] He was crown'd by *Athelm* Biſhop of *Canterbury*, on a Scaffold erected for that purpoſe, in the midſt of the Town.

[b] What he calls *extravagant Fancies*, is nothing but a Paſſage in Imitation of *Cædmon's* Verſe, which was the Standard of Poetry among the *Saxons*. This *Chedmon*, ſays Mr. *Cambden* in his Remains, *about the Year* 680. *became ſo Divine a Poet in our* Engliſh *Tongue, that with his ſweet Verſes he withdrew many from Vice to Virtue.*

A. D. 938. the Day now appearing, he put his Men in order, and maintain'd the Fight till Evening; wherein *Conſtantine* himſelf was ſlain, with five other Kings and twelve Earls, the Annals were content with ſeven, in the reſt not diſagreeing. *Ingulf* Abbot of *Croyland*, from the Authority of *Turketul* a principal Leader in this Battel, relates it more at large to this effect: That *Athelſtan*, about a Mile diſtant from the Place where Execution was done upon the Biſhop and his Supplies, allarm'd at the Noiſe, came down by break of Day, upon *Anlaf* and his Army, overwatch'd and wearied now with the Slaughter they had made, and ſomething out of order, yet in two main Battels. The King therefore in like manner dividing, led the one part, conſiſting moſt of *Weſt-Saxons*, againſt *Anlaf* with his *Danes* and *Iriſh*, committing the other to his Chancellor *Turketul*, with the *Mercians* and *Londoners* againſt *Conſtantine* and his *Scots*. The Shower of Arrows and Darts over-paſs'd, both Battels attack'd each other with a cloſe and terrible Engagement, for a long ſpace neither ſide giving Ground. Till the Chancellor *Turketul* a Man of great Stature and Strength, taking with him a few *Landoners* of ſelect Valour, and *Singin* who led the *Worſterſhire* Men, a Captain of undaunted Courage, broke into the thickeſt, making his way firſt through the *Picts* and *Orkeners*, then through the *Cumbrians* and *Scots*, and came at length where *Conſtantine* himſelf fought, unhors'd him, and us'd all means to take him alive; but the *Scots* valiantly defending their King, and laying load upon *Turketul*, which the Goodneſs of his Armour well endur'd, he had yet been beaten down, had not *Singin* his faithful Second at the ſame time ſlain *Conſtantine*; which once known, *Anlaf* and the whole Army betook them to flight, whereof a huge Multitude fell by the Sword. This *Turketul* not long after leaving Worldly Affairs, became Abbot of *Croyland*, which at his own Coſt he had repair'd from *Daniſh* Ruins, and left there this Memorial of his former Actions. *Athelſtan* with his Brother *Edmund* victorious, thence turning into *Wales*, with much more eaſe vanquiſh'd *Ludwal* the King, and poſſeſt his Land. But *Malmſbury* writes, that commiſerating humane Chance, as he diſplac'd, ſo he reſtor'd both him and *Conſtantine* to their Regal State; for the ſurrender of King *Conſtantine* hath been above ſpoken of. However the *Welch* did him Homage at the City of *Hereford*, and covenanted Yearly Payment of Gold 20 Pound, of Silver 300, of Oxen 25 thouſand, beſides Hunting Dogs and Hawks. He alſo took *Exeter* from the *Corniſh Britains*, who till that time had equal Right there with the *Engliſh*, and bounded them with the River *Tamar*, as the other *Britiſh* with *Wey*. Thus dreaded of his Enemies, and renown'd far and near, three Years after he dy'd at *Gloſter*, and was buried with many Trophies at *Malmſbury*, where he had caus'd to be laid his two Couſin-Germans, *Elwin* and *Ethelſtan*, both ſlain in the Battel againſt *Anlaf*. He was thirty Years old at his coming to the Crown, mature in Wiſdom from his Childhood, comely of Perſon and Behaviour; ſo that *Alfred* his Grandfather in Bleſſing him was wont to pray he might live to have the Kingdom, and put him yet a Child into Soldiers Habit. He had his Breeding in the Court of *Elfled* his Aunt, of whoſe Vertues more than Female we have related, ſufficient to evince that his Mother, though ſaid to be no wedded Wife, was yet ſuch of Parentage and Worth, as the Royal Line diſdain'd not, though the Song went in *Malmſbury*'s Days (for it ſeems he refus'd not the Authority of Ballads for want of better) that his Mother was a Farmer's Daughter, but of excellent Feature; who dreamt one Night ſhe brought forth a Moon that ſhould enlighten the whole Land: Which the King's Nurſe hearing of, took her home and bred up Courtly; that the King coming one Day to viſit his Nurſe, ſaw there this Damſel, lik'd her, and by earneſt Suit prevailing, had by her this famous *Athelſtan*, a bounteous, juſt and affable King, as *Malmsbury* ſets him forth; nor leſs honour'd abroad by Foreign Kings, who ſought his Friendſhip by great Gifts or Affinity; that *Harold* King of *Noricum* ſent him a Ship, whoſe Prow was of Gold, Sails Purple, and other Golden things, the more to be wonder'd at, ſent from *Noricum*, whether meant *Norway* or *Bavaria*, the one place ſo far from ſuch Superfluity of Wealth, the other from all Sea: The Embaſſadors were *Helgrim* and *Offrid*, who found the King at *York*. His Siſters he gave in Marriage to greateſt Princes, *Elgif* to *Otho* Son of *Henry* the Emperour, *Egdith* to a certain Duke about the *Alpes*, *Edgiv* to *Ludwic* King of *Aquitain*, ſprung of *Charles* the Great, *Ethilda* to *Hugo* King of *France* who ſent *Aldulf* Son of *Baldwin*, Earl of *Flanders*, to obtain her. From all theſe great Suitors, eſpecially from the Emperour and King of *France* came rich Preſents, Horſes of excellent Breed, gorgeous Trappings and Armour, Reliques, Jewels, Odors, Veſſels of Onyx, and other precious things, which I leave Poetically deſcrib'd in *Malmsbury*, taken, as he confeſſes, out of an old Verſifier, ſome of whoſe Verſes he recites. The only Blemiſh left upon him, was the expoſing of his Brother *Edwin*, who diſavow'd by Oath the Treaſon whereof he was accus'd, and implor'd an equal hearing. But theſe were Songs, as before hath been ſaid, which add alſo that *Athelſtan*, his Anger over, ſoon repented of the Fact, and put to Death his Cup-bearer, who had induc'd him to ſuſpect and expoſe his Brother, put in mind by a word falling from the Cup-bearer's own Mouth, who ſlipping one Day as he bore the King's Cup, and recovering himſelf on the other Leg, ſaid aloud, fatally as to him it proved, one Brother helps the other. Which words the King laying to Heart, and pondering how ill he had done to make away his Brother, aveng'd himſelf firſt on the Adviſer of that Fact, took on him ſeven Years Penance, and as *Mat. Weſt.* ſaith, built two Monaſteries for the Soul of his Brother. His Laws are extant among the Laws of other *Saxon* Kings to this Day.

941. *Sax. An. Malms'b. Ingulf.*

A. D. 941.

EDMUND.

942. *Sax. An.* EDmund not above eighteen Years old ſucceeded his Brother *Athelſtan*, in Courage not inferiour. For in the ſecond of his Reign he freed *Mercia* of the *Danes* that remain'd there, and took from them the Cities of *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Stamford*, *Darby*, and *Leiſter*, where they were plac'd by King *Edward*, but it ſeems gave not good Proof of their Fidelity. *Simeon* writes that *Anlaf* ſetting forth from *York*, and having waſted Southward as far as *Northampton*, was met by *Edmund* at *Leiſter*; but that e're the Battels joyn'd, Peace was made between them by *Odo* and *Wulſtan* the two Arch-biſhops, with Converſion of *Anlaf*; for the ſame Year *Edmund* receiv'd at the Font-ſtone this or another *Anlaf*, as ſaith *Huntingdon*, not him ſpoken of before, who dy'd this Year (ſo uncertain they are in the Story of theſe Times alſo) and held *Reginald* another King of the *Northumbers*, while the

Biſhop

A. D. 942. Biſhop confirm'd him: Their Limits were divided North and South by *Watling-ſtreet*. But ſpiritual Kindred little avail'd to keep Peace between them, whoever gave the Cauſe; for we read him two Years after driving *Anlaf* (whom 944. etc. Annals now firſt call the Son of *Sitric*) and *Sax. An.* *Suthfrid* Son of *Reginald* out of *Northumberland*, taking the whole Country into Subjection. *Edmund* the next Year harraſs'd *Cumberland*, then 954. gave it to *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, thereby bound *Sax An.* to aſſiſt him in his Wars, both by Sea and Land; *Mat. Weſt.* adds, that in this Action *Edmund* had the Aid of *Leolin* Prince of *North-Wales*, againſt *Dummail* the *Cumbrian* King, him depriving of his Kingdom, and his two Sons of their Sight [a]. 946. But the Year after, he himſelf by ſtrange Acci- *Sax. An.* dent, came to an untimely Death, feaſting with *Cambden.* his Nobles on St. *Auſtin*'s Day at *Puckle-kerke* in *Puckle* *Gloſterſhire*, to celebrate the Memory of his firſt *Church.* converting the *Saxons*. He ſpy'd *Leof* a noted Thief whom he had baniſh'd, ſitting among his Gueſts; whereat tranſported with two much Vehemence of Spirit, though in a juſt Cauſe, riſing from the Table he ran upon the Thief, and catching his Hair, pull'd him to the Ground. The Thief who doubted from ſuch handling no leſs than his Death intended, thought to die not unreveng'd; and with a ſhort Dagger ſtruck the King, who ſtill laid at him, and little expected ſuch Aſſaſſination, mortally into the Breaſt. The Matter was done in a Moment, e'er Men ſet at Table could turn them, or imagine at firſt what the ſtir meant, till perceiving the King deadly wounded, they flew upon the Murtherer, and hew'd him to Pieces; who like a wild Beaſt at Abbay, ſeeing himſelf ſurrounded, deſperately laid about him, wounding ſome in his Fall. The King was buried at *Glaſton*, whereof *Dunſtan* was then Abbot; his Laws yet remain to be ſeen among the Laws of other *Saxon* Kings.

EDRED.

948. EDRED the third Brother of *Athelſtan*, the Sons of *Edmund* being yet but Children, next reign'd, not degenerating from his worthy Predeceſſors, and crown'd at *Kingſton*. *Northumber-* The *Scots* *land* he thoroughly ſubdu'd, the *Scots* without do Ho- Refuſal ſwore him Allegiance; yet the *Northum-* mage to *brians*, ever of doubtful Faith, ſoon after choſe *Edred.* to themſelves one *Eric*, a *Dane*. *Huntingdon* ſtill haunts us with this *Anlaf* (of whom we gladly would have been rid) and will have him before *Eric* recall'd once more and reign four Years, then again put to his Shifts. But *Edred* 950. entring into *Northumberland*, and with Spoils re- *Sim. Dun.* turning, *Eric* the King fell upon his Rear. *Edred* turning about, both ſhook off the Enemy, and prepared to make a ſecond Inroad: Which the *Hoveden.* *Northumbrians* dreading rejected *Eric*, ſlew *Amancus* the Son of *Anlaf*, and with many Preſents appeaſing *Edred*, ſubmitted again to his Government; nor from that time had Kings, but were govern'd by Earls, of whom *Oſulf* was the firſt. About this time *Wulſtan* Arch-biſhop of *York*, 953. accus'd to have ſlain certain Men of *Thetford*, in *Sim. Dun.* revenge of their Abbot whom the Townſ-men had ſlain, was committed by the King to cloſe Cuſtody; but ſoon after enlarg'd, was reſtor'd to his Place. *Malmsbury* writes, that his Crime was to have conniv'd at the Revolt of his Countrymen: But Kind *Edred* two Years after ſicknning in the Flower of his Youth, dy'd much lamented, and was buried at *Wincheſter*. A. D. 955. *Sim. Dun.*

EDWI.

EDWI the Son of *Edmund* now come to Age, after his Uncle *Edred*'s Death took on him the Government, and was crown'd at *Kingſton*. His lovely Perſon ſirnamed him the *Fair*: His Actions are diverſly reported, by *Huntingdon* not thought illaudable. But *Malmsbury* and ſuch as follow him write far otherwiſe, that he married *Mat. Weſt.* or kept as Concubine, his near Kinſwoman, ſome ſay both her and her Daughter; ſo inordinately given to his Pleaſure, that on the very Day of his Coronation, he abruptly withdrew himſelf from the Company of his Peers, whether in Banquet or Conſultation, to ſit wantoning in the Chamber with this *Algiva*, ſo was her Name, who had ſuch Power over him. Whereat his Barons offended, ſent Biſhop *Dunſtan*, the boldeſt among them, to requeſt his return: He going to the Chamher, not only inturrupted his Dalliance and rebuk'd the Lady, but taking him by the Hand, between Force and Perſwaſion brought him back to his Nobles. The King 956. highly diſpleaſed, and inſtigated perhaps by her, who was ſo prevalent with him, not long after ſent *Dunſtan* into Baniſhment, caus'd his Monaſtery to be rifled, and became an Enemy to all Monks. Whereupon *Odo* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* pronounc'd a Separation or Divorce of the King from *Algiva*. But that which moſt incited *William* of *Malmsbury* againſt him, he gave that Monaſtery to be dwelt in by Secular Prieſts, or, to uſe his own Phraſe, made it a Stable of Clerks: At length theſe Affronts done to the Church were ſo reſented by the People, that the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* revolted from him, and ſet up *Hoveden.* *Edgar* his Brother, leaving to *Edwi* the *Weſt-Saxons* only, bounded by the River *Thames*; with 957. Grief whereof, as is thought, he ſoon after end- *Sax. An.* ed his Days, and was buried at *Wincheſter*. Mean 958. while *Elfſin* Biſhop of that Place after the Death *Mat. Weſt.* of *Odo*, aſcending by Simony to the Chair of *Canterbury*, and going to *Rome* the ſame Year for his Pall, was frozen to Death in the *Alps*.

EDGAR.

EDGAR by his Brother's Death now King of 959. all *England* at ſixteen Years of Age, called *Malmſ.* home *Dunſtan* out of *Flanders*, where he liv'd in Exile. This King had no War all his Reign; yet always well prepar'd for War, govern'd the Kingdom in great Peace, Honour and Proſperity, gaining thence the Sirname of *Peaceable*, much extoll'd for Juſtice, Clemency, and all Kingly Vertues, the more, ye may be ſure, by Monks, *Mat. Weſt.* for his building ſo many Monaſteries; as ſome write, every Year one: For he much favour'd the Monks againſt Secular Prieſts, who in the time of *Edwi* had got Poſſeſſion in moſt of their Covents. His Care and Wiſdom was great in guarding the Coaſts round with ſtout Ships, to the number of three thouſand ſix hundred, *Mat. Weſt.* reckons them four thouſand eight hundred, divided into four Squadrons, to Sail to and fro about the four Quarters of the Land meeting each

[a] The *Laudean* Copy of the *Saxon* Annals, and *Ethelwerd* in his Hiſtory, place the Death of King *Athelſtane*, Anno 898.

A. D. 959. each other; the firſt of one thouſand two hundred Sail from Eaſt to Weſt, the ſecond of as many from Weſt to Eaſt, the third and fourth between North and South, himſelf in the Summer time with his Fleet. Thus he kept out wiſely the Force of Strangers, and prevented Foreign War; but by their two frequent reſort hither in time of Peace, and his too much favouring them, he let in their Vices unaware. Thence the People, ſaith *Malmsbury*, learnt of the Outlandiſh *Saxons* Rudeneſs, of the *Flemiſh* Daintineſs and Softneſs, of the *Danes* Drunkenneſs; though I doubt theſe Vices are as naturally home-bred here as in any other Countries. Yet in the Winter and Spring-time he uſually rode the Circuit as a Judge Itinerant through all his Provinces, to ſee Juſtice well adminiſtred, and the Poor not oppreſs'd. Thieves and Robbers he routed almoſt out of the Land, and wild Beaſts of Prey altogether; enjoyning
961. *Ludwal* King of *Wales* to pay the Yearly Tribute of three hundred Wolves, which he did for two Years together, till the third Year no more were to be found, nor ever after; but his Laws may be read yet extant. Whatever was the Cauſe he was not Crown'd till the 30th of his
973. Age, but then with great Splendor and Magnificence at the City of *Bath*, in the Feaſt of *Pen-*
Sax. An. Ingulf. *tecoſt*[a]. This Year dy'd *Swarling* a Monk of *Croy-*
974. *land*, in the 142 Year of his Age, and another
Sax. An. ſoon after him in the 115th in that Fenny and Watriſh Air, the more remarkable. King *Edgar* the next Year went to *Cheſter*, and ſummoning to his Court there all the Kings that held of him, took Homage of them: Their Names are ‖ *Kened* King of *Scots*, *Malcolm* of *Cumberland*. *Maccuſe* of the Iſles, five of *Wales*, *Duſwil*, *Huwal*, *Grifith*, *Jacob*, *Judethil*, theſe he had in ſuch awe, that going one Day into a Gally, he caus'd them to take each Man his Oar, and row him down the River *Dee*, while he himſelf ſat at the Stern: Which might be, done in Merriment, eaſily obey'd; if with a ſerious Brow, diſcover'd rather Vain-Glory, and inſulting Haughtineſs, than Moderation of Mind. And that he did it ſeriouſly triumphing, appears by his Words then utter'd, That his Succeſſors might then glory to be Kings of *England*, when they had ſuch Honour done them. And perhaps the Divine Power was diſpleas'd with him for taking too much Honour to himſelf; ſince we read
975. that the Year following he was taken out of this Life by Sickneſs in the heighth of his Glory and the prime of his Age, buried at *Glaſton* Abby. The ſame Year, as *Mat. Weſt.* relates, he gave to *Kened* the *Scotiſh* King, many rich Preſents, and the whole Country of *Laudain*, or *Lothein*, to hold of him on condition that he and his Succeſſors ſhould repair to the *Engliſh* Court at high Feſtivals when the King ſat crown'd; gave him alſo many lodging Places by the way, which till the Days of *Henry* the ſecond were ſtill held by the Kings of *Scotland*. He was of Stature not Tall, of Body Slender, yet ſo well made, that in Strength he choſe to contend with ſuch as were thought Strongeſt, and diſlik'd nothing more than that they ſhould ſpare him for Reſpect or Fear to hurt him. *Kened* King of *Scots* then in the Court of *Edgar*, ſitting one Day at Table was heard to ſay jeſtingly amongſt his Servants, *He wonder'd how ſo many Provinces could be held in Subjection by ſuch a little dapper Man*: His Words were brought to the King's Ear; he

‖ King *Edgar* row'd down the *Dee* be *Keneth* King of *Scotland*, *Malcolm* King of *Cumberland* *Maccuſe* King of *Man* and the *Iſles*, and Five *Iriſh* and *Welſh* Kings.

ſends for *Kened* as about ſome private Buſineſs, A. D. 795.
and in Talk drawing him forth to a ſecret Place, takes from under his Garment two Swords which he had brought with him, gave one of them to *Kened*; and now ſaith he, *It ſhall be try'd which ought to be the Subject; for it is ſhameful for a King to boaſt at Table, and ſhrink in Fight.* *Kened* much abaſh'd fell preſently at his Feet, and beſought him to Pardon what he had ſimply ſpoken, no way intended to his Diſhonour or Diſparagement: Wherewith the King was ſatisfied. *Cambden* in his Deſcription of *Ireland*, cites a Charter of King *Edgar*, wherein it appears, he had in Subjection all the Kingdoms of the Iſles as far as *Norway*, and had ſubdu'd the greateſt part of *Ireland*, with the City of *Dublin*: But of this other Writers make no mention. In his Youth having heard of *Elfrida*, Daughter to *Ordgar* Duke of *Devonſhire*, much commended for her Beauty, he ſent Earl *Athelwold*, whoſe Loyalty he truſted moſt, to ſee her; intending, if ſhe were found ſuch as anſwer'd Report, to demand her in Marriage. He at the firſt View taken with her Preſence, diſloyalty, as it often happens in ſuch Employments, began to ſue for himſelf; and with conſent of her Parents obtain'd her. Returning therefore with ſcarce an ordinary Commendation of her Feature, he eaſily took off the King's Mind, ſoon diverted another way. But the matter coming to light how *Ethelwald* had foreſtall'd the King, and *Elfrida's* Beauty more and more ſpoken of, the King now heated not only with a Relapſe of Love, but with a deep Senſe of the Abuſe, yet diſſembling his Diſturbance, pleaſantly told the Earl, what Day he meant to come and viſit him and his fair Wife. The Earl ſeemingly aſſur'd his Welcome, but in mean while acquainting his Wife, earneſtly adviſ'd her to deform herſelf, what ſhe might, either in Dreſs or otherwiſe, leſt the King, whoſe amorous *Inclination was* not unknown, ſhould chance to be attracted. She who by this time was not ignorant, how *Athelwold* had ſtep'd between her and the King, againſt his coming Arrays herſelf richly, uſing whatever Art ſhe could deviſe might render her the more aimable; and it took effect. For the King inflam'd with her Love, the more for that he had been ſo long defrauded and robbed of her, reſolved not only to recover his intercepted Right, but to puniſh the Interloper of his deſtin'd Spouſe, and appointing with him, as was uſual, a *Day* of Hunting, drawn aſide in a Foreſt, now call'd *Harewood*, ſmote him through with a Dart. Some cenſure this Act as Cruel and Tyrannical, but conſider'd well, it may be judg'd more favourable, and that no Man of ſenſible Spirit, but in his Place, without extraordinary Perfection, would have done the like: For next to Life, what worſe Treaſon could have been committed againſt him? It chanc'd that the Earl's baſe Son coming by upon the Fact, the King ſternly ask'd him, *How he lik'd this Game*; he ſubmiſſively anſwering, That *Whatſoever pleas'd the King, muſt not diſpleaſe him*; the King return'd to his wonted Temper, took an Affection to the Youth, and ever after highly favour'd him, making amends in the Son for what he had done to the Father. *Elfrida* forthwith he took to Wife, who to expiate her former Husband's Death, though therein ſhe had no hand, cover'd the Place of his Bloodſhed with a Monaſtery of Nuns to ſing over him. Another Fault is laid to his Charge, on

[a] In an Aſſembly of the *Witena Gemot* or Council of Wiſemen.

A. D. 975. no way excuſable, that he took a Virgin *Wilfrida* by force out of the Nunnery, where ſhe was plac'd by her Friends to avoid his Purſuit, and kept her as his Concubine; but liv'd not obſtinately in the Offence; for ſharply reprov'd by *Dunſtan*, he ſubmitted to ſeven Years Penance, and for that time to want his Coronation: But why he had it not before, is left unwritten. Another Story there goes of *Edgar*, fitter for a Novel than a Hiſtory; but as I find it in *Malmſbury*, ſo I relate it. While he was yet unmarried, in his Youth he abſtain'd not from Women, and coming on a Day to *Andover*, caus'd a Duke's Daughter there dwelling, reported of rare Beauty, to be brought to him. The Mother not daring flatly to deny, yet abhorring that her Daughter ſhould be ſo deflower'd, at fit time of Night ſent in her Attire one of her waiting Maids; a Maid it ſeems not unhandſome nor unwitty; who ſupply'd the Place of her young Lady. Night paſs'd, the Maid going to riſe, but Day-light ſcarce yet appearing, was by the King ask'd, why ſhe made ſuch haſte, ſhe anſwer'd, to do the Work which her Lady had ſet her; at which the King wondring, and with much ado ſtaying her to unfold the Riddle, for he took her to be the Duke's Daughter, ſhe falling at his Feet beſought him, that ſince at the Command of her Lady ſhe came to his Bed, and was enjoy'd by him, he would be pleas'd in Recompence to ſet her free from the hard Service of her Miſtreſs. The King a while ſtanding in a ſtudy whether he had beſt be angry or not, at length turning all to a Jeſt, took the Maid away with him, advanc'd her above her Lady, lov'd her, and accompanied with her only, till he married *Elfrida*. Theſe only are his Faults upon Record, rather to be wonder'd how they were ſo few, and ſo ſoon left, he coming at ſixteen to the Licence of a Scepter; and that his Virtues were ſo many and ſo mature, he dying before the Age wherein Wiſdom can in others attain to any Ripeneſs: However with him dy'd all the *Saxon* Glory. From henceforth nothing is to be heard of but their decline and ruin under a double Conqueſt, and the Cauſes foregoing; which, not to blur or taint the Praiſes of their former Actions and Liberty well defended, ſhall ſtand ſeverally related, and will be more than long enough for another Book. A. D. 975.

THE

Hiſtory of ENGLAND,

Continu'd to the NORMAN CONQUEST.

By Mr. JOHN MILTON. Book VI.

EDWARD the Younger.

EDWARD the Eldeſt Son of *Edgar* by *Egelfleda* his firſt Wife, the Daughter of Duke *Ordmer*, was according to Right and his Father's Will, plac'd in the Throne; *Elfrida* his ſecond Wife, and her Faction only repining, who labour'd to have had her Son *Ethelred*, a Child of ſeven Years, preferr'd before him; that ſhe under that Pretence might have rul'd all. Mean while Comets were ſeen in Heaven, portending not Famine only, which follow'd the next Year, but the troubl'd State of the whole Realm not long after to enſue. The Troubles begun in *Edwin*'s Days, between Monks and Secular Prieſts, now reviv'd and drew on either ſide many of the Nobles into Parties. For *Elfere* Duke of the *Mercians*, with many other Peers, corrupted as is ſaid with Gifts, drove the Monks out of thoſe Monaſteries where *Edgar* had plac'd them, and in their ſtead put Secular Prieſts with their Wives. But *Ethelwin* Duke of *Eaſt-Angles*, with his Brother *Elfwold*, and Earl *Bretnoth* oppos'd them, and gathering an Army defended the Abbies of *Eaſt-Angles* from ſuch Intruders. To appeaſe theſe Tumults, a Synod was call'd at *Wincheſter*, and nothing there concluded, a General Council both of Nobles and Prelates, was held at *Caln* in *Wiltſhire*, where while the diſpute was hot, but chiefly againſt *Dunſtan*, the Room wherein they ſat fell upon their Heads, killing ſome, maiming others, *Dunſtan* only eſcaping upon a Beam that fell not, and the King abſent by reaſon of his tender Age. This Accident quieted the Controverſie, and brought both Parts to hold with *Dunſtan* and the Monks. Mean while the King addicted to a Religious Life, and of a mild Spirit, ſimply permitted all things to the ambitious Will of his Stepmother and her Son *Ethelred*: To whom ſhe diſpleas'd that the Name only of King was wanting, practis'd thenceforth to remove King *Edward* out of the Way; which in this manner ſhe brought about. *Edward* on a Day wearied with hunting, thirſty and alone, while his Attendance follow'd the Dogs, hearing that *Ethelred* and his Mother lodg'd at *Corveſgate* (*Corſe*-Caſtle, ſaith *Cambden*, in the Iſle of *Purbeck*) innocently went thither. She with all ſhew of Kindneſs welcoming him, commanded Drink to be brought forth, for it ſeems he lighted not from his Horſe; and while he was drinking, caus'd one of her Servants, privately before inſtructed, to ſtab him with a Poignard. The poor Youth who little expected ſuch Unkindneſs there, turning ſpeedily the Reins, fled bleeding; till through A. D. 978.

Florent. Sim. Dun.

A. D. 978. Loss of Blood falling from his Horse, and expiring; yet held with one Foot in the Stirrop, he was dragg'd along the way, trac'd by his Blood, and Buried without Honour at *Werham*, having reigned about three Years: But the Place of his *Malmsb.* Burial not long after grew famous for Miracles. After which by Duke *Elfer* (who, as *Malmsbury* saith, had a hand in his Death) he was Royally interr'd at *Skepton*, or *Shaftsbury*. The Murdress *Elfrida* at length repenting, spent the Residue of her Days in Sorrow and great Penance.

ETHELRED.

979. *Malmsb.* ETHELRED second Son of *Edgar* by *Elfrida*, (for *Edmund* dy'd a Child) his Brother *Edward* wickedly remov'd, was now next in Right to succeed, and accordingly crown'd at *Kingston*: Reported by some, fair of Visage, comely of Person, elegant of Behaviour; but the Event *Florent.* will shew, that with many sluggish and ignoble *Sim. Dun.* Vices he quickly sham'd his out-side; born and prolong'd a fatal Mischief of the People, and the Ruine of his Country; whereof he gave early Signs from his first Infancy, bewraying the Font and Water while the Bishop was baptizing him [a]. Whereat *Dunstan* much troubl'd, for he stood by and saw it, to them next him broke into these Words, *By God and God's Mother this Boy will prove a Sluggard.* Another thing is written of him in his Childhood, which argu'd no bad Nature, that hearing of his Brother *Edward*'s cruel Death, he made loud Lamentation; but his furious Mother offended therewith, and having no Rod at hand, beat him so with great Wax Candles, that he hated the Sight of them ever after. *Dunstan* though unwilling set the Crown upon his Head; but at the same time foretold openly as is reported, the great Evils that were to come *Sim. Dun.* upon him and the Land, in Avengement of his Brother's innocent Blood. And about the same time, one Midnight, a Cloud sometimes bloody, sometimes fiery, was seen over all *England*; and 982. within three Years the *Danish* Tempest, which *Malmsb.* had long surceast, revolv'd again upon this Island. To the more ample relating whereof, the *Danish* History, at least their latest and diligentest Historian, as neither from the first landing of *Danes*, in the Reign of *West-Saxon Birthric*, so now again from first to last, contributes nothing; busied more than enough to make out the bare Names and Successions of their uncertain Kings, and their small Actions at home: Unless out of him I should transcribe what he takes, and I better may, from our own Annals; the surer, and the sadder Witnesses of their Doings here, not Glorious, as they vainly boast, but most in- *Radmer.* humanly barbarous. For the *Danes* well under- *Florent.* standing, that *England* had now a slothful King to their Wish, first landing at *Southampton* from seven great Ships, took the Town, spoiled the Country, and carried away with them great Pil- *Hoved.* lage; nor was *Devonshire* and *Cornwall* uninfested on the Shoar; Pirates of *Norway* also harried the Coast of *West-Chester*: And to add a worse Cala- *Sim. Dun.* mity, the City of *London* was burnt, casually *Hoved.* or not, is not written. It chanc'd four Years af- 986. ter, that *Ethelred* besieg'd *Rochester*, some way *Malmsb.* or other offended by the Bishop thereof. *Dun- Ingulf.* stan* not approving the Cause, sent to warn him that he provoke not St. *Andrew* the Patron of that City, nor wast his Lands; an old Craft of the Clergy to secure their Church-Lands, by entail- A. D. ing them on some Saint; the King not hark- 986. ning, *Dunstan* on this Condition that the Siege might be rais'd, sent him a hundred Pound, the Money was accepted and the Siege dissolv'd. *Dunstan* reprehending his Avarice, sent him again this Word, Because thou hast respected Money more than Religion, the Evils which I foretold shall the sooner come upon thee; but not in my Days, for so God hath spoken. The next Year was calamitous, bringing strange 987. Fluxes upon Men, and Murrain upon Cattel. *Malmsb.* *Dunstan* the Year following dy'd, a strenuous 988. Bishop, zealous without dread of Person, and *Malmsb.* for ought appears, the best of many Ages, if he busied not himself too much in secular Affairs. He was Chaplain at first to King *Athelstan*, and *Edmund* who succeeded, much imploy'd in Court Affairs, till envied by some who laid many things to his Charge, he was by *Edmund* forbidden the Court, but by the earnest Mediation, saith *Ingulf*, of *Turkitel* the Chancellor, receiv'd at length to Favour, and made Abbot of *Glaston* [b], lastly by *Edgar* and the general Vote, Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Not long after his Death, the *Danes* arriving in *Devonshire* were met by *Goda* Lieutenant of that Country, and *Strenwold* a valiant Leader, who put back the *Danes*, but with Loss of their own Lives. The third Year 991. following, under the Conduct of *Justin* and *Guth-* *Sim. Dun.* *mund* the Son of *Steytan*, they landed and spoil'd *Ipswich*, fought with *Brithnoth* Duke of the *East-Angles* about *Maldon*, where they slew him; the Slaughter else had been equal on both sides. These and the like Depradations on every side, the English not able to resist, by Counsel of *Siric* then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and two Dukes, *Ethelward* and *Alfric*; it was thought best for the present to buy that with Silver which they could not gain with their Iron: And ten thousand Pounds was paid to the *Danes* for Tribute Peace. Which for a while contented; but taught first paid them the ready way how easiest to come by to the more. The next Year but one they took by *Danes.* Storm and rifl'd *Bebbanburgh* an ancient City nigh *Durham*: Sailing thence into the Mouth of 993. *Humber*, they wasted both sides thereof, *York-* *Sim. Dun.* *shire* and *Lindsey*, burning and destroying all before them. Against these went out three Noblemen, *Frana*, *Frithegist*, and *Godwin*, but being all *Danes* by the Father's side, willingly began Flight, and forsook their own Forces betray'd to the Enemy. No less Treachery was at Sea; *Florent.* for *Alfric* the Son of *Elfer* Duke of *Mercia*, whom *Hunting.* the King for some Offence had banish'd, but now recall'd, sent from *London* with a Fleet to surprize the *Danes*, in some Place of Disadvantage, gave them over-night Intelligence thereof, then fled to them himself; which his Fleet, saith *Florent*, perceiving, pursu'd, took the Ship, but miss'd of his Person; the *Londoners* by chance grappling with the *East-Angles* made them fewer, saith my Author, by many thousands. Others 994. say, that by this notice of *Alfric*, the *Danes* not *Sim. Dun.* only escap'd, but with a great Fleet set upon the *English*, took many of their Ships, and in Triumph brought them up the *Thames*, intending to besiege *London*: For *Anlaf* King of *Norway*, and *Swane* of *Denmark*, at the head of these, came with ninety four Gallies. The King for this Treason of *Alfric*, put out his Son's Eyes; but the *Londoners* both by Land and Water, so valiantly resisted their Besiegers, that they were forc'd in one Day with great Loss to give over.

But

[a] This seems to be a Monkish Fable, copy'd from the Story of *Constantine* the VIth Emperor of *Constantinople*, who is said to have done so, and was thence called *Copronymus*.

[b] Then Bishop of *Worcester*.

A. D. 994. But what they could not on the City, they wreck'd themſelves on the Countries round about, waſting with Sword and Fire all *Eſſex*, *Kent*, and *Suſſex*. Thence horſing their Foot, diffus'd far wider their outragious Incurſions, without Mercy either to Sex or Age. The ſlothful King inſtead of Warlike Oppoſition in the Field, ſends Ambaſſadors to treat about another Payment; the Sum promis'd was now 16000; till which paid, the *Danes* winter'd at *Southampton*; *Ethelred* inviting *Anlaf* to come and viſit him at *Andover*; where he was Royally entertain'd, ſome ſay baptiz'd, or confirm'd, adopted Son by the King, and diſmiſs'd, with great Preſents, promiſing by Oath to depart, and moleſt the Kingdom no more; which he perform'd, but the Calamity ended not ſo, for after ſome Intermiſſion of their Rage for three Years, the other Navy 997. of *Danes* ſailing about to the Weſt, enter'd *Severn*, and waſted one while *South-Wales*, then *Cornwall* and *Devonſhire*, till at length they winter'd about *Tavyſtoc*. For it were an endleſs Work to relate how they wallow'd up and down to every particular Place, and to repeat as oft what Devaſtations they wrought, what Deſolations left behind them, eaſie to be imagin'd. In Sum, the next Year they afflicted *Dorſetſhire*, *Hamſhire*, and the Iſle of *Wight*; by the *Engliſh* many Reſolutions were taken, many Armies rais'd, but either betray'd by the Falſhood, or diſcourag'd by the Weakneſs of their Leaders, they were put to rout, or disbanded themſelves. For Soldiers moſt commonly are as their Commanders, without much odds of Valour in one Nation or other, only as they are more or leſs 999. wiſely diſciplin'd and conducted. The following Year brought them back upon *Kent*, where they enter'd *Medway*, and beſieg'd *Rocheſter*; but the *Kentiſh* Men aſſembling, gave them a ſharp Encounter, yet that ſuffic'd not to hinder them from doing as they had done in other Places. Againſt theſe Depopulations, the King levied an Army; but the unskilful Leaders not knowing what to do with it when they had it, did but drive out time, burthening and impoveriſhing the People, conſuming the publick Treaſure, and more emboldening the Enemy, than if they had ſat quiet at home. What Cauſe mov'd the 1000. *Danes* next Year to paſs into *Normandy*, is not recorded; but that they return'd thence more outragious than before. Mean while the King, to make ſome Diverſion, undertakes an Expedition both by Land and Sea into *Cumberland*, where the *Danes* were moſt planted; there and in the Iſle of *Man*, or as *Cambden* ſaith, *Angleſey*, imitating his Enemies in ſpoiling and un- 1001. peopling; the *Danes* from *Normandy* arriving in the River *Ex*, laid ſiege to *Exeter*; but the Citizens, as thoſe of *London*, valourouſly defending themſelves, they wreck'd their Anger, as before, on the Villages round about. The Country People of *Somerſet* and *Devonſhire* aſſembling themſelves at [a] *Penho*, ſhew'd their Readineſs, but wanted a Head; and beſides, being then but few in Number, were eaſily put to flight; the Enemy plundering all at Will, with loaded Spoils paſs'd into the Iſle of *Wight*; from whence all *Dorſetſhire*, and *Hamſhire*, felt again their Fury. The *Saxon* Annals write, that before their coming to *Exeter*, the *Hamſhire* Men had a bickering with them, wherein *Ethelward* the 1002. King's General was ſlain, adding other things hardly to be underſtood, and in one ancient Copy; ſo end. *Ethelred*, whom no Adverſity could awake from his ſoft and ſluggiſh Life, ſtill coming by the worſe at fighting, by the Advice of his Peers not unlike himſelf, ſends one of his gay Courtiers, though looking loftily, to ſtoop baſely and propoſe a third Tribute to the *Danes*: They willingly hearken, but the Sum is enhanc'd now to twenty four thouſand Pound, and paid; the *Danes* thereupon abſtaining from Hoſtility. But the King to ſtrengthen his Houſe by ſome Potent Affinity, marries *Emma*, whom the *Saxons* call *Elgiva*, Daughter of *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*. With him *Ethelred* formerly had War or no good Correſpondence, as appears by a Letter of Pope *John* the 15th, who made Peace between them about eleven Years before. Puſt up now with his ſuppos'd acceſs of Strength by this Affinity, he caus'd the *Danes* all over *England*, though now living peaceably, in one Day perfidiouſly to be maſſacred, both Men, Women and Children; ſending private Letters to every Town and City, whereby they might be ready all at the ſame Hour; which till the appointed time (being the 9th of *July*) was conceal'd with great Silence, and perform'd with much Unanimity; ſo generally hated were the *Danes*. *Mat. Weſt.* writes, that this Execution upon the *Danes* was ten Years after; that *Huna* one of *Ethelred*'s Chief Captains, complaining of the *Daniſh* Inſolencies in time of Peace, their Pride, their raviſhing of Matrons and Virgins, incited the King to this Maſſacre, which in the Madneſs of Rage made no difference of innocent or nocent. Among theſe, *Gunhildis* the Siſter of *Swane* was not ſpar'd, though much deſerving not Pity only, but all Protection: She with her Husband Earl *Palingus*, coming to live in *England*, and receiving Chriſtianity, had her Husband and young Son ſlain before her Face, her ſelf then beheaded; foretelling and denouncing that her Blood would coſt *England* dear. Some ſay this was done by the Traytor *Edric*, to whoſe Cuſtody ſhe was committed; but the Maſſacre was ſome Years before *Edric*'s Advancement; and if it were done by him afterward, it ſeems to contradict the private Correſpondence which he was thought to hold with the *Danes*. For *Swane* 1003. breathing Revenge, haſted the next Year into *England*, and by the Treaſon or Negligence of Count *Hugh*, whom *Emma* had recommended to the Government of *Devonſhire*, ſack'd the City of *Exeter*, her Wall from Eaſt to Weſt-gate, broken down: After this waſting *Wiltſhire*, the People of that County, and of *Hamſhire*, came together in great Numbers with Reſolution ſtoutly to oppoſe him; but *Alfric* their General, whoſe Son's Eyes the King had lately put out, madly thinking to revenge himſelf on the King, by ruining his own Country, when he ſhould have order'd his Battel, the Enemy being at hand, feign'd himſelf taken with a Vomiting; whereby his Army in great Diſcontent, deſtitute of a Commander, turn'd from the Enemy; who ſtreight took *Wilton* and [b] *Salisbury*, carrying the Pillage thereof to his Ships. Thence the next 1004. Year landing on the Coaſt of *Norfolk*, he waſted the Country [c], and ſet *Norwich* on fire; *Ulfketel* Duke of the *Eaſt-Angles*, a Man of great Valour, not having ſpace to gather his Forces, after Conſultation had, thought it beſt to make Peace with the *Dane*, which he breaking within three Weeks, iſſued ſilently out of his Ships, came to *Thetford*, ſtaid there a Night, and in the Morning

A. D. 1002.

Malmſ.

Calviſius.

Florent. *Huntingd.*

The *Danes* maſſacred throughout *England.* *Calviſius.*

Mat. Weſt.

Sim. Dun.

Sim. Dun.

Sim. Dun.

Malmſ.

Huntingd.

Sim. Dun.

Sim. Dun.

Sim. Dun.

Sim. Dun.

Sim. Dun.

[a] *Pen* in *Somerſetſhire*, on the Borders of *Dorſetſhire*

[b] *Old Sarum*; for *Salisbury*, or *New Sarum*, was not built till the Reign of *Henry* the 3d, above 200 Years afterwards.

[c] He came with his Fleet to *Norwich* up the River *Yare*, which was then Navigable.

A. D. 1004. ning left it flaming. *Ulfketel* hearing this, commanded ſome to go and break, or burn his Ships; but they not daring or neglecting, he in the mean while with what Secrecy and Speed was poſſible, drawing together his Forces, went out againſt the Enemy, and gave them a fierce Onſet retreating to their Ships; but much inferiour in Number, many of the chief *Eaſt-Angles* there loſt their Lives. Nor did the *Danes* come off without great Slaughter of their own; confeſſing that they never met in *England* with ſo rough a Charge. The next Year, whom War could not, a great Famine drove *Swane* out of the Land. But the Summer following, another great Fleet of *Danes* enter'd the Port of *Sandwich*, thence pour'd out over all *Kent* and *Suſſex*, made Prey of what they found. The King levying an Army out of *Mercia*, and the *Weſt-Saxons*, took on him for once the Manhood to go out and face them; but they who held it ſafer to live by Rapine, than to hazard a Battel, ſhifting lightly from Place to Place, fruſtrated the ſlow Motions of a heavy Camp, following their wonted Courſe of Robbery, then running to their Ships. Thus all *Autumn* they wearied out the King's Army, which gone home to Winter, they carried all their Pillage to the Iſle of *Wight*, and there ſtaid till *Chriſtmas*; at which time the King being in *Shropſhire*, and but ill employ'd (for by the Procurement of *Edric*, he caus'd, as is thought, *Alſhelm* a Noble Duke, treacherouſly to be ſlain, and the Eyes of his two Sons to be put out) they came forth again, over-running *Hampſhire*, and *Barkſhire*, as far as *Reading* and *Wallingford*: Thence to *Aſhdune*, and other Places thereabout, neither known nor of tolerable Pronunciation; and returning by another way, found many of the People in Arms by the River *Kenet*; but making their way through, they got ſafe with vaſt Booty to their Ships. The King and his Courtiers wearied out with their laſt Summer's Jaunt after the nimble *Danes* to no purpoſe, which by Proof they found too toilſome for their ſoft Bones, more us'd to Beds and Couches, had recourſe to their laſt and only Remedy, their Coffers; and ſend now the fourth time to buy a diſhonourable Peace, every time ſtill dearer, not to be had now under thirty ſix thouſand Pound (for the *Danes* knew how to milk ſuch eaſie Kine) in Name of Tribute and Expences: Which out of the People over all *England*, already half beggar'd, was extorted and paid. About the ſame time *Ethelred* advanc'd *Edric*, ſirnam'd *Streon*, from obſcure Condition to be Duke of *Mercia*, and marry *Edgitha* the King's Daughter. The Cauſe of his Advancement, *Florent* of *Worſter*, and *Mat. Weſt.* attribute to his great Wealth, gotten by fine Policies and a plauſible Tongue: He prov'd a main Acceſſory to the Ruine of *England*, as his Actions will ſoon declare. *Ethelred* the next Year ſomewhat rouſing himſelf, ordain'd that every three hundred and ten Hides (a Hide is ſo much Land as one Plow can ſufficiently till) ſhould ſet out a Ship or Galley, and every nine Hides find a Corſlet and Head-piece: New Ships in every Port were builded, victuall'd, fraught with ſtout Mariners and Soldiers, and appointed to meet all at *Sandwich*. A Man might now think that all would go well, when ſuddenly a new Miſchief ſprung up, Diſſention among the great Ones; which brought all this Diligence to as little Succeſs as at other times before. *Bithric* the Brother of *Edric*, falſly accus'd *Wulnoth* a great Officer ſet over the *South-Saxons*, who fearing the Potency of his Enemies, with twenty Ships got to Sea, and practis'd Piracy on the Coaſt. Againſt whom, reported to be in a Place where he might be eaſily ſurpriz'd, *Bithric* ſets forth with eighty Ships, all which driven back by a Tempeſt, and wrack'd upon the Shoar, were burnt ſoon after by *Wulnoth*. Diſhearten'd with this Misfortune, the King returns to *London*; the reſt of his Navy after him; and all this great Preparation to nothing. Whereupon *Turkill*, a *Daniſh* Earl, came with a Navy to the Iſle of *Tanet*, and in *Auguſt* a far greater, led by *Heming* and *Ilaf* joyn'd with him. Thence coaſting to *Sandwich*, and landed, they went onward and began to aſſault *Canterbury*, but the Citizens and Eaſt *Kentiſh* Men, coming to Compoſition with them for three thouſand Pound, they departed thence to the Iſle of *Wight*, robbing and burning by the way. Againſt theſe the King levies an Army through all the Land, and in ſeveral Quarters places them nigh the Sea, but ſo unskilfully or unſucceſsfully, that the *Danes* were not thereby hinder'd from exerciſing their wonted Robberies. It happen'd that the *Danes* one Day were gone up into the Country, far from their Ships; the King having notice thereof, thought to intercept them in their return; his Men were reſolute to overcome or die, Time and Place advantageous; but where Courage and Fortune was not wanting, there wanted Loyalty among them. *Edric* with ſubtle Arguments that had a ſhew of deep Policy, diſputed and perſwaded the Simplicity of his Fellow Counſellors, that it would be beſt conſulted at that time to let the *Danes* paſs without Ambuſh or Interception. The *Danes* where they expected Danger, finding none, paſs'd on with great Joy and Booty to their Ships. After this, ſailing about *Kent*, they lay that Winter in the *Thames*, forcing *Kent* and *Eſſex* to Contribution, oft-times attempting the City of *London*, but repuls'd as oft to their great Loſs. Spring begun, leaving their Ships, they paſs'd through [a] *Chiltern* Wood into *Oxfordſhire*, burnt the City, and thence returning with divided Forces, waſted on both ſides the *Thames*; but hearing, that an Army from *London* was march'd out againſt them, they on the North-ſide paſſing the River at *Staines*, join'd with them on the South into one Body, and, enrich'd with great Spoils, came back through *Surrey* to their Ships; which all the Lent-time they repair'd. After *Eaſter*, ſailing to the *Eaſt-Angles*, they arriv'd at *Ipſwich*, and came to a Place call'd *Ringmere*, where they heard that *Ulfketel* with his Forces lay, who with a ſharp Encounter ſoon entertain'd them; but his Men at length giving back, through the Subtlety of a *Daniſh* Servant among them who began the Flight, loſt the Field, though the Men of *Cambridgeſhire* ſtood to it valiantly. In this Battel *Ethelſtan* the King's Son-in-Law, with many other Noblemen, was ſlain; whereby the *Danes*, without more Reſiſtance, three Months together had the ſpoiling of thoſe Countries and all the Fenns, burnt *Thetford* and *Grantbrig*, or *Cambridge*; thence to a hilly Place not far off, called by *Huntingdon*, *Baleſham*, by *Cambden*, *Gogmagog* Hills, and the Villages thereabout they turn'd their Fury, ſlaying all they met ſave one Man, who getting up into a Steeple, is ſaid to have defended himſelf againſt the whole *Daniſh* Army. They therefore ſo leaving him, their Foot by Sea, their Horſe by Land through *Eſſex*, return'd back laden to their Ships left in the *Thames*,

1005. *Sim. Dun.*

1006. *Sim. Dun.*

Florent.

Aſton.

1007. *Sim. Dun.*

1008. *Sim. Dun.*

A. D. 1008.

1009. *Sim. Dun.*

1010. *Sim. Dun. Florent.*

The *Danes* burn *Oxford* and *Cambridge* the Year 1010.

[a] The Hill Country of *Hertfordſhire*, *Bucks*, and *Oxfordſhire*; ſo call'd from *Chilt* or *Cylt*, in *Saxon*, Chalk.

A. D. 1010. *Thames*. But many Days paſs'd not between, when ſallying again out of their Ships as out of Savage Dens, they plunder'd over again all *Oxfordſhire*, and added to their Prey *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, and *Hertfordſhire*; then like wild Beaſts glutted, returning to their Caves. A third Excurſion they made into *Northamptonſhire*, burnt *Northampton*, ranſacking the Country round; then as to freſh Paſture betook them to the *Weſt-Saxons*, and in like ſort harraſing all *Wiltſhire*, return'd, as I ſaid before, like wild Beaſts, or rather Sea-monſters to their Water-ſtables, accompliſhing by *Chriſtmas* the Circuit of their whole Years good Deeds; an unjuſt and inhumane Nation, who receiving or not receiving Tribute where none was owing them, made ſuch Deſtruction of Mankind, and Rapine of their Livelihood, as is a Miſery to read. Yet here they ceas'd not, for the next Year repeating the ſame Cruelties on both ſides the *Thames*, one way as far as *Huntingdon*, the other as far as *Wiltſhire* and *Southampton*, ſollicited again by the King for Peace, and receiving their Demands both of Tribute and Contribution, they ſlighted their Faith; and in the beginning of *September* laid Siege to *Canterbury*. On the 20th Day, by the Treachery of *Almere* the Arch-deacon, they took part of it and burnt it, committing all ſorts of Maſſacre as a Sport: Some they threw over the Wall, others into the Fire; hung ſome by the privy Members; Infants pulled from their Mothers Breaſts, were either toſs'd on Spears, or Carts drawn over them; Matrons and Virgins by the Hair dragg'd and raviſh'd. *Alfage* the grave Arch-biſhop, above others hated of the *Danes*, as in all Councils and Actions to his Might their known Oppoſer, taken, wounded, impriſon'd in a noiſome Ship; the Multitude are tith'd, and every tenth only ſpar'd. Early the next Year before *Eaſter*, while *Ethelred* and his Peers were aſſembl'd at *London*, to raiſe now the fifth Tribute, amounting to forty eight thouſand Pound, the *Danes* at *Canterbury* propoſe to the Arch-biſhop, who had been now ſeven Months their Priſoner, Life and Liberty, if he pay them three thouſand Pound; which he refuſing, as not able of himſelf, and not willing to extort it from his Tenants, is permitted till the next *Sunday* to conſider; then hal'd before their Council, of whom *Turkill* was Chief, and ſtill refuſing, they riſe, moſt of them being drunk, and beat him with the blunt ſide of their Axes, then thruſt forth, deliver him to be pelted with Stones; till one *Thrum* a converted *Dane*, pitying him half dead, to put him out of Pain, with a pious Impiety, at one Stroke of his Ax on the Head, diſpatch'd him [a]. His Body was carried to *London*, and there buried, thence afterwards remov'd to *Canterbury*. By this time the Tribute paid and Peace ſo often violated ſworn again by the *Danes*, they diſperſed their Fleet; forty five of them, and *Turkill* their Chief, ſtaid at *London* with the King, ſwore him Allegiance to defend his Land againſt all Strangers, on Condition only to be fed and cloath'd by him. But this voluntary Friendſhip of *Turkill* was thought to be deceitful, that ſtaying under this Pretence he gave Intelligence to *Swane*, when it would be moſt ſeaſonable to come. In *July* therefore of the next Year, King *Swane* arriving at *Sandwich*, made no ſtay there, but ſailing firſt to *Humber*, thence into *Trent*, landing and encamp'd at *Gainsburrow*: Whither without delay repair'd to him the *Northumbrians*, with *Uthred* their Earl; thoſe of *Lindſey* alſo, then thoſe of *Fiſburg*, and laſtly all on the North of *Watling-ſtreet* (which is a High-way from Eaſt to Weſt Sea) gave Oath and Hoſtages to obey him. From whom he commanded Horſes and Proviſion for his Army, taking with him beſides Bands and Companies of their choiceſt Men; and committing to his Son *Canute* the Care of his Fleet and Hoſtages; he marches towards the *South Mercians*, commanding his Soldiers to exerciſe all Acts of Hoſtility; with the Terrour whereof fully executed, he took in few Days the City of *Oxford*, then *Winchester*; thence tending to *London*, in his haſty Paſſage over the *Thames*, without ſeeking Bridge or Ford, loſt many of his Men. Nor was his Expedition againſt *London* proſperous; for aſſaying all means by Force or Wile to take the City, wherein the King then was, and *Turkill* with his *Danes*, he was ſtoutly beaten off as at other times. Thence back to *Wallingford* and *Bath*, directing his Courſe, after uſual Havock made, he ſat a while and refreſh'd his Army. There *Ethelm* an Earl of *Devonſhire*, and other great Officers in the Weſt, yielded him Subjection. Theſe things flowing to his Wiſh, he betook him to his Navy, from that time ſtil'd and accounted King of *England*, if a Tyrant, ſaith *Simeon*, may be call'd a King. The *Londoners* alſo ſent him Hoſtages, and made their Peace, for they fear'd his Fury. *Ethelred* thus reduc'd to narrow Compaſs, ſent *Emma* his Queen, with his two Sons had by her, and all his Treaſure to *Richard* II. her Brother, Duke of *Normandy*; himſelf with the *Daniſh* Fleet abode ſome while at *Greenwich*, then ſailing to the Iſle of *Wight*, paſs'd after *Chriſtmas* into *Normandy*; where he was honourably receiv'd at *Roan* by the Duke, though known to have born himſelf churliſhly and proudly towards *Emma* his Siſter, beſides his diſſolute Company with other Women. Mean while *Swane* ceas'd not to exact almoſt inſupportable Tribute of the People, ſpoiling them when he liſted; beſides, the like did *Turkill* at *Greenwich*. The next Year beginning, *Swane* ſickens and dies [b]; ſome ſay terrifi'd by an appearing Shape of St. *Edmund* arm'd, whoſe Church at *Bury* he had threaten'd to demoliſh; but the Authority hereof relies only upon the Legend of St. *Edmund*. After his Death the *Daniſh* Army and Fleet made his Son *Canute* their King; but the Nobility and States [c] of *England* ſent Meſſengers to *Ethelred*, declaring that they preferr'd none before their Native Sovereign, if he would promiſe to govern them better than he had done, and with more Clemency. Whereat the King rejoicing, ſends over his Son *Edward* with Ambaſſadors to court both high and low, and win their Love, promiſing largely to be their mild and devoted Lord, to conſent in all Things to their Will, follow their Counſel, and whatever had been done or ſpoken by any Man againſt him, freely to Pardon, if they would loyally reſtore him to be their King. To this the

Hunting. *Eadmer.* *Sim. Dun.* *Eadmer.* *Malmsb.* *Eadmer.* *Sim. Dun.* *Eadmer.* *Sim. Dun.*

A. D. 1013.

Ethelred flies to the Duke of Normandy. *Malmsb.*

1044. *Sim. Dun. Mat. Weſt. Florence. Malmsb.*

[a] *Alfage* was kill'd not at *Canterbury*, but at *Greenwich*; to which Place, the Station of their Ships, they had brought him Priſoner. And therefore in the preſent Church of *Greenwich*, on the top of the Partition Wall, between the Nave of the Church and the Chancel is this Inſcription. *This Church was Erected and Dedicated to the Glory of God, and the Memory of S.* Alphage, *Arch-biſhop of* Canterbury, *here ſlain by the* Danes; *becauſe he would not ranſome his Life by an unreaſonable Sum of Money.* An. 1012.

[b] At *Gainſborough* in *Lincolnſhire*.

[c] The Wiſe and Chief Men as well of the Clergy as the Laiety.

A. D. 1014. the People chearfully anſwer'd, and Amity was both promis'd and confirm'd on both ſides. An Embaſſy of Lords is ſent to bring back the King honourably; he returns in *Lent*, and is joyfully receiv'd of the People, marches with a ſtrong Army againſt *Canute*; who having got Horſes, and joyn'd with the Men of *Lindſey*, was preparing to make ſpoil in the Countries adjoyning; but by *Ethelred* unexpectedly coming upon him, was ſoon driven to his Ships, and his Confederates of *Lindſey* left to the Anger of their Countrymen, executed without Mercy by Fire and Sword. *Canute* in all haſte ſailing back to *Sandwich*, took the Hoſtages given to his Father from all Parts of *England*, and with ſlit Noſes, Ears cropp'd, and Hands chopp'd off, ſetting them aſhoar, departed into *Denmark*. Yet the People were not disburthen'd, for the King rais'd out of them them thirty thouſand Pound to pay his Fleet of *Danes* at *Greenwich*. To theſe Evils the Sea in [a] *October* paſs'd his Bounds, overwhelming many Towns in *England*, and of their Inhabitants many thouſands. The Year following, an Aſſembly being at *Oxford*, *Edric* of *Streon*, having invited two Noblemen, *Sigeferth* and *Morcar*, the Sons of *Earngrun* of [b] *Seav'nburg* to his Lodging, ſecretly murther'd them: The King, for what Cauſe is unknown, ſeiz'd their Eſtates, and caus'd *Algith* the Wife of *Sigeferth*, to be kept at *Maidulfsburg*, now *Malmsbury*; whom *Edmund* the Prince there married againſt his Father's Mind, then went and poſſeſs'd their Lands, making the People there ſubject to him. *Mat. Weſt.* ſaith, that theſe two were of the *Danes*, who had ſeated themſelves in *Northumberland*, ſlain by *Edric* under Colour of Treaſon laid to their Charge. They who attended them without, tumulting at the Death of their Maſters, were beaten back; and driven into a Church, and defending themſelves, were burnt there in the Steeple †. Mean while *Canute* returning from *Denmark* with a great Navy, two hundred Ships richly gilded and adorn'd, well fraught with Arms, and all Proviſion; and, which *Encomium Emmæ* mentions not, two other Kings, *Lachman* of *Sweden*, *Olav* of *Norway*, arriv'd at *Sandwich*; and as the ſame Author then living writes, ſent out Spies to diſcover what Reſiſtance on Land was to be expected; who return'd with certain Report, that a great Army of *Engliſh* was in readineſs to oppoſe them. *Turkill*, who upon the Arrival of thoſe *Daniſh* Powers, kept Faith no longer with the *Engliſh*, but joining now with *Canute*, as it were to re-ingratiate himſelf after his Revolt, whether real or complotted, counſell'd him (being yet young) not to land, but leave to him the Management of this firſt Battel; the King aſſented, and he with the Forces which he had brought, and part of thoſe which arriv'd with *Canute*, landing to their Wiſh, encounter'd the *Engliſh*, though double in Number, at a Place call'd [c] *Scoraſtan*, and was at firſt beaten back with much Loſs. But at length animating his Men with Rage only and Deſpair, obtain'd a clear Victory, which won him great Reward and Poſſeſſions from *Canute*. But of this Action no other Writer makes mention. From *Sandwich* therefore ſailing about to the River *Frome*, and there landing over all *Dorſet*, *Somerſet*, and *Wiltſhire*, he ſpread waſtful Hoſtility. The King lay then ſick at *Coſham* in this County; though it may ſeem ſtrange how he could lie ſick there in the midſt of his Enemies. Howbeit *Edmund* in one part, and *Edric* of *Streon* in another, rais'd Forces by themſelves; but ſo ſoon as both Armies were united, the Traytor *Edric* being found to practice againſt the Life of *Edmund*, he remov'd with his Army from him; whereof the Enemy took great Advantage. *Edric* eaſily enticing the forty Ships of *Danes* to ſide with him, revolted to *Canute*, the *Weſt-Saxons* alſo gave Pledges and furniſhed him with Horſes. By which means the Year enſuing, he with *Edric* the Traytor, paſſing the *Thames* at *Creclad*, about Twelftide, enter'd into *Mercia*, and eſpecially *Warwickſhire*, depopulating all Places in their way. Againſt theſe, Prince *Edmund*, for his Hardineſs call'd *Ironſide*, gather'd an Army; but the *Mercians* refus'd to fight unleſs *Ethelred* with the *Londoners* came to aid them; and ſo every Man return'd home. After the Feſtival, *Edmund* gathering another Army, beſought his Father to come with the *Londoners*, and what Force beſides he was able; they came with great Strength gotten together, but being come, and in a hopeful way of good Succeſs, it was told the King, that unleſs he took the better heed, ſome of his own Forces would fall off and betray him. The King daunted with this perhaps cunning Whiſper of the Enemy, disbanded his Army, returns to *London*. *Edmund* betook him into *Northumberland*, as ſome thought to raiſe freſh Forces; but he with Earl *Uthred* on the one ſide, and *Canute* with *Edric* on the other, did little elſe but waſte the Provinces; *Canute* to conquer them, *Edmund* to puniſh them who ſtood neuter; for which cauſe *Stafford*, *Shropſhire*, and *Leſterſhire*, felt heavily his hand; while *Canute*, who was ruining the more Southern Shires, at length march'd into *Northumberland*; which *Edmund* hearing, diſmiſs'd his Forces, and came to *London*. *Uthred* the Earl haſted back to *Northumberland*, and finding no other Remedy, ſubmitted himſelf with all the *Northumbrians*, giving Hoſtages to *Canute*. Nevertheleſs by his Command or Connivance, and the hand of one *Turebrand* a *Daniſh* Lord, *Uthred* was ſlain, and *Iric* another *Dane* made Earl in his ſtead. This *Uthred* Son of *Walteof*, as *Simeon* writes, in his Treatiſe of the Siege of *Durham*, in his Youth obtain'd a great Victory againſt *Malcolm* Son of *Kened* King of *Scots*, who with the whole Power of his Kingdom was fallen into *Northumberland*, and laid ſiege to *Durham*. *Walteof* the old Earl, unable to reſiſt, had ſecur'd himſelf in *Bebbanburg*, a ſtrong Town; but *Uthred* gathering an Army rais'd the Siege, ſlew moſt of the *Scots*, their King narrowly eſcaping, and with the Heads of their ſlain, fixt upon Poles, beſet round the Walls of *Durham*. The Year of this Exploit *Simeon* clears not, for in *969*, and in the Reign of *Ethelred*, as he affirms, it could not be. *Canute* by another way returning Southward, joyful of his Succeſs, before *Eaſter* came back with all the Army to his Fleet. About the *end of *April* enſuing, *Ethelred* after a long, troubleſome, and ill-govern'd Reign, ended his Days at *London*, and was buried in the Church of St. *Paul*.

1015. *Sim. Dun.*

Malmſ.

† Of St. *Fridefwides* Church in *Oxford.*

Leges Ed. Conf. Tit. deduct Norman.

Encom. Em.

Cambd.

A. D. 1015. *Wiltſhire.*

1016. *Sim. Dun.*

*23d of

EDMUND

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[a] The *Saxon* Annals tell us 'twas on the Vigil of St. *Michael* in *September*.

[b] The ſame Annals call the Place *Seafanburghs*, i. e. *Seven Towns*, but where they lay we know not.

[c] *Sherſton* in *Wiltſhire*. See the Addit. to that County in the *Engliſh* Edition of *Cambden*. The Battle of *Scorſtan* in the *Saxon* Annals, comes under the Year 1016. and after *Ethelred*'s Death. This *Scorſtan* is ſuppos'd by others to be the Place where Four Stones call'd *Shireſtones* part the four Counties of *Oxford*, *Glouceſter*, *Worceſter*, and *Warwick*.

EDMUND Ironside.

A. D. 1016.

Florent. Aelred in the Life of *Ed Conf. Rievall de Geneal. Reg. Ang.*

AFter the Deceaſe of *Ethelred*, they of the Nobility who were then at *London*, together with the Citizens, choſe *Edmund* his Son (not by *Emma*, but a former Wife the Daughter of Earl *Thored*) in his Father's Room; but the Arch-Biſhops, Abbots, and many of the Nobles aſſembling together elected *Canute*; and coming to *Southampton* where he then remain'd, renounc'd before him all the Race of *Ethelred*, and ſwore him Fidelity: He alſo ſwore to them, in Matters both Religious and Secular, to be their faithful Lord. But *Edmund* with all ſpeed going to the *Weſt-Saxons*, was joyfully receiv'd of them as their King, and of many other Provinces by their Example. Mean while *Canute* about mid *May*, came with his whole Fleet up the River to *London*; then cauſing a great Dike to be made on *Surrey* ſide, turn'd the Stream and drew his Ships thither Weſt of the Bridge; then begirting the City with a broad and deep Trench, aſſail'd it on every ſide; but repuls'd as before by the valourous Defendants, and in Deſpair of Succeſs at that time, leaving part of his Army for the Defence of his Ships, with the reſt ſped him to the *Weſt-Saxons*, e'er *Edmund* could have time to aſſemble all his Powers: Who yet with ſuch as were at hand invoking Divine Aid, encounter'd the *Danes* at [a] *Pen* by *Gillingham* in *Dorſetſhire*, and put him to flight. After Midſummer, encreas'd with new Forces, [b] he met with him again at a Place call'd *Sheraſtan*, now [c] *Sharſtan*; but *Edric*, *Almar*, and *Algar*, with the *Hampſhire* and *Wiltſhire* Men, then ſiding with the *Danes*, he only maintain'd the Fight, obſtinately fought on both ſides, till Night and Wearineſs parted them. Day-light returning renew'd the Conflict; wherein the *Danes* appearing inferiour, *Edric* to diſhearten the *Engliſh*, cut off the Head of one *Oſmer*, in Countenance and Hair ſomewhat reſembling the King, and holding it up, cries aloud to the *Engliſh*, *That* Edmund *being ſlain and this his Head, it was time for them to flie*; which Fallacy *Edmund* perceiving, and openly ſhewing himſelf to his Soldiers, by a Spear thrown at *Edric*, that miſſing him yet ſlew one next him, and through him another behind, they recover'd Heart, and lay ſore upon the *Danes* till Night parted them as before: For e'er the third Morn, *Canute* ſenſible of his Loſs, march'd away by Stealth to his Ships at *London*, renewing there his Leagre. Some would have this Battel at *Sheraſtan* the ſame with that at [d] *Scoraſtan* beforemention'd, but the Circumſtance of Time permits not that, having been before the landing of *Canute*, this a good while after; as by the Proceſs of things appears: From *Sheraſtan*, or *Sharſtan*, *Edmund* return'd to the *Weſt-Saxons*, whoſe Valour *Edric* fearing, leſt it might prevail againſt the *Danes*, fought Pardon of his Revolt, and obtaining it, ſwore Loyalty to the King, who now the third time coming with an Army from the *Weſt Saxons* to *London*, rais'd the Siege, chaſing *Canute* and his *Danes* to their Ships. Then after two Days paſſing the *Thames* at *Branford*, and ſo coming on their Backs, kept them ſo turn'd, and obtain'd the Victory: Then returns again to his *Weſt-Saxons*, and *Canute* to his Siege, but ſtill in vain; riſing therefore thence, he enter'd with his Ships a River then call'd [e] *Arenne*; and from the Banks thereof waſted *Mercia*; thence their Horſe by Land, their Foot by Ship came to *Medway*. *Edmund* in the mean while, with multiplied Forces out of many Shires, croſſing again at *Branford*, came into *Kent*, ſeeking *Canute*; encountred him at *Otford*, and ſo defeated, that of his Horſe, they who eſcap'd fled to the Iſle of *Sheppey*; and a full Victory he had gain'd, had not *Edric* ſtill the Traytor, by ſome Wile or other detain'd his Purſuit: And *Edmund* who never wanted Courage, here wanted Prudence to be ſo miſled, ever after forſaken of his wonted Fortune. *Canute* croſſing with his Army into *Eſſex*, thence waſted *Mercia* worſe than before, and with heavy Prey return'd to his Ships: Them *Edmund* with a collected Army purſuing, overtook at a Place call'd * *Aſſandune*, or *Aſſeſhill*, [f] now *Aſſedown* in *Eſſex*; the Battel on either ſide was fought with great Vehemence; but perfidious *Edric* perceiving the Victory to encline towards *Emund*, with that part of the Army which was under him [g], fled, as he had promis'd *Canute*, and left the King over-march'd with Numbers: By which Deſertion the *Engliſh* were overthrown, Duke *Alfric*, Duke *Godwin*, and *Ulfketel* the valiant Duke of *Eaſt-Angles*, with a great part of the Nobility ſlain, ſo as the *Engliſh* of a long time had not receiv'd a greater Blow. Yet after a while *Edmund* not abſurdly call'd *Ironſide*, preparing to try again his Fortune in another Field, was hinder'd by *Edric* and others of his Faction, adviſing him to make Peace and divide the Kingdom with *Canute*. To which *Edmund* over-rul'd, a Treaty appointed, and Pledges mutually given, both Kings [h] met together at a Place call'd *Devrhirſt* in *Glouceſterſhire*; *Edmund* on the Weſt-ſide of *Severn*, *Canute* on the Eaſt with their Armies, then both in Perſon waſted into an Iſland, at that time call'd *Olanege*, [i] now *Alney* in the midſt of the River; ſwearing Amity and Brotherhood, they parted the Kingdom between them. Then interchanging Arms and the Habit they wore, aſſeſſing alſo what Pay ſhould be allotted to the Navy; they departed each his way. Concerning this Interwiew, and the Cauſe thereof, others write otherwiſe; *Malmſbury*, that *Edmund* grieving at the Loſs of ſo much Blood ſpilt for the Ambition only of two Men ſtriving who ſhould reign, of his own accord ſent to *Canute*, offering him ſingle Combat, to prevent in their own Cauſe the Effuſion of more Blood than their own; that *Canute* though of Courage enough, yet not unwiſely doubting to

A. D. 1016.

Malmſb.

* *Aſhingdon.* *Cambden.*

Cambd.

Cambd. Sax. An.

[a] *Pen* is in *Somerſetſhire*.

[b] *Canute* was then at the Siege of *London*, according to the Annals we have often mention'd, did not command the *Danes* in the Fight at *Pen*, nor at *Sherſtan*.

[c] *Sherſton* in *Wiltſhire*, *Cambd.* Thought by others to be *Shirſtones* on the Borders of *Oxfordſhire*.

[d] Mr. *Milton* owns, *That no other Writer, but the Author of* Encomium Emæ, mentions, the firſt Battel of *Scoraſtan*: And 'tis much to be doubted, whether there was any ſuch Action.

[e] Mr *Gibſon* the Editor of the *Saxon* Annals, ſuppoſes there is a Miſtake in the Copy; and that it ſhould be read to *Waran* or *Ware*, on the River *Lee*; or elſe, that this *Arenne* is the River we now call *Orwell*, which divides *Eſſex* from *Suffolk*.

[f] Rather *Aſſington*, in that County: for the *Saxon* Annals have it *Aſſandun*: Whereas the old *Æſcesdun* is the Word always turn'd by the Moderns into *Aſhdown*.

[g] The *Mageſætons* ſuppos'd by *Cambd.* to be the *Radnorſhire* Men.

[h] *Bromton*'s Chronicle ſays, their Commiſſioners only met.

[i] *Cambden* writes it was call'd *Alny* by the *Saxons*: It now bears the Name of the *Eight*, i. e, *Iſlet*; others ſay this Iſland was betwixt *Overbridge* and *Mayſmore*. *Brit.* laſt Edit. p. 245.

A. D. 1016. to adventure his Body of ſmall Timber, againſt a Man of Iron ſides, refus'd the Combat, offering to divide the Kingdom; this Offer pleaſing both Armies, *Edmund* was not difficult to conſent; and the Deciſion was, that he as his Hereditary Kingdom ſhould rule the *Weſt-Saxons*, and all the [a] *South*, *Canute* the *Mercians*, and the *North*. *Huntingdon* follow'd by *Mat. Weſt.* relates, That the Peers on every ſide wearied out with continual Warfare, and not refraining to aſſirm openly, that they two who expected to reign ſingly, had moſt Reaſon to fight ſingly, the Kings were content; the Iſland was their Liſts, the Combat Knightly; till *Knute* finding himſelf too weak, began to parley, which ended as is ſaid before. After which the *Londoners* bought their Peace of the *Danes*, and permitted them to winter in the City. But King *Edmund* about the Feaſt of St. *Andrew*, unexpectedly deceas'd at *London*, and was buried near to *Edgar* his Grand-father at *Glaſton*. The Cauſe of his ſo ſudden Death is uncertain; common Fame, ſaith *Malmsbury*, lays the Guilt thereof upon *Edric*, who to pleaſe *Canute*, allur'd with Promiſe of Reward two of the King's Privy Chamber, though at firſt abhorring the Fact, to aſſaſſinate him at the Stool, by thruſting a ſharp Iron into his hinder Parts. *Huntingdon*, and *Mat. Weſt.* relate it done at *Oxford* by the Son of *Edric*, and ſomething vary in the manner, [b] not worth recital. *Edmund* dead, *Canute* meaning to reign ſole King of *England*, calls to him all the Dukes, Barons, and Biſhops of the Land, cunningly demanding of them who were Witneſſes what Agreement was made between him and *Edmund* dividing the Kingdom, whether the Sons and Brothers of *Edmund* were to govern the *Weſt-Saxons* after him, *Canute* living? They who underſtood his meaning, and fear'd to undergo his Anger, timorouſly anſwer'd, that *Edmund* they knew had left no part thereof to his Sons or Brethren, living or dying; but that he intended *Canute* ſhould be their Guardian, till they came to Age of reigning. *Simeon* affirms, that for Fear or Hope of Reward they atteſted what was not true: Notwithſtanding which he put many of them to death not long after.

Hunting. Mat. Weſt. Ranulf.

CANUTE, or KNUTE.

1017. *Sim. Dun. Sax. An.* The firſt *Daniſh* King of *England* 570 Years after the *Saxon* Invaſion.

CANUTE having thus ſounded the Nobility, and by them underſtood, receiv'd their Oath of Fealty, they the Pledge of his bare Hand, and Oath from the *Daniſh* Nobles; whereupon the Houſe of *Edmund* was renounc'd, and *Canute* crown'd. Then they enacted, That *Edwi*, Brother of *Edmund*, a Prince of great Hope, ſhould be baniſh'd the Realm. But *Canute* not thinking himſelf ſecure while *Edwi* liv'd, conſulted with *Edric* how to make him away; who told him of one *Ethelward* a decay'd Nobleman, likelieſt to do the Work. *Ethelward* ſent for, and tempted by the King in private, with largeſt Rewards, but abhorring in his Mind the Deed, promis'd to do it when he ſaw his Opportunity; and ſo ſtill defer'd it. But *Edwi* afterwards, receiv'd into Favour as a Snare, was by him or ſome other of his falſe Friends, *Canute* contriving it, the ſame Year ſlain [c]. *Edric* alſo counſel'd him to diſpatch *Edward* and *Edmund*, the Sons [d] of *Ironſide*; but the King doubting that the Fact would ſeem too foul done in *England*, ſent them to the King of *Sweden*, with like intent; but he diſdaining the Office, ſent them for better Safety to *Solomon* King of *Hungary*; where *Edmund* at length dy'd, but *Edward* married *Agatha* Daughter to *Henry* the *German* Emperor. A Digreſſion in the Laws of *Edward* Confeſſor, under the Title of *Lex Noricorum* ſaith, that this *Edward* for fear of *Canute*, fled of his own accord to *Maleſclot* King of the *Rugians*, who receiv'd him honourably, and of that Country gave him a Wife. *Canute* ſettl'd in his Throne, divided the Government of his Kingdom into four Parts; the *Weſt-Saxons* to himſelf, the *Eaſt-Angles* to Earl *Turkill*, the *Mercians* to *Edric*, the *Northumbrians* to *Eric*; then made Peace with all Princes round about him, and his former Wife being dead, in *July* married *Emma* the Widow of King *Ethelred*. The *Chriſtmas* following was an ill Feaſt to *Edric*, of whoſe Treaſon, the King having now made uſe as much as ſerv'd his turn, and fearing himſelf to be the next betray'd, caus'd him to be ſlain at *London* in the Palace, thrown over the City Wall, and there to lie unburied; the Head of *Edric* fix'd on a Pole, he commanded to be ſet on the higheſt Tower of *London*, as in a double Senſe he had promis'd him, for the Murther of King *Edmund* to exalt him above all the Peers of *England*. *Huntingdon*, *Malmsbury*, and *Mat. Weſt.* write, that ſuſpecting the King's intention to degrade him from his *Mercian* Dukedom, and upbraiding him with his Merits, the King enrag'd, caus'd him to be ſtrangl'd in the Room, and out at a Window thrown into the *Thames*. Another writes, that *Eric* at the King's Command ſtruck off his Head. Other great Men though without Fault, as Duke *Norman* the Son of *Leofwin*, *Ethelward* Son of Duke *Agelmar*, [e] he put to Death at the ſame time, jealous of their Power or Familiarity with *Edric*: And notwithſtanding Peace, kept ſtill his Army; to maintain which, the next Year he ſqueez'd out of the *Engliſh*, though now his Subjects, not his Enemies, ſeventy two, ſome ſay, eighty two thouſand Pound, beſides fifteen thouſand out of *London* [f]. Mean while great War aroſe at *Carr*, between *Uthred* Son of *Waldef*, Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Malcolm* Son of *Kened* King of *Scots*, with whom held *Eugenius* King of *Lothian*. But here *Simeon* the Relater ſeems to have committed ſome Miſtake, having ſlain *Uthred* by *Canute* two Years before, and ſet *Eric* in his Place: *Eric* therefore it muſt needs be, not *Uthred*, who manag'd this War againſt the *Scots*. About which time in a Convention of *Danes* [g] at *Oxford*, it was agreed on both Parties to keep the Laws of *Edgar*; *Mat. Weſt.* ſaith, of *Edward* the Elder. The next Year *Canute* ſail'd into *Denmark*, and there abode all Winter. *Huntingdon* and *Mat. Weſt.* ſay, he went thither to repreſs the *Swedes*, and that the Night before a Battel to be fought with them, *Godwin* ſtealing out of the Camp with his *Engliſh*, aſſaulted the *Swedes*, and had got the Victory

A. D. 1017. *Encom. Em. Inguif.*

1018. *Sim. Dun. Hunting. Mat. Weſt. Dane-Gelt* paid.

1019. *Sim. Dun.*

[a] No mention made of the North or South by the Authors that ſpeak of the Combat.
[b] He ſtabb'd him with a long Knife in the ſame Parts.
[c] *William* of *Malmsbury* writes, that this Prince having been long toſs'd about by Sea and Land, return'd at laſt to *England*, where he lay conceal'd to his Death, and was then bury'd at *Taviſtock*.
[d] By *Algitha*, Widow of *Sigeferth* the *Dane*.
[e] And *Brithtrio*, Son to *Ælfger*, Earl of *Defenanſcire* or *Devonſhire*.
[f] In the Annals the Tax is but 82000 Pounds in all; 11000 Pound for *London*, and 71000 Pound for the reſt of *England*.
[g] And *Engliſh*. *Bromton* ſays, 'twas done in a great Council or Parliament.

A. D. 1020. Victory e'er *Canute* in the Morning knew of any Fight. For which bold Enterprize, though againſt Diſcipline, he had the *Engliſh* in more Eſteem ever after. *Sim. Dun.* In the Spring at his return into *England* he held in the time of *Eaſter* a great Aſſembly at * *Chirchеſter*, and the ſame Year was with *Turkill* the *Dane* at the Dedication of a Church by them built at *Aſſendune* †, in the Place of that great Victory which won him the Crown. 1021. But ſuſpecting his Greatneſs, the Year following baniſh'd him the Realm, and found occaſion to do the like by *Eric* the *Northumbrian* Earl upon the ſame Jealouſie[a]. 1028. Nor yet content with his Conqueſt of *England*, though now above ten Years enjoy'd, he paſs'd with fifty Ships into *Norway* diſpoſſeſs'd *Olave* their King, and ſubdu'd the Land, firſt with great Sums of Money ſent the Year before to gain him a Party, then coming with an Army to compel the reſt[b]. 1029. Thence returning King of *England*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*, yet not ſecure in his Mind, under colour of an Embaſſy he ſent into Baniſhment *Hacun* a powerful *Dane*, who had married * the Daughter of his Siſter *Gunildis*, having conceiv'd ſome Suſpicion of his Practices againſt him: But ſuch Courſe was taken, that he never came back; either periſhing at Sea, or ſlain by Contrivance the next Year in *Orkney*. 1030. *Canute* therefore having thus eſtabliſh'd himſelf by Bloodſhed and Oppreſſion, to waſh away, as he thought the Guilt thereof, ſailing again into *Denmark*, went thence to *Rome*, and offer'd there to St. *Peter* great Gifts of Gold and Silver, and other precious things; beſides the uſual Tribute of *Romſcot*, giving great Alms, by the way, both thither and back again, freeing many Places of Cuſtom and Toll with great Expence, where Strangers were wont to pay, having vow'd great Amendment of Life at the Sepulchre of *Peter* and *Paul*, and to his whole People in a large [c] Letter written from *Rome* yet extant. 1032. At his return therefore he built and dedicated a Church to St. *Edmund* at *Bury*[d], whom his Anceſtors had ſlain, threw out the Secular Prieſts who had intruded there, and plac'd Monks in their ſtead; then going into *Scotland*, ſubdu'd and receiv'd Homage of *Malcolm*, and two other Kings there, *Melbeath* and *Jermare*. Three Years after having made [e] *Swane* his ſuppos'd Son by *Algiva* of *Northampton*, Duke *Alfhelm*'s Daughter (for others ſay the Son of a Prieſt whom *Algiva*, barren, had got ready at the time of her feigned Labour) King of *Norway*, and *Hardecnute* his Son by *Emma*, King of *Denmark*, and deſign'd *Harold* his Son † by *Algiva* of *Northampton*, King of *England*, dy'd at *Shaftsbury*, and was buried at *Winchеſter* in the old Monaſtery. This King, as appears, ended better than he began; for tho' he ſeems to have had no hand in the Death of *Ironſide*, but deteſted the Fact, and bringing the Murtherers, who came to him in hope of great Reward, forth among his Courtiers, as at were to receive Thanks, after they had openly related the manner of their killing him, deliver'd them to deſerved Puniſhment, yet he ſpar'd *Edric* whom he knew to be the prime Author of that deteſtable Fact; till willing to be rid of him, grown importune upon the Confidence of his Merits, and upbraided by him that he had firſt relinquiſh'd, then extingiſh'd *Edmund* for his ſake; angry to be ſo upbraided, therefore ſaid he with a chang'd Countenance, *Traytor to God and to me, thou ſhalt die; thine own Mouth accuſes thee to have ſlain thy Maſter my Confederate Brother, and the Lord's Anointed.* Whereupon, although preſent and private Execution was in Rage done upon *Edric*, yet he himſelf in cool Blood ſcrupl'd not to make away the Brother and Children of *Edmund*, who had better Right to be the Lord's Anointed here than himſelf. When he had obtain'd in *England* what he deſir'd, no wonder if he ſought the Love of his conquer'd Subjects for the Love of his own Quiet, the Maintainers of his Wealth and State, for his own Profit. For the like reaſon he is thought to have married *Emma*, and that *Richard* Duke of *Normandy* her Brother might the leſs care what became of *Elfred* and *Edward*, her Sons by King *Ethelred*. He commanded to be obſerv'd the Ancient *Saxon* Laws, call'd afterwards the Laws of *Edward* the Confeſſor, not that he made them, but ſtrictly obſerv'd them. His Letter from *Rome* profeſſes, if he had done aught amiſs in his Youth, through Negligence or want of due Temper, full Reſolution with the Help of God to make amends, by governing juſtly and piouſly for the future; charges and adjures all his Officers and Viſcounts, that neither for Fear of him, or Favour of any Perſon, or to enrich the King, they ſuffer Injuſtice to be done in the Land; commands his Treaſurers to pay all his Debts e'er his return home, which was by *Denmark*, to compoſe Matters there; and what his Letter profeſs'd, he perform'd all his Life after. But it is a fond Conceit in many great ones, and pernicious in the end, to ceaſe from no Violence till they have attain'd the utmoſt of their Ambitions and Deſires; then to think God appeas'd by their ſeeking to bribe him with a Share, however large, of their ill-gotten Spoils, and then laſtly to grow zealous of doing Right, when they have no longer need to do Wrong. Howbeit *Canute* was Famous through *Europe*, and much honour'd of *Conrade* the Emperour then at *Rome*, with rich Gifts and many Grants of what he there demanded for the freeing of Paſſages from Toll and Cuſtom. I muſt not omit one remarkable Action done by him, as *Huntingdon* reports it, with great Scene of Circumſtance, and emphatical Expreſſion, to ſhew the ſmall Power of Kings in reſpect of God; which, unleſs to Court-Paraſites, needed no ſuch laborious Demonſtration. He caus'd his Royal Seat to be ſet on the Shoar, while the Tide was coming in; and with all the State that Royalty could put into his Countenance, ſaid thus to the Sea: *Thou Sea belong'ſt to me, and the Land whereon I ſit is mine; nor hath any one unpuniſh'd reſiſted my Commands: I charge thee come no farther upon my Land, neither preſume to wet the Feet of thy Sovereign Lord.* But the Sea, as before, came

A. D. 1035.

* Cirencester. not Chichester. † Aſhingdon in Eſſex.

Sim. Dun. Malmsb.

Sim. Dun.

* Ganhilda his Niece.

Sim. Dun.

Sim. Dun.

Sim. Dun.

Hunting.

Sim. Dun.

The Scots King do Homage to Canute King of England. Hunting.

Sim. Dun.

† Suppoſitious.

Florent.

Malmsb.

[a] In the Year before, *Canute* founded the Monaſtery of St. *Edmundsbury*, in Honour of St. *Edmund* the King, and two Years afterwards remov'd the Reliques of St. *Alphage*, whom his Countrymen had murther'd; both which were Popular Acts. The Body of *Alphage* was tranſlated to *Canterbury*.

[b] *Bromton* writes, That he was in a manner expell'd by his own Subjects, for his Weakneſs and Effeminacy: And returning a Year afterwards, the People roſe upon him and ſlew him. He was canoniz'd under the Title of *King* Olaf *the Martyr*.

[c] This Letter was ſent into *England* by *Living* Abbot of *Taviſtock*. 'Twas addreſs'd thus; *To* Æthelnoth *Biſhop of* Canterbury, *to* Alfric *of* York, *with all the Biſhops and Primates; and to the whole* Engliſh *Nation, as well Noblemen as Plebeians, Health*, &c. is very Kind and Particular. 'Tis at large in *William of Malmsb.* Hiſt.

[d] This was done Eleven Years before, as appears by an old Manuſcript belonging to St. *Edmundsbury*; alſo by the Lord *Coke*, in the Preface to the 8th Book of his Reports.

[e] *Swayne* is ſuppos'd to be his Son by ſome other Woman, probably a *Dane*, before he was King of *England*; For 'tis not likely that *Algiva*, who 'tis ſaid was barren, ſhould be able to impoſe two Sons upon him.

A. D. 1035. came to sling on, and without Reverence both wet and dashed him. Whereat the King quickly rising, wish'd all about him to behold and consider the weak and frivolous Power of a King, and that none indeed deserv'd the Name of a King, but he whose Eternal Laws, both Heaven, Earth, and Sea obey. A Truth so evident of it self, as I said before, that unless to shame his Court Flatterers, who would not else be convinc'd, *Canute* needed not to have gone wet-shod home: The best is, from that time forth he never would wear a Crown, esteeming Earthly Royalty contemptible and vain.

HAROLD.

Florent. HArold for his Swiftness sirnam'd *Harefoot*, the Son of *Canute* by *Algiva* of *Northampton* (though [a] some speak doubtfully as if she bore him not, but had him of a Shoe-maker's Wife, as *Swane* before of a Priest; others of a Maid servant, to conceal her Barrenness) in a great Assembly at *Oxford*, was by Duke *Leofric* and the *Mercians*, with the [b] *Londoners*, according to his Father's Testament elected King; but without the Regal Habiliments, which *Ælnot* the Arch-bishop having in his Custody, refus'd to deliver up, but to the Sons of *Emma*, for which *Harold* ever after hated the Clergy; and (as the Clergy are wont thence to infer) all Religion. *Godwin* Earl of *Kent*, and the *West-Saxons* with him, stood for *Hardecnute*. *Malmsbury* saith, that the Contest was between *Dane* and *English*; that the *Danes* and *Londoners* grown now in a manner *Danish*, were all for *Hardecnute*; but he being then in *Denmark*, *Harold* prevail'd, yet so as that the Kingdom should be divided between them; the West and South part reserv'd by *Emma* for *Hardecnute*, till his return. But *Harold* once advanc'd into the Throne, banish'd *Emma* his Mother-in-Law, seiz'd on his Father's Treasure at *Winchester*, and there remain'd. *Emma* not holding it safe to abide in *Normandy* while Duke *William* the Bastard was yet under Age, retir'd to *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders* [c]. In the mean while *Alred* and *Edward*, Sons of *Ethelred*, accompanied with a Small number of *Norman* Souldiers in a few Ships, coming to visit their Mother *Emma*, not yet departed the Land, and perhaps to see how the People were inclin'd to restore them their Right; *Elfred* was sent for by the King then at *London*; but in his way met at *Guilford* by Earl *Godwin*, who with all seeming Friendship entertain'd him, was in the Night surpriz'd and made Prisoner, most of his Company put to various sorts of cruel Death, decimated twice over, then brought to *London*, was by the King sent bound to *Ely*, had his Eyes put out by the way, and deliver'd to the Monks there, dy'd soon after in their Custody. *Malmsbury* gives little Credit to this Story of *Elfred*, as not chronicl'd in his time, but rumour'd only. Which *Emma* however hearing, sent away her Son *Edward*, who by good hap accompanied not his Brother, with all speed into *Normandy*. But the Author of *Encomium Emmæ*, who seems plainly (though nameless) to have been some Monk, yet liv'd, and perhaps wrote within the same Year when these things were done; by his Relation differing from all others, much aggravates the Cruelty of *Harold*, that he not content to have practis'd in secret (for openly he durst not) against the Life of *Emma*, sought many treacherous ways to get her Son within his Power, and resolv'd at length to forge a Letter in the Name of their Mother, inviting them into *England*, the Copy of which Letter he produces written to this purpose.

Encom. Em. EMma *in Name only Queen, to her Sons* Edward *and* Alfrid *imparts Motherly Salutation. While we severally bewail the Death of our Lord the King, most dear Sons, and while daily ye are depriv'd more and more of the Kingdom, your Inheritance; I admire what Counsel ye take, knowing that your intermitted delay, is a daily strengthening to the Reign of your Usurper who incessantly goes about from Town to City, gaining the Chief Nobles to his Party, either by Gifts, Prayers, or Threats. But they had much rather one of you should reign over them, than to be held under the Power of him who now over-rules them. I entreat therefore that one of you come to me speedily, and privately; to receive from me wholsome Counsel, and to know how the Business which I intend, shall be accomplish'd. By this Messenger present, send back what you determine. Farewel, as dear both as my own Heart.*

These Letters were sent to the Princes then in *Normandy*, by expres Messengers, with Presents also, as from their Mother; which they joyfully receiving, return word by the same Messengers, that one of them will be with her shortly; naming both the Time and Place. *Alfrid* therefore the younger (for so it was thought best) at the appointed time, with a few Ships and small numbers about him, appearing on the Coast, no sooner came ashore but fell into the Snare of Earl *Godwin*, sent on purpose to betray him; as above was related. *Emma* greatly sorrowing for the Loss of her Son, thus cruelly made away, fled immediately with some of the Nobles her faithfullest Adherents into *Flanders*, had her dwelling assign'd at *Bruges* by the Earl; where having remain'd about two Years, she was visited out of *Denmark* by *Hardecnute* her Son; and he not long had remain'd with here there, when *Harold* in *England*, having done nothing the while worth Memory, save the Taxing of every Port at eight Marks of Silver to sixteen Ships, dy'd at *London*, some say at *Oxford*, and was buried at *Winchester*. After which, most of the Nobility, both *Danes* and *English* now agreeing, send Embassadors to *Hardecnute* still at *Bruges* with his Mother, entreating him to come and receive as his Right, the Scepter, who before Midsummer came with sixty Ships, and many Souldiers out of *Denmark*.

A. D. 1036. *Sim. Dun.* 1039. *Sim. Dun.* *Hunting.* 1040. *Sim Dun.* *Malmsb.*

HARDECNUTE.

HArdecnute receiv'd with Acclamation, and seated in the Throne, first call'd to mind the Injuries done to him, or his Mother *Emma*, in the time of *Harold*; sent *Alfric* Arch-bishop of *York*, *Godwin* and others, with *Troud* his Executioner, to *London*, commanding them to dig up the Body of King *Harold*, and throw it into a Ditch; but by a second Order into the *Thames*.

[a] *Radulph de diceto*, who wrote in the Reign of King *John*, says he was a Shoemaker's Son.
[b] The Annals call them the Seamen of *London*, whose Citizens as *William* of *Malmsbury* observes, by their long Conversation with the *Danes*, were become wholly *Danish* in their Inclinations.
[c] The *Saxon* Annals place her Flight to Earl *Baldwin*, under the Year 1037.

A. D. 1040.

Thames. Whence taken up by a Fiſherman, and convey'd to a Church-yard in *London*, belonging to the *Danes*, it was interr'd again with honour. This done, he levied a ſore Tax, that eight Marks to every Rower, and twelve to every Officer in his Fleet, ſhould be paid throughout *England*[a]; by which time they who were ſo forward to call him over, had enough of him; for he, as they thought, had too much of theirs. After this he call'd to account *Godwin* Earl of *Kent*, and *Leving* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, about the Death of *Elfred* his half Brother, which *Alfric* the Archbiſhop laid to their Charge; the King depriv'd *Leving* of his Biſhoprick, and gave it to his Accuſer: But the Year following, pacify'd with a round Sum, reſtor'd it to *Leving*. *Godwin* made his Peace by a ſumptuous Preſent, a Galley with a gilded Stem bravely rigg'd, and eighty Soldiers in her, every one with Bracelets of Gold on each Arm, weighing ſixteen Ounces, Helmet, Corſlet, and Hilts of his Swords gilded; a *Daniſh* Curtax liſted with Gold or Silver hung on his left Shoulder, a Shield with Boſs and Nails gilded in his Left Hand, in his Right a Launce: Beſides this he took his Oath before the King, that neither of his own Counſel or Will, but by the Command of *Harold* he had done what he did, to the putting out of *Elfred*'s Eyes. The like Oath took moſt of the Nobility for themſelves, or in his behalf. The next Year, *Hardecnute* ſending his Houſecarles[b], ſo they call'd his Officers, to gather the Tribute impos'd; two of them, rigorous in their Office, were ſlain at *Worceſter* by the People; whereat the King enrag'd, ſent *Leofric* Duke of *Mercia*, and *Seward* of *Northumberland*[c], with great Forces and Commiſſion to ſlay the Citizens, rifle and burn the City, waſte the whole Province. Affrighted with ſuch News, all the People fled; the Countrymen whither they could, the Citizens to a ſmall Iſland in *Severn*, call'd *Beverege*, which they fortify'd and defended ſtoutly, till Peace was granted them, and freely to return home: But their City they found ſack'd and burnt; wherewith the King was appeas'd. This was commendable in him, however cruel to others, that towards his half Brethren, tho' Rivals of his Crown, he ſhew'd himſelf always tenderly affection'd; as now towards *Edward*, who without fear came to him out of *Normandy*, and with unfeigned Kindneſs receiv'd, remain'd ſafely and honourably in his Court[d]:

Malmsb.

1041. *Sim. Dun.*

1042. *'Tis 1041 in the Sax. Annals. Sim. Dun.*

But *Hardecnute* the Year following, at a Feaſt wherein *Oſgod*, a great *Daniſh* Lord, gave his Daughter in Marriage at *Lambeth*, to *Prudon*, another potent *Dane*; in the midſt of his Mirth, Sound and Healthful to ſight, while he was drinking fell down Speechleſs, and ſo dying, was buried at *Wincheſter* beſide his Father. He was it ſeems a great lover of good Cheer; ſitting at Table four times a day, with great variety of Diſhes, and ſuperfluity to all Comers. Whereas, ſaith *Huntingdon*, in our time Princes in their Houſes made but one Meal a day[e]. He gave his Siſter *Gunildis*, a Virgin of rare Beauty, in Marriage to *Henry* the *Almain* Emperor; and to ſend her forth pompouſly, all the Nobility contributed their Jewels and richeſt Ornaments. But it may ſeem a Wonder, that our Hiſtorians, if they deſerve that Name, ſhould, in a Matter ſo remarkable, and ſo near their own time, ſo much differ. *Huntingdon* relates, againſt the Credit of all other Records, that *Hardecnute* thus dead, the *Engliſh* rejoycing at this unexpected Riddance of the *Daniſh* Yoke, ſent over to *Elfrid* the Eldeſt Son of *Emma* by King *Ethelred*, of whom we heard but now, that he dy'd Priſoner at *Ely*, ſent thither by *Harold* ſix Years before; that he came now out of *Normandy*, with a great number of Men to receive the Crown; that Earl *Godwin* aiming to have his Daughter Queen of *England*, by marrying her to *Edward* a ſimple Youth, for he thought *Elfred* of a higher Spirit than to accept her, perſuaded the Nobles that *Elfred* had brought over too many *Normans*, had promis'd them Lands here, that it was not ſafe to ſuffer a Warlike and ſubtil Nation to take root in the Land; that theſe were to be ſo handled as none of them might dare for the future to flock hither, upon pretence of Relation to the King; thereupon, by common Conſent of the Nobles, both *Elfred* and his Company were dealt with as was above related; that they then ſent for *Edward* out of *Normandy*, with Hoſtages to be left there, of their faithful Intentions to make him King, and their deſires not to bring over with him many *Normans*; that *Edward* at their call, came then firſt out of *Normandy*; whereas all others agree, that he came voluntarily over to viſit *Hardecnute*, as is before ſaid, and was remaining in the Court at the time of his Death. For *Hardecnute* dead, ſaith *Malmsbury*, *Edward* doubting greatly his own Safety, determin'd to rely wholly on the Advice and Favour of Earl *Godwin*; deſiring therefore by Meſſengers to have private Speech with him; the Earl a while deliberated: At laſt aſſenting, Prince *Edward* came, and would have fallen at his Feet; but that not permitted, told him the Danger wherein he thought himſelf at preſent, and in great Perplexity beſought his help to convey him ſome whither out of the Land. *Godwin* ſoon apprehending the fair Occaſion that now as it were prompted him how to advance himſelf and his Family, cheerfully exhorted him to remember himſelf the Son of *Ethelred*, the Grandchild of *Edgar*, right Heir to the Crown, at full Age; not to think of flying, but of reigning, which might eaſily be brought about, if he would follow his Counſel; then ſetting forth the Power and Authority which he had in *England*, promis'd it ſhould be all his to ſet him on his Throne, if he on his Part would promiſe and ſwear to be for ever his Friend, to preſerve the Honour of his Houſe, and to marry his Daughter. *Edward*, as his Neceſſity then was, conſented eaſily, and ſwore to whatever *Godwin* requir'd. An Aſſembly of States thereupon met at *Gillingham*, where *Edward* pleaded his Right; and by the powerful Influence of *Godwin* was accepted. Others, as *Bromton*, with no probability, write, that *Godwin* at this time was fled into *Denmark*, for what he had done to *Elfred*, return'd and ſubmitted himſelf to *Edward* then King, was by him charg'd openly with the Death of *Elfred*, and, not without much ado, by the interceſſion of *Leofric*, and other Peers, receiv'd at length into favour.

A. D. 1042.

[a] Alſo 29029 Pounds, and 11048 Pounds for 32 Sail of Ships. This Tax was the ſame as *Danegelt*, which was become a Prerogative.

[b] Houſecurles, in *Engliſh*, Servants of the Houſhold.

[c] Earl *Godwin* went with them.

[d] The *Saxon Annals* tell us, he came into *England* the Year before, 1040.

[e] *John Rouſe* of *Warwick*, in his Treatiſe *De Regibus Ang.* relates, That the Day of King *Hardecnute*'s Death was kept by the *Engliſh* as a Holy-day in his Time, 400 Years afterwards, and was call'd *Hock Wedneſday*.

EDWARD the Confessor.

The *Saxon* Line re-stor'd.

GLAD were the *English*, deliver'd so unexpectedly from their *Danish* Masters[a], and little thought how near another Conquest was hanging over them. *Edward*, the *Easter* following, Crown'd[b] at *Winchester*, the same Year accompanied with Earl *Godwin*, *Leofric*, and *Siward*, came again thither on a sudden, and by their Counsel seiz'd on the Treasure of his Mother *Emma*. The Cause alledg'd is, that she was hard to him in the time of his Banishment; and indeed she is said not much to have lov'd *Ethelred* her former Husband, and thereafter the Children by him; she was moreover noted to be very covetous, hard to the Poor, and profuse to Monasteries. About this time also, King *Edward*, according to promise, took to Wife *Edith* or *Egith*, Earl *Godwin*'s Daughter, commended much for Beauty, Modesty, and, beyond what is requisite in a Woman, Learning. *Ingulf*, then a Youth, lodging in the Court with his Father, saw her oft, and coming from the School, was sometimes met by her and pos'd, not in Grammar only, but in Logick. *Edward*, the next Year but one, made ready a strong Navy at *Sandwich* against *Magnus* King of *Norway*, who threaten'd an Invasion; had not *Swane* King of *Denmark* diverted him by a War at home to defend his own Land, not out of good will to *Edward*, as may be suppos'd, who at the same time express'd none to the *Danes*, banishing *Gunildis* the Neece of *Canute* with her two Sons, and *Osgod*, by firmane *Clapa*, out of the Realm. *Swane* overpower'd by *Magnus*, sent the next Year to entreat Aid of King *Edward*; *Godwin* gave counsel to send him fifty Ships fraught with Soldiers; but *Leofric* and the general Voice gainsaying, none were sent[c]. The next Year *Harold Harvager* King of *Norway* sending Ambassadors, made Peace with King *Edward*; but an Earthquake at *Worcester* and *Derby*, Pestilence and Famine in many places, much lessen'd the Enjoyment thereof. The next Year, *Henry* the Emperor displeas'd with *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, had straiten'd him with a great Army by Land; and sending to King *Edward*; desir'd him with his Ships to hinder what he might, his escape by Sea. The King therefore with a great Navy coming to *Sandwich*, there staid till the Emperor came to an agreement with Earl *Baldwin*. Mean while, *Swane*, Son of Earl *Godwin*, who not permitted to marry *Edgiva* the Abbess of *Chester*, by him deflour'd, had left the Land, came out of *Denmark* with eight Ships, feigning a desire to return into the King's Favour; and *Beorn* his Cousin-German, who commanded part of the King's Navy, promis'd to intercede that his Earldom might be restor'd him. *Godwin* therefore and *Beorn* with a few Ships, the rest of the Fleet gone home, coming to *Pevensey*, (but *Godwin* soon departing thence in pursuit of twenty nine *Danish* Ships, who had got much Booty on the Coast of *Essex*, and perish'd by Tempest in their return) *Swane* with his Ships comes to *Beorn* at *Pevensey*, guilefully requests him to sail with him to *Sandwich*, and reconcile him to the King, as he had promis'd. *Beorn* mistrusting no Evil where he intended Good, went with him in his Ship, attended by three only of his Servants: But *Swane*, set upon barbarous Cruelty, not Reconciliation with the King, took *Beorn*, now in his Power, and bound him; then coming to *Dartmouth*, slew and bury'd him in a deep Ditch. After which, the Men of *Hastings* took six of his Ships, and brought them to the King at *Sandwich*; with the other two he escap'd into *Flanders*, there remaining, till *Aldred* Bishop of *Worcester*, by earnest mediation, wrought his Peace with the King. About this time King *Edward* sent to Pope *Leo*, desiring Absolution from a Vow, which he had made in his younger Years to take a Journey to *Rome*, if God vouchsaf'd him to Reign in *England*; the Pope dispens'd with his Vow, but not without the Expence of his Journey given to the Poor, and a Monastery built or re-edefy'd to St. *Peter*; who in a Vision to a Monk, as is said, chose *Westminster*, which King *Edward* thereupon rebuilding, endow'd with large Privileges and Revenues. The same Year, saith *Florent* of *Worcester*, certain *Irish* Pirates with thirty six Ships enter'd the Mouth of *Severn*, and with the Aid of *Griffin* Prince of *South-Wales*, did some hurt in those parts: Then passing the River *Wey*, burnt *Dunedham*, and slew all the Inhabitants they found. Against whom *Aldred* Bishop of *Worcester*, with a few out of *Gloucester* and *Herefordshire*, went out in haste: But *Griffin*, to whom the *Welsh* and *Irish* had privily sent Messengers, came down upon the *English* with his whole Power by Night, and early in the Morning suddenly assaulting them, slew many, and put the rest to flight. The next Year but one, King *Edward* remitted the *Danish* Tax, which had continu'd thirty eight Years heavy upon the Land; since *Ethelred* first paid it to the *Danes*, and what remain'd thereof in his Treasury he sent back to the Owners; but through imprudence, laid the foundation of a far worse Mischief to the *English*; while studying Gratitude to those *Normans*[d], who to him in Exile had been helpful; he call'd them over to publick Offices here, whom better he might have repaid out of his private Purse; by this means exasperating either Nation one against the other, and making way by degrees to the *Norman* Conquest. *Robert*, a Monk of that Country, who had been serviceable to him there in time of need, he made Bishop, first of *London*, then of *Canterbury*; *William* his Chaplain, Bishop of *Dorchester*. Then began the *English* to lay aside their own Ancient Customs, and in many things to imitate *French* Manners, the great Peers to speak *French* in their Houses, in *French* to write their Bills and Letters, as a great piece of Gentility, asham'd of their own: A presage of their Subjection shortly to that People, whose Fashions and Language they affected so slavishly: But that which gave beginning to many Troubles ensuing, happen'd this Year, and upon this Occasion. *Eustace* Earl of *Boloign*, Father of the famous *Godfrey*,

A. D. 1042.

Mat. West.

King *Edward* repairs and enlarges *Westminst. Abby.*

1051. *Sim. Dun.*

Danegelt remitted

Ingulf.

The *Normans* advanc'd.

Ingulf.

French Manners and *French* Language affected first by the *English* Nobility.

Malmsb.

A. D. 1043. *Sim. Dun.*

Malmsb.

1045. *Sim. Dun.*

1046. *Sim. Dun.*

1047. *Sim. Dun.*

1048. *Sim. Dun.*

1049. *Sim. Dun.*

3

[a] *Brompton* in his *Chronicle* tells us That the great Council, who elected *Edward* King, unanimously agreed and swore, That no *Dane* should Reign over them any more. The *Danes* Insolence being become intolerable; an *Englishman* not daring to pass a Bridge if he met a *Dane*, till the latter first pass'd it; and if he did not salute him, he was sure to be well beaten.

[b] By Archbishop *Eadsige*, who preach'd on this Occasion; which is the first Coronation-Sermon mention'd in History.

[c] The same Author, *Simeon* of *Durham*, writes, That the King of *Norway* dying soon after, *Swane* recover'd his Kingdom.

[d] *Ingulph* says, *William* Duke of *Normandy*, who was afterwards King of *England*, visited King *Edward* in this Year; and some Authors relate, that the King promis'd to make the Duke his Successor; but *Ingulf* affirms, no mention was then made of it.

A. D. 1051. *Godfrey* who won *Jeruſalem* from the *Saracens*, and Husband to *Goda* the King's Siſter, having been to viſit King *Edward*, and returning by *Canterbury* to take Ship at *Dover*, one of his Harbingers inſolently ſeeking to lodge by Force in a Houſe there, provok'd ſo the Maſter thereof, as by chance, or Heat of Anger to kill him. The Count with his whole Train going to the Houſe where his Servant had been kill'd, ſlew both the Slayer and eighteen more who defended him. But the Townſmen running to Arms, requited him with the Slaughter of twenty one more of his Servants, wounded moſt of the reſt; he himſelf with one or two hardly eſcaping, ran back with Clamour to the King; whom ſeconded by other *Norman* Courtiers, he ſtirr'd up to great Anger againſt the Citizens of *Canterbury*. Earl *Godwin* in haſt is ſent for, the Cauſe related and much aggravated by the King againſt that City, the Earl commanded to raiſe Forces, and uſe the Citizens thereof as Enemies. *Godwin*, ſorry to ſee Strangers more favour'd of the King than his Native People, anſwer'd, that it were better to ſummon firſt the Chief Men of the Town into the King's Court, to charge them with Sedition, where both Parties might be heard, that not found in fault they might be acquitted, if otherwiſe, by Fine or Loſs of Life might ſatisfie the King whoſe Peace they had broken, and the Count whom they had injur'd: Till this were done refuſing to proſecute with hoſtile Puniſhment them of his own Country unheard, whom his Office was rather to defend. The King diſpleaſed with his Refuſal, and not knowing how to compel him, appointed an Aſſembly of all the Peers to be held at *Gloſter*, where the Matter might be fully try'd; the Aſſembly was full and frequent according to Summons; but *Godwin* miſtruſting his own Cauſe, or the Violence of his Adverſaries; with his two Sons, *Swane* and *Harold*, and a great Power gathered out of his own and his Sons Earldoms, which contain'd moſt of the South-Eaſt and Weſt Parts of *England*, came no farther than *Beverſtan*, giving out that their Forces were to go againſt the *Welſh*, who intended an Irruption into *Herefordſhire*; and *Swane* under that Pretence lay with part of his Army thereabout. The *Welſh* underſtanding this Device, and with all Diligence clearing themſelves before the King, left *Godwin* detected of falſe Accuſation in great Hatred to all the Aſſembly. *Leofric* therefore and *Siward* Dukes of great Power, the former in *Mercia*, the other in all Parts beyond *Humber*, both ever faithful to the King, ſend privily with ſpeed to raiſe the Forces of their Provinces. Which *Godwin* not knowing, ſent boldly to King *Edward*, demanding Count *Euſtace* and his Followers, together with thoſe *Boloignians*, who as *Simeon* writes, held a Caſtle in the Juriſdiction of *Canterbury*. The King as then having but little Force at hand, entertain'd him a while with Treaties and Delays, till his ſummon'd Army drew nigh, then rejected his Demands. *Godwin* thus match'd, commanded his Sons not to begin Fight againſt the King; begun with, not to give Ground. The King's Forces were the Flower of thoſe Counties whence they came, and eager to fall on: But *Leofric* and the wiſer ſort, deteſting Civil War, brought the Matter to this Accord, That Hoſtages given on either ſide, the whole Cauſe ſhould be again debated at *London*. Thither the King and Lords coming with their Army, ſent to *Godwin* and his Son (who with their Powers were come as far as *Southwark*) commanding their Appearance unarm'd, with only twelve Attendants, and that the reſt of their Soldiers they ſhould deliver over to the King. They to appear without Pledges before an adverſe Faction deny'd; but to diſmiſs their Soldiers refus'd not, nor in ought elſe to obey the King as far as might ſtand with Honour and the juſt regard of their Safety. This Anſwer not pleaſing the King, an Edict was preſently iſſu'd forth, That *Godwin* and his Sons within five days depart the Land. He who perceiv'd now his Numbers to diminiſh, readily obey'd, and with his Wife and three Sons, *Toſti*, *Swane*, and *Gyrtha*, with as much Treaſure as their Ship could carry, embarking at *Thorney*, ſail'd into *Flanders* to Earl *Baldwin*, whoſe Daughter *Judith Toſti* had married: For *Wulnod* his fourth Son was then Hoſtage to the King in *Normandy*; his other two, *Harold* and *Leofwin*, taking Ship at *Briſtow*, in a Veſſel that lay ready there belonging to *Swane*, paſs'd into *Ireland*. King *Edward* purſuing his Diſpleaſure, divorc'd his Wife *Edith* Earl *Godwin*'s Daughter, ſending her deſpoil'd of all her Ornaments to *Wincwel* with one waiting Maid, to be kept in Cuſtody by his Siſter the Abbeſs there. His Reaſons of ſo doing was as harſh as his Act, that ſhe only, while her neareſt Relations were in Baniſhment, might not, though innocent, enjoy Eaſe at home. After this, *William* Duke of *Normandy* with a great number of Followers coming into *England*, was by King *Edward* honourably entertain'd and led about the Cities, and Caſtles, as it were to ſhew him what e'er long was to be his own (though at that time, ſaith *Ingulf*, no mention thereof paſs'd between them) then after ſome time of his abode here, preſented richly and diſmiſs'd, he return'd home. The next Year Queen *Emma* dy'd, and was buried at *Wincheſter* [b]. The Chronicle attributed to *John Bromton* a *Yorkſhire* Abbot [c], but rather of ſome nameleſs Author living under *Edward* the Third, or later, reports that the Year before, by *Robert* the Archbiſhop, ſhe was accus'd both of conſenting to the Death of her Son *Alfred*, and of preparing Poyſon for *Edward* alſo; laſtly, of too much Familiarity with *Alwin* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; that to approve her Innocence, praying over-night to St. *Swithune*, ſhe offer'd to paſs blind-fold between certain Plow-ſhares red hot, according to the *Ordalian* Law, which without harm ſhe perform'd; that the King thereupon receiv'd her to Honour, and from her and the Biſhop, Penance for his Credulity; that the Archbiſhop aſham'd of his Accuſation, fled out of *England*: Which beſides the Silence of ancienter Authors (for the Biſhop fled not till a Year after) brings the whole Story into Suſpicion, in this more probable, if it can be prov'd, that in the Memory of this Deliverance from the Nine burning Plow-ſhares, Queen *Emma* gave to the Abbey of St. *Swithune* nine Mannors, and Biſhop *Alwin* other nine. About this time, *Griffin* Prince of *South-Wales*, waſted *Herefordſhire*; to oppoſe whom the People of that Country with many *Normans*, garriſon'd in the Caſtle of *Hereford*, went out in Arms, but were put to the worſe, many ſlain, and much Booty driven away by the *Welſh*. Soon after which, *Harold* and *Leofwin*, Sons of *Godwin*, coming into *Severn* with many Ships, in the Confines of *Somerſet*

A. D. 1015.

Malmſb.

1052. *Sim. Dun.*

Beverſton in *Glouceſterſhire.*

Sim. Dun.

See a Form of the *Ordeal*, printed from the *Liber Roffenſis*, by Mr. *Brown* in his *Append. ad Faſciculum.*

[a] The Annals ſay *Boſenham* in *Suſſex*

[b] According to the *Saxon* Annals. Mr. *Milton* is out in his Chronology; for the Events of the laſt three Years, the lateſt of them Earl *Godwin*'s Baniſhment, happen'd *Anno* 1048.

[c] *Henry* of *Knighton* alſo mentions it in his Hiſtory.

A. D. 1052. *merset* and *Dorsetshire*, spoiled many Villages, and resisted by those of *Somerset* and *Devonshire*, slew in Fight more than thirty of their principal Men, many of the common Sort, and return'd with much Booty to their Fleet. King *Edward* on the other side made ready above sixty Ships at *Sandwich*, well stor'd with Men and Provision, under the Conduct of *Odo* and *Radulf* two of his *Norman* Kindred, enjoyning them to find out *Godwin*, whom he heard to be at Sea. To quicken them, he himself lay on Ship-board, oft-times watch'd and sail'd up and down in search of those Pirates. But *Godwin*, whether in a Mist, or by other Accident, passing by them, arrived in another part of *Kent*, and dispersing secret Messengers abroad, by fair Words allured the Chief Men of *Kent*, *Sussex*, *Surrey*, and *Essex* to his Party; which News coming to the King's Fleet at *Sandwich*, they hasted to find him out; but missing of him again, came up without Effect to *London*. *Godwin* advertis'd of this, forthwith sail'd to the Isle of *Wight*; where at length his two Sons *Harold* and *Leofwin* finding him, with their united Navy lay on the Coast, forbearing other Hostility than to furnish themselves with fresh Victual from Land as they needed[a]. Thence as one Fleet they set forwards to *Sandwich*, using all fair Means by the way to encrease their Numbers both of Mariners and Soldiers. The King then at *London*, startl'd at those Tidings, gave speedy Order to raise Forces in all Parts which had not revolted from him; but now too late, for *Godwin* within a few Days after with his Ships or Galleys came up the River *Thames* to *Southwark*, and till the Tide return'd had Conference with the *Londoners*; whom by fair Speeches, for he was held a good Speaker in those times, he brought to his bent. The Tide returning, and none upon the Bridge hindring, he row'd up in his Galleys along the South Bank; where his Land-Army, now come to him, in array of Battel stood on the Shore; then turning towards the North-side of the River, where the King's Galleys lay in some Readiness, and Land-Forces also not far off, he made shew as offering to Fight; but they understood one another, and the Soldiers on either side soon declar'd their Resolution not to Fight *English* against *English*. Thence coming to Treaty, the King and the Earl reconcil'd, both Armies were dissolv'd, *Godwin* and his Sons restor'd to their former Dignities, except *Swane*, who touch'd in Conscience for the Slaughter of *Beorn* his Kinsman, was gone barefoot to *Jerusalem*, and returning home, dy'd by Sickness or *Saracens* in *Lycia*; his Wife *Edith*, *Godwin*'s Daughter, King *Edward* took to him again, dignify'd as before. Then were the *Normans*, who had done many unjust things under the King's Authority, and given him ill Counsel against his People, banish'd the Realm, some of them not blameable permitted to stay. *Robert* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, *William* of *London*, *Ulf* of *Lincoln*, all *Normans*, hardly escaping with their Followers, got to Sea. The Arch-bishop went with his Complaint to *Rome*; but returning, dy'd in *Normandy* at the same Monastery from whence he came. *Osbern* and *Hugh* surrender'd their Castles, and by Permission of *Leofric* pass'd through his Countries with their *Normans* to *Macbeth* King of *Scotland*. The Year following *Rhese*, Brother to *Griffin*, Prince of *South-Wales*, who by Inrodes had done much Damage to the *English*, taken at *Bulendun*, was put to Death by the King's Appointment, and his Head brought to him at *Gloster*.

Malms.

1053. *Sim. Dun.*

The same Year at *Winchester*, on the second Holy-day of *Easter*, Earl *Godwin* sitting with the King at Table, sunk down suddenly in his Seat as dead: His three Sons, *Harold*, *Tosti*, and *Gytha*, forthwith carried him to the King's Chamber, hoping he might revive: But the Malady had seiz'd him, that the 5th Day after he expir'd. The *Normans*, who hated *Godwin*, give out, saith *Malmsbury*, that mention happening to be made of *Elfred*, and the King thereat looking sowerly upon *Godwin*, he to vindicate himself, utter'd these Words, Thou, O King, at every mention made of thy Brother *Elfred*, look'st frowningly upon me: But let God not suffer me to swallow this Morsel, if I be guilty of ought done against his Life or thy Advantage; that after these Words, choak'd with the Morsel taken, he sunk down and recover'd not. His first Wife was the Sister of *Canute*, a Woman of much Infamy for the Trade she drove of buying up *English* Youths and Maids to sell in *Denmark*, whereof she made great Gain; but e'er long was struck with Thunder, and dy'd. The Year ensuing, *Siward*, Earl of *Northumberland*, with a great number of Horse and Foot, attended also by a strong Fleet at the King's Appointment, made an Expedition into *Scotland*, vanquish'd the Tyrant *Macbeth*, slaying many thousands of *Scots*, with those *Normans* that went thither, and plac'd [b] *Malcolm* Son of the *Cumbrian* King in his stead; yet not without loss of his own Son, and many other both *English* and *Danes*. Told of his Son's Death, he ask'd, *whether he receiv'd his Death's Wound before or behind?* When it was answer'd before, *I am glad*, saith he; *and should not else have thought him*, though my Son, *worthy of Burial*. In the mean while King *Edward* being without Issue to succeed him, sent *Aldred* Bishop of *Winchester* with great Presents to the Emperor, entreating him to prevail with the King of *Hungary*, that *Edward* the remaining Son of his Brother *Edmund Ironside*, might be sent into *England*. *Siward* but one Year surviving his great Victory, dy'd at *York*; reported by *Huntingdon* a Man of Giant-like Stature, and by his own Demeanour at point of Death manifested, of a rough and meer Soldierly Mind: For much disdaining to die in Bed by a Disease, not in the Field fighting with his Enemies, he caus'd himself compleatly arm'd, and weapon'd with Battel-ax and Shield, to be set in a Chair, whether to fight with Death, if he could be so vain, or to meet him (when far other Weapons and Preparations were needful) in a Martial Bravery; but true Fortitude glories not in Feats of War, as they are such, but as they serve to end War soonest by a victorious Peace. His Earldom the King bestow'd on *Tosti* the Son of Earl *Godwin*: And soon after in a Convention held at *London*, banish'd without visible Cause, *Huntingdon* saith for Treason, *Algar* the Son of *Leofric*; who passing into *Ireland*, soon return'd with eighteen Ships to *Griffin* Prince of *South-Wales*, requesting his Aid against King *Edward*. He assembling his Powers, enter'd with him into *Herefordshire*; whom *Radulf* a timorous Captain, Son to the King's Sister, not by *Eustace*, but a former Husband, met two Miles distant from *Hereford*; and having Horsed the *English* who knew better to fight on Foot, without stroke he with his *French* and *Normans*, beginning to flie, taught the *English* by his Example. *Griffin* and *Algar* following the Chase, slew many, wounded more, enter'd *Hereford*, slew seven Canons defending the Minster, burnt the Monastery and Reliques, then the City; killing some, leading Captive others of the Citizens, return'd with great

A. D. 1053.

1054. *Sim. Dun.*

Hunting.

1055. *Sim. Dun.*

Sim. Dun.

[a] The Annals tell us, *Godwin* plunder'd it, and kill'd all before him at *Porlock* in *Somersetshire*.

[b] *Mat. Westminster* writes, King *Edward* bestow'd the Kingdom of *Scotland* on *Malcolm* to be held of himself.

A. D. 1055. great Spoils; whereof King *Edward* having notice, gather'd a great Army at *Gloſter* under the Conduct of *Harold* now Earl of *Kent*; who ſtrenuouſly purſuing *Griffin*, enter'd *Wales*, and encamp'd beyond *Straddale**. But the Enemy, flying before him farther into the Country, leaving there the greater part of his Army with ſuch as had charge to fight, if occaſion were offer'd, with the reſt he return'd, and fortify'd *Hereford* with a Wall and Gates. Mean while, *Griffin* and *Algar* dreading the diligence of *Harold*, after many Meſſages to and fro, concluded a Peace with him: *Algar* diſcharging his Fleet with pay at *Weſtcheſter*, came to the King, and was reſtor'd to his Earldom. But *Griffin*, with breach of Faith, the next Year ſet upon 1056. *Sim. Dun.* *Leofgar*, the Biſhop of *Hereford*, and his Clerks, then at a place call'd *Glaſtbrig*, with *Agelnoth* Viſcount of the Shire, and ſlew them; but *Leofric*, *Harold*, and King *Edward*, by force, as is likelieſt, though it be not ſaid how, reduc'd him to Peace. The next Year, *Edward* Son of *Edmund Ironſide*, 1057. *Sim. Dun.* for whom his Uncle King *Edward* had ſent to the Emperor, came out of *Hungary*, deſign'd Succeſſor to the Crown; but within a few Days after his coming, dy'd at *London*, leaving behind him *Edgar Atheling* his Son *Margaret* and *Chriſtina* his Daughters. About the ſame time alſo dy'd Earl *Leofric* in a good old Age, a Man of no leſs Virtue than Power *in his time*; Religious, Prudent and Faithful to his Country, happily wedded to *Godiva*[a], a Woman of great Praiſe. His Son *Algar* found leſs favour with King *Edward*, again 1058. *Sim. Dun.* baniſh'd after his Father's Death; but he again, by the Aid of *Griffin*, and Fleet from *Norway*, maugre the King, ſoon recover'd his Earldom. The next Year *Malcolm* King of *Scots* coming to 1059. *Sim. Dun.* viſit King *Edward*, was brought on his way by *Toſti* the *Northumbrian* Earl, to whom he ſwore Brotherhood: Yet the next Year but one, while 1061. *Sim. Dun.* *Toſti* was gone to *Rome* with *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York* for *his Pall*, *this* ſworn *Brother* taking advantage of his abſence, roughly harraſs'd *Northumberland*. The Year paſſing to an end without other matter of moment, ſave the frequent Inrodes and Robberies of *Griffin*, whom no Bonds of Faith could reſtrain, King *Edward* ſent againſt him after *Chriſtmas*, *Harold* now Duke of *Weſt-Saxons*, with no great Body of Horſe from *Gloſter*; 1062. *Sim. Dun.* where he then kept his Court; whoſe coming heard of, *Griffin* not daring to abide, nor in any part of his Land holding himſelf ſecure, eſcap'd *hardly by Sea*, *e're Harold coming to* [b]*Rudeland*, burnt his Palace and Ships there, returning to *Gloſter* the ſame Day; But by the middle of *May* 1063. *Sim. Dun.* ſetting out with a Fleet from *Briſtow*, he ſail'd about the moſt part of *Wales*, and met by his Brother *Toſti* with many Troops of Horſe, as the King had appointed, began to waſte the Country; but the *Welſh* giving Pledges, yielded themſelves, promis'd to become tributary, and baniſh *Griffin* their Prince; who lurking ſomewhere, was the next Year taken and ſlain by *Griffin* Prince of 1064. *Sim. Dun.* *North-Wales*; his Head, with the Head and Tackle of his Ship, ſent to *Harold*, by him to the King, who of *his* Gentleneſs made *Blechgent* and *Rithwallon* or *Rivallon*, his two Brothers, Princes in his ſtead; they two *Harold*, in behalf of the King, ſwore 1065. *Sim. Dun.* Fealty and Tribute[c]. Yet the next Year, *Harold* having built a fair Houſe at a place call'd *Portaſcith* in *Monmouthſhire*, and ſtor'd it with Proviſion, that the King might lodge there in time of Hunting; *Caradoc* the Son of *Griffin*, ſlain the Year before, came with a number of Men, ſlew all he found there, and took away the Proviſion. Soon after which, the *Northumbrians* in a tumult at *York*, beſet the Palace of *Toſti* their Earl, ſlew more than two hundred of his Soldiers and Servants, pillaged his Treaſure, and put him to flie for his Life. The Cauſe of this Inſurrection they alledg'd to be, for that the Queen *Edith* had commanded in her Brother *Toſti*'s behalf, *Goſpatric* a Nobleman of that Country to be treacherouſly ſlain in the King's Court; and that *Toſti* himſelf the Year before with like treachery had caus'd to be ſlain in his Chamber *Gamel* and *Ulf*, two other of their Noblemen, beſides his intolerable Exactions and Oppreſſions. Then in a manner the whole Country coming up to complain of their Grievances, met with *Harold* at *Northampton*, whom the King at *Toſti*'s requeſt had ſent to pacifie the *Northumbrians*; but they laying open the Cruelty of his Government, and their own Birthright of Freedom[d], not to endure the Tyranny of any Governour whatſoever, with abſolute refuſal to admit him again, and *Harold* hearing Reaſon, all the Accomplices of *Toſti* were expell'd the Earldom. He himſelf baniſh'd the Realm, went into *Flanders*; *Morcar* the Son of *Algar* made Earl in *his* ſtead. *Huntingdon* tells another Cauſe of *Toſti*'s Baniſhment, that one Day at *Windſor*, while *Harold* reach'd the Cup to King *Edward*, *Toſti* envying to ſee his younger Brother in greater favour than himſelf, could not forbear to run furiouſly upon him, catching hold of his Hair; the Scuffle was ſoon parted by other Attendants ruſhing between, and *Toſti* forbidden the Court. He with continu'd Fury riding to *Hereford*, where *Harold* had many Servants, preparing an Entertainment for the King, came to the Houſe and ſat upon them with his Followers; then lopping off Hands, Arms, Legs of ſome, Heads of others, threw them into Butts of Wine, Meath or Ale, which were laid in for the King's drinking: And at his going away charg'd them to ſend him this word, that of other freſh Meats he might bring with him to his Farm what he pleas'd, but of Souſe he ſhould find plenty provided ready for him; that for his barbatous Act the King pronounc'd him baniſh'd; that the *Northumbrians* taking advantage at the King's diſpleaſure and ſentence againſt him, roſe alſo to be reveng'd of his Cruelties done to themſelves; but this no way agrees, for why then ſhould *Harold*, or the King, ſo much labour with the *Northumbrians* to re-admit him, if he were a baniſh'd Man for his Crimes done before? About this time it *Malmſb.* happen'd, that *Harold* putting to Sea one Day for his pleaſure, in a Fiſher-Boat, from his Manor at *Boſeham* in *Suſſex*, caught with a Tempeſt took at off Land, was carry'd into *Normandy*; and by the Earl of *Peutiew*, on whoſe Coaſt he was driven, at his own requeſt brought to Duke *William*; who entertaining *him* with great Curteſie, ſo far won him, as to promiſe the Duke by Oath of his own accord, not only the Caſtle of *Dover*, then in his tenure, but the Kingdom alſo after King *Edward*'s Death to his utmoſt endeavour; thereupon betrothing

A. D. 1065. *Cambden.*

* As far as *Snowden* in *Caermarthenſhire*.

[a] The Lady who is Famous in Story for riding Naked through *Coventry*, to gain ſome Immunities for the Citizens: The Story is at large in *Bromton*'s *Chronicle*. The Pictures of Earl *Leofric*, and his Counteſs *Godiva*, were ſet up in the Windows of *Trinity* Church, with this Inſcription:

Lurick, *for the Love of thee*,
Do ſet Coventry *Toll-free*.

[b] By the Agreement of the Sound, and the Nearneſs of the Place to *Gloceſter*, it ſhou'd be *Ragland* in *Monmouthſhire*, which ſtands near the little River *Usk*; but the Ships he burnt muſt be very ſmall, or the River more Navigable than 'tis at preſent.

[c] *Florence* of *Worceſter* ſays, they ſwore Fealty to Earl *Harold* alſo.

[d] *William* of *Malmsbury* give us the Reaſon for which the *Northumbrians* declar'd they took Arms, *viz. That they were Freemen born, and as freely educated, and that they wou'd not endure the Inſolence of an Earl; for they had learnt from their Anceſtors to chooſe either Liberty or Death.*

A.D. 1065. trothing the Duke's Daughter, then too young for Marriage; and departing richly presented. Others say, that King *Edward* himself, after the Death of *Edward* his Nephew, sent *Harold* thither, on purpose to acquaint Duke *William* with his Intention to bequeath him his Kingdom: But *Malmsbury* accounts the former Story to be the truer. *Ingulf* writes, that King *Edward* now grown old, and perceiving *Edgar* his Nephew both in Body and Mind unfit to Govern, especially against the Pride and Insolence of *Godwin*'s Sons, who would never obey him; Duke *William* on the other side of high Merit, and his Kinsman by the Mother, had sent *Robert* Archbishop of *Canterbury* to acquaint the Duke with his purpose, not long before *Harold* came thither. The former part may be true, that King *Edward* upon such Considerations had sent one or other; but Archbishop *Robert* was fled the Land, and dead many Years before. *Eadmer* and *Simeon* write, that *Harold* went of his own accord into *Normandy*, by the King's Permission or Connivance, to get free his Brother *Wulnod* and Nephew *Hacun* the Son of *Swane*, whom the King had taken Hostages of *Godwin* and sent into *Normandy*; that King *Edward* foretold *Harold*, his Journey thither would be to the detriment of all *England*, and his own Reproach; that Duke *William* then acquainted *Harold*, how *Edward* e're his coming to the Crown had promis'd, if he ever attain'd it, to leave Duke *William* Successor after him. Last of these *Matthew Paris* writes, that *Harold* to get free of Duke *William*, affirm'd his coming thither not to have been by accident or force of Tempest, but on set purpose, in that private manner to enter with him into secret Confederacy: So variously are these things reported.

Lett. Ed. Conf. Tit. Lex Norlc.

1066. *Sim. Dun.* After this King *Edward* grew sickly, yet as he was able kept his *Christmas* at *London*, and was at the Dedication of St. *Peter*'s Church in *Westminster*, which he had rebuilt; but on the Eve of *Epiphany*, or *Twelfstide*, deceas'd much lamented, and in the Church was Entomb'd. That he was harmless and simple, is conjectur'd by his words in anger to a Peasant, who had cross'd his Game, (for with Hunting and Hawing he was much delighted) *By God and God's Mother*, said he, *I shall do you as shrewd a turn, if I can:* Observing that Law-Maxim the best of all his Successors, *That the King of* England *can do no wrong*. The softness of his Nature gave growth to Factions of those about him, *Normans* especially and *English*; these complaining, that *Robert* the Archbishop was a Sower of Dissention between the King and his People, a Traducer of the *English*; the other side, that *Godwin* and his Sons bore themselves arrogantly and proudly towards the King, usurping to themselves equal share in the Government; oft-times making sport with his Simplicity, that thro' their Power in the Land they made no scruple to kill Men, of whose Inheritance they took a liking, and so to take possession. The truth is, that *Godwin* and his Sons did many things boisterously and violently, much against the King's mind; which not able to resist, he had, as some say, his Wife *Edith*, *Godwin*'s Daughter, in such aversation, as in Bed never to have touch'd her; whether for this Cause, or mistaken Chastity, not commendable; to enquire farther, is not material. His Laws held good and just, and long after desir'd by the *English* of their *Norman* Kings, are yet extant. He is said to be at Table not excessive, at Festivals nothing puft up with the costly Robes he wore, which his Queen with curious Art had woven for him in Gold. He was full of Almsdeeds, and exhorted the Monks to like Charity. He is said to be the first of *English* Kings that cur'd the Disease, call'd thence the *King's Evil*; yet *Malmsbury* blames them who attribute that Cure to his Royalty, not to his Sanctity; said also to have cur'd certain Blind Men with the Water wherein he had wash'd his Hands. A little before his Death, lying Speechless two Days, the third Day, after a deep Sleep, he was heard to pray, That if it were a true Vision, not an Illusion which he had seen, God would give him strength to utter it, otherwise not. Then he related how he had seen two devout Monks, whom he knew in *Normandy*, to have liv'd and dy'd well, who appearing, told him they were sent Messengers from God to foretel, that because the Great Ones of *England*, Dukes, Lords, Bishops, and Abbots, were not Ministers of God, but of the Devil, God had deliver'd the Land to their Enemies; and when he desir'd that he might reveal this Vision, to the end they might repent, it was answer'd, They neither will repent, neither will God pardon them. At this relation others trembling, *Stigand* the Simonious Archbishop, whon *Edward* much to blame had suffer'd many Years to sit Primate of the Church, is said to have laugh'd, as at the feavourish Dream of a doting Old Man; but the Event prov'd it true.

Hunting d.

A.D. 1066. King *Edward* the Confessor the first that cur'd the King's Evil.

HAROLD, Son of Earl *Godwin.*

HAROLD, whether by King *Edward* a little before his Death ordain'd Successor to the Crown, as *Simeon* of *Durham*, and others[a] affirm; or by the prevalence of his Faction, excluding *Edgar* the right Heir, Grandchild to *Edmund Ironside*, as *Malmsbury* and *Huntingdon* agree; no sooner was the Funeral of King *Edward* ended, but on the same Day was Elected and Crown'd King: And no sooner plac'd in the Throne, but began to frame himself by all manner of Compliances to gain Affection, endeavour'd to make good Laws, repeal'd bad, became a great Patron to Church and Churchmen, courteous and affable to all reputed Good, a hater of Evil-doers, charg'd all his Officers to punish Thieves, Robbers, and all Disturbers of the Peace, while he himself by Sea and Land labour'd in the defence of his Country: So good an Actor is Ambition. In the mean while a Blazing Star, seven Mornings together, about the end of *April*, was seen to stream terribly, not only over *England*, but other parts of the World; foretelling here, as was thought, the great Changes approaching: Plainliest prognosticated by *Elmer* a Monk of *Malmsbury*, who could not foresee, when time was, the breaking of his own Legs for soaring too high. He in his Youth strangely aspiring, had made and fitted Wings to his Hands and Feet; with these on the top of a Tower, spread out to gather Air, he flew more than a Furlong; but the Wind being too high, came fluttering down, to the maiming of all his Limbs; yet so conceited of his Art, that he attributed the Cause of his Fall to the want of a Tail, as Birds have, which he forgot to make to his hinder parts. This Story, tho' seeming otherwise too light in the midst of a sad Narration, yet for the Strangeness thereof, I thought worthy enough the placing as I found it plac'd in my Author. But to digress no further, *Tosti* the King's Brother coming from *Flanders*, full of Envy at his younger Brother's Advancement to the Crown, resolv'd what he might to trouble his Reign; forcing therefore them of *Wight Isle* to Contribution, he sail'd thence

Hoved. Floren.

[a] The *Annals* says, He succeeded, as King *Edward* appointed. *William* of *Malmsbury* affirms, He extorted an Oath of Fidelity from the Chief Men——All the Bishops were for *Harold*.

A. D. 1066.

thence to *Sandwich*, committing Piracies on the Coaſt between. *Harold* then reſiding at *London*, with a great number of Ships drawn together, and of Horſe Troops by Land, prepares in Perſon for *Sandwich*: Whereof *Toſti* having notice, directs his Courſe with ſixty Ships towards *Lindſey*, taking with him all the Seamen he found, willing or unwilling: Where he burnt many Villages, and ſlew many of the Inhabitants; but *Edwin* the *Mercian* Duke, and *Morcar* his Brother, the *Northumbrian* Earl, with their Forces on either ſide, ſoon drove him out of the Country. Who thence betook him to *Malcolm* the *Scotiſh* King, and with him abode the whole Summer. About the ſame time Duke *William* ſending Ambaſſadors to admoniſh *Harold* of his Promiſe and Oath, to aſſiſt him in his Plea to the Kingdom, he made anſwer, That by the Death of his Daughter betroth'd to him on that Condition, he was abſolv'd of his Oath, or not dead, he could not take her now an Outlandiſh Woman, without Conſent of the Realm; that it was preſumptuouſly done, and not to be perſiſted in, if without Conſent or Knowledge of the States, he had ſworn away the Right of the Kingdom; that what he ſwore was to gain his Liberty, being in a manner then his Priſoner; that it was unreaſonable in the Duke to require or expect of him the foregoing of a Kingdom, conferr'd upon him with univerſal Favour and Acclamation of the People: To this flat Denial he added Contempt, ſending the Meſſengers back, ſaith *Matthew Paris*, on maim'd Horſes. The Duke thus contemptuouſly put off, addreſſes himſelf to the Pope, ſetting forth the Juſtice of his Cauſe, which *Harold*, whether through Haughtineſs of Mind, or Diſtruſt, or that the Ways to *Rome* were ſtop'd, ſought not to do. Duke *William*, beſides the Promiſe and Oath of *Harold*, alledg'd that King *Edward* by the Advice of *Seward*, *Godwin* himſelf, and *Stigand* the Arch-biſhop, had given him the Right of Succeſſion, and had ſent him the Son and Nephew of *Godwin*, Pledges of the Gift; the Pope * ſent Duke *William*, after this Demonſtration of his Right, a conſecrated Banner. Whereupon he having with great Care and Choice got an Army of tall and ſtout Soldiers, under Captains of great Skill and mature Age, came in *Auguſt* to the Port of St. *Valerie*. Mean while *Harold* from *London* comes to *Sandwich*, there expecting his Navy; which alſo coming, he ſails to the *Iſle* of *Wight*; and having heard of Duke *William's* Preparations and Readineſs to invade him, kept good Watch on the Coaſt, and Foot Forces every where in fit Places to guard the Shoar. But e'er the middle of *September*, Proviſion failing when it was moſt needed, both Fleet and Army return home. When on a ſudden, *Harold Harvager* King of *Norway*, with a Navy of more than five hundred great Ships, (others leſſen them by two hundred, others augment them to a thouſand) appears at the Mouth of *Tine*; to whom Earl *Toſti* with his Ships came as was agreed between them; whence both uniting, ſet ſail with all ſpeed, and enter'd the River *Humber*. Thence turning into *Ouſe*, as far as *Rical*, landed; and won *York* by Aſſault. At theſe Tidings *Harold* with all his Power haſtes thitherward; but e'er his coming, *Edwin* and *Morcar* at *Fulford* by *York*, on the North-ſide of *Ouſe*, about the Feaſt of St. *Matthew* had given them Battel; ſucceſsfully at firſt, but over-born at length with Numbers; and forc'd to turn their Backs, more of them periſh'd in the River, than in the Fight. The *Norwegians* taking with them five hundred Hoſtages out of *York*, and leaving there one hundred and fifty of their own, re-ir'd to their Ships. But the fifth Day after King *Harold* with a great and well

Malmsb.

Eadmer.

* *Alexander* the 2d.

In *Normandy.*

Malmsb.

Mat. Paris.

appointed Army, coming to *York*, and at *Stamford* Bridge, or *Battel* Bridge on *Darwent*, aſſailing the *Norwegians*, after much Blood ſhed on both ſides, cut off the greateſt part of them with *Hurfager* their King, and *Toſti* his own Brother. But *Olave* the King's Son, and *Paul* Earl of *Orkney*, left with many Soldiers to guard the Ships, ſurrendring themſelves with Hoſtages, and Oath given never to return as Enemies, he ſuffer'd freely to depart with twenty Ships, and the ſmall Remnant of their Army. One Man of the *Norwegians* is not to be forgotten, who with incredible Valour keeping the Bridge a long Hour againſt the whole *Engliſh* Army, with his ſingle Reſiſtance delay'd their Victory; and ſcorning offer'd Life, till in the end no Man daring to grapple with him, either dreaded as too ſtrong, or contemned as one deſperate, he was at length ſhot dead with an Arrow; and by his Fall open'd the Paſſage of Purſuit to a compleat Victory. Wherewith *Harold* lifted up in Mind, and forgetting now his former Shews of Popularity, defrauded his Soldiers of their due and well deſerved Share of the Spoils. While theſe things thus paſs'd in *Northumberland*, Duke *William* lay ſtill at St. *Valerie*; his Ships were ready, but the Wind ſerv'd not for many Days; which put the Soldiery into much Diſcouragement and Murmur, taking this for an unlucky Sign of their Succeſs; at laſt the Wind came favourable, the Duke firſt under ſail awaited the reſt at Anchor, till all coming forth, the whole Fleet of nine hundred Ships, with a proſperous Gale arriv'd at † *Haſtings*. At his going out of the Boat by a Slip falling on his Hands, to correct the Omen, a Soldier ſtanding by ſaid aloud, that their Duke had taken Seiſin of *England*. Landed, he reſtrain'd his Army from Waſte and Spoil, ſaying, that they ought to ſpare what was their own. But theſe are things related of *Alexander* and *Cæſar*, and I doubt thence borrow'd by the Monks to inlay their Story. The Duke for fifteen Days after landing kept his Men quiet within the Camp, having taken the Caſtle of *Haſtings*, or built a Fortreſs there. *Harold* ſecure the while, and proud of his new Victory, thought all his Enemies now under Foot: But ſitting jollily at Dinner, News is brought him, that Duke *William* of *Normandy* with a great Multitude of Horſe and Foot, Slingers and Archers, beſides other choice Auxiliaries which he had hir'd in *France*, was arriv'd at *Pevenſey*. *Harold* who had expected him all the Summer, but not ſo late in the Year as now it was, for it was *October*; with his Forces much diminiſh'd after two ſore Conflicts, and the departing of many others from him diſcontented, in great haſte marches to *London*. Thence not tarrying for Supplies which were on their way towards him, hurries into *Suſſex* (for he was always in haſte ſince the Day of his Coronation) and e'er the third part of his Army could be well put in order, finds the Duke about nine Mile from *Haſtings*, and now drawing nigh, ſent Spies before him to ſurvey the Strength and Number of his Enemies: Them, diſcover'd ſuch, the Duke cauſing to be led about, and after well fill'd with Meat and Drink ſent back. They not over-wiſe, brought word that the Duke's Army were moſt of them Prieſts; for they ſaw their Faces all over ſhaven; the *Engliſh* then uſing to let grow on their upper-lip large Muſtachio's, as did anciently the *Britains*. The King laughing, anſwer'd, That they were not Prieſts, but valiant and hardy Soldiers. Therefore ſaid *Girtha* his Brother, a Youth of noble Courage and Underſtanding above his Age, *Forbear thou thy ſelf to fight, who art obnoxious to Duke* William *by Oath; let us unſworn undergo the Hazard of*

A. D. 1066.

Camden.

Malmsb.

Sim. Dun.

† *William the Norman* lands at *Penſey* near *Haſtings.*

Girth.

A. D. 1066. *Battel, who may justly fight in the Defence of our Country; thou reserved to fitter time, mayst either reunite us flying, or revenge us dead.* The King not hearkning to this, lest it might seem to argue Fear in him, or a bad Cause, with like Resolution rejected the Offers of Duke *William* sent to him by a Monk before the Battel, with this only Answer hastily deliver'd, *Let God judge between us.* The Offers were these, *That* Harold *would either lay down the Scepter, or hold it of him, or try his Title with him by single Combat in the Sight of both Armies, or refer it to the Pope.* These rejected, both sides prepar'd to fight the next Morning, the *English* from singing and drinking all Night, the *Normans* from Confession of their Sins, and Communion of the Host. The *English* were in a strait disadvantagious Place[a], so that many discourag'd with their ill ordering, scarce having room where to stand, slip'd away before the Onset, the rest in close Order with their Battel-Axes and Shields, made an impenetrable Squadron: The King himself with his Brothers on foot, stood by the Royal Standard, wherein the Figure of a Man fighting was inwoven with Gold and precious Stones. The *Norman* Foot, most Bowmen, made the foremost Front, on their side Wings of Horse somewhat behind. The Duke arming, and his Corslet given him on the wrong side, said pleasantly, *The Strength of my Dukedom will be turn'd now into a Kingdom.* Then the whole Army singing the Song of *Rowland*, the Remembrance of whose Exploits might hearten them, imploring lastly Divine Help, the Battel began; and was fought sorely on either side; but the main Body of *English* Foot by no means would be broken, till the Duke causing his Men to feign Flight, drew them out with desire of Pursuit into open Disorder, then turn'd suddenly upon them so routed by themselves, which wrought their Overthrow; yet so they dy'd not unmanfully, but turning oft upon their Enemies, by the Advantage of an upper Ground, beat them down by Heaps, and fill'd up a great Ditch with their Carcasses. Thus hung the Victory wavering on either side, from the third Hour of Day to Evening; when *Harold* having maintain'd the Fight with unspeakable Courage and personal Valour, shot into the Head with an Arrow, fell at length, and left his Soldiers without Heart longer to withstand the unwearied Enemy. With *Harold*, fell also his two Brothers, *Leofwin*, and *Girtha*, with them the greatest part of the *English* Nobility. His Body lying dead, a Knight or Soldier wounding on the Thigh, was by the Duke presently turn'd out of Military Service. Of *Normans* and *French* were slain no small Number; the Duke himself also that Day not a little hazarded his Person, having had three choice Horses kill'd under him. Victory obtain'd, and his Dead carefully buried, the *English* also by Permission, he sent the Body of *Harold* to his Mother without Ransom, though she offer'd very much to redeem it, which having receiv'd, she buried at *Waltham*, in a Church built there by *Harold*[b]. In the mean while, *Edwin* and *Morcar*, who had withdrawn themselves from *Harold*, hearing of his Death, came to *London*; sending *Aldgith* the Queen their Sister with all speed to *West Chester*. *Aldred* Arch-bishop of *York*, and many of the Nobles, with the *Londoners*, would have set up *Edgar* the Right Heir, and prepar'd themselves to fight for him; but *Morcar* and *Edwin* not liking the Choice, who each of them expected to have been chosen before him, withdrew their Forces and returned Home. *Sim. Dun.* Duke *William* contrary to his former Resolution, it *Florent* of *Worster*, and they who follow him say true, wasting, burning, and slaying all in his Way, or rather, as saith *Malmsbury*, not in a Hostile but in Regal Manner came up to *London*, met at *Barcham* by *Edgar*, with the Nobles, Bishops, Citizens, and at length *Edwin* and *Morcar*, who all submitted to him, gave Hostages, and swore Fidelity, he to them promis'd Peace and Defence; yet permitted his Men the while, to burn and make Prey. Coming to *London* with all his Army, he was on *Christmas* Day solemnly crown'd in the great Church at *Westminster*, by *Aldred* Arch-bishop of *York*, having first given his Oath at the Altar in Presence of all the People, to defend the Church, well govern the People, maintain Right Law; prohibit Rapine and unjust Judgment. Thus the *English*, while they agreed not about the Choice of their Native King, were constrain'd to take the Yoke of an Outlandish Conquerour. With what Minds, and by what Course of Life they had fitted themselves for this Servitude, *William* of *Malmsbury* spares not to lay open. Not a few Years before the *Normans* came, the Clergy, though in *Edward* the Confessor's Days, had lost all good Literature and Religion, scarce able to read and understand their Latin Service: He was a Miracle to others who knew his Grammar. The Monks went clad in fine Stuffs, and made no difference what they eat; which though in it self no fault, yet to their Consciences was irreligious. The great Men given to Guttony and dissolute Life, made a Prey of the Common People, abusing their Daughters whom they had in Service, then turning them off to the Stews; the meaner sort tipling together Night and Day, spent all they had in Drunkenness, attended with other Vices, which effeminate Mens Minds. Whence it came to pass, that carried on with Fury and Rashness more than any true Fortitude or Skill of War, they gave to *William* their Conquerour so easie a Conquest. Not but that some few of all sorts were much better among them; but such was the Generality. And as the long suffering of God permits bad Men to enjoy prosperous Days with the good, so his Severity oft-times exempts not good Men from their Share in evil Times with the bad.

A. D. 1066.

The 14th of October 1066.

If these were the Causes of such Misery and Thraldom to those our Ancestors, with what better Close can be concluded, than here in fit Season to remember this Age in the midst of her Security, to fear from like Vices without Amendment, the Revolution of like Calamities.

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[a] The Battel was fought near *Heathfield* in *Sussex*, at the Place where now stands the Town of *Battel*, so call'd from this Day's Action.

[b] *Giraldus Cambrensis*, and *Henry de Knighton* say, he was not slain in the Battel; but retiring privately out of it, liv'd and dy'd an *Anchoret* in a Cell near St. *John*'s Church in *Chester*.—Which is against the Report of all other Authentick Historians.

Many other Corrections and Additions might be made to Mr. Milton's History, *if collated with Mr.* Sheringham's de Gente Anglorum, *Mr.* Langhorn's Antiquitates Albionenses, *and other Industrious and Learned Writers: But we have noted what is most remarkable in them, wherein they differ from Mr.* Milton, *or he falls short of them.*

2

A COL-

A COLLECTION OF THE History of England:

CONTAINING

A Brief ACCOUNT of the moſt Remarkable AFFAIRS of STATE.

Compos'd by SAMUEL DANIEL, one of the Grooms of the Privy Chamber to Queen *ANNE*, Conſort to K. *James* I.

The Subject of the following Hiſtory fix'd.

WHEN I firſt entertain'd the ſetled Thoughts of Collecting the Principal Affairs of this Kingdom of *England* into one Body, I deſign'd to have taken my Beginning at the firſt *Britiſh* Kings, and have proceeded according to the common Liſt of their Succeſſion, relating the things which happen'd moſt remarkable in their ſeveral Reigns; but not finding any [a] authentick Proof of their Deſcent, I laid aſide theſe Reſolutions, upon theſe Conſiderations, That a far leſs compaſs of Time, and better known to us, (*viz.* From *William* the Firſt, ſurnam'd the *Baſtard*) would better ſuit my Abilities, if not overmatch them; that it is vain Curioſity to ſearch farther into Antiquity, than we can get any good Information of, and of which we can have no Proof, and conſequently can reap no real Advantage by it. For the Beginnings of all People and Kingdoms are as difficult to be found out as the Heads of great Rivers; and if they could be known, would promote but very little either our Virtue or Reputation; ſince it is evident, that moſt of them owe their Original to Poverty, Robbery, and Oppreſſion; though Fabulous Writers (to magnifie their own Nations) have obtruded upon the Credulity of after-Ages ſtrange Relations of Heroical and Miraculous Beginnings: So that great States, as well as Men, are beſt worth ſeeing, when they are in their moſt flouriſhing Condition, as they are, and not as they firſt were. Beſides, it ſeems good to Divine Providence to check our over-inquiſitive Diſpoſitions, by leaving all things, of very great Antiquity, under irrecoverable Uncertainty, and ſo to bound our Searches within the compaſs of a few Ages; as if that were ſufficient, both for Example and Inſtruction. For had we indeed the particular Occurrences of all former Ages and Nations, they would rather burthen our Memories, than better our Underſtandings: The Actions and Manners of Men receiving little Alteration by Time; Virtues and Vices being the ſame, though more or leſs in practice and vogue, according to the Goodneſs or Viciouſneſs of Governours: The Changes and Ruins of States proceeding from the ſame Cauſes, and the Methods of Affairs being carry'd on much in the ſame Courſe.

Britain firſt diſcover'd by the Romans.

But yet ſince the Hiſtory of thoſe Ages, which I have choſen for the Subject of this Collection, cannot be well underſtood without ſome Knowledge of the Affairs of the Precedent, I ſhall take a brief View of the State of this Nation from the time it became a Tributary Province to the *Roman* Empire, which is as far as the moſt Ancient Records we have can give us light; for before that time, *England* was not more remote in Situation, than it was from the Knowledge of the World. And from hence it was that *Julius Cæſar*, being but on the oppoſite Continent in *Gaul*, could get no perfect Information of the State of *Britain* by all the Means he could uſe, unleſs by ſome Merchants (of whom he ſummon'd as many as he could) who inform'd him of ſome of

[a] *Jeffrey of Monmouth*'s Liſt of the Regal Succeſſion from *Brutus* is very diſtinct and plain; but it hath ſo many Marks of pure Invention, either of himſelf, or the Authors from whom he pretends to tranſcribe them, that it is long ſince given up for a meer Romance by all our Learned Criticks in *Engliſh* Hiſtory; and particularly the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* is of Opinion, that the Grand Lye of all, which is the Story of *Brutus*, is nothing but a Forgery to make the *Engliſh* Kings as Nobly deſcended as the Kings of other Nations, by drawing them from the *Trojans*, according to the Humour of the Age he liv'd in. This Story of *Brutus* is reckon'd Fabulous by Sir *William Temple*, in his Introduction to the *Hiſtory of England*, p. 19.

the Coaſts, but were ignorant of the State and Condition of the Inhabitants that dwelt in the Inland parts of the Iſle, either being regardleſs of what concern'd not their Trade, or elſe being kept from any farther Knowledge of it by the *Britains*, who were cautious of diſcovering their Condition to Strangers: However *Cæſar*, rather than want a [a] Pretence of invading, accus'd them of aiding his Enemies the *Gauls* ſecretly againſt him; and entring their Country, ſubdu'd ſome parts of it in the South; yet made ſo little progreſs towards an abſolute Conqueſt, that he may rather be ſaid to have ſhew'd it, than won it to the *Roman* Empire.

The moſt ancient State of Britain.

What the State and Form of Government was among the *Britains* before this Invaſion, the firſt and beſt Relation is from *Cæſar* himſelf, who tells us, That the *Britains* were divided into many [b] petty Kingdoms, and names four Kings of *Kent*: That perceiving themſelves in great Danger by the *Romans*, they by common Conſent choſe *Caſſivellaun*, or *Caſſibolin*, to be their King, and have not only the Adminiſtration of all publick Affairs, but the ſupreme Command, as General in the War: That having receiv'd ſome Defeats, they yielded their Cities up to him, and ſent Hoſtages in Confirmation of it. By which it appears, that the Government of the ancient *Britains* was not Monarchical, as ſome have aſſerted; but like the [c] *Gauls* (with whom they held a great Similitude, as well in Religion, as in their Manners and Language) was divided into many ſmall Princedoms, without any Combination under one Head: After the ſame manner, as we have lately diſcover'd the People of *America* to be rul'd, and as moſt Countries were at firſt govern'd; till either Ambition and Power forc'd, or Intereſt and Policy taught them to introduce new Modes and arbitrary Ways of ordering Nations. And this was the Form of Government in *Britain*, *Gaul* or *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, and all the Weſt parts of *Europe*; till the *Romans*, having firſt ſubdu'd all *Italy* through the Diviſions among themſelves, which made them a Prey to their Enemies, became potent enough to raviſh the Liberties of the other adjacent Nations from them: For the Kings of thoſe Times were no better than Generals in Wars, and had no other Juriſdiction over their People, but to conduct them for their Safety. So that this Aſſertion, That there was a Monarchy eſtabliſh'd among the *Britains* long before other Nations, will never paſs for Truth, but with ſuch Perſons as underſtand little of true Antiquity, but model their Notion of it by the Conſtitutions of this preſent Time. For had there indeed been an Abſolute Monarch in theſe Parts, under whoſe Conduct the *Britains* could have united their Forces againſt the common Invader, it is very probable they had never been conquer'd; ſince we find the *Romans* to have been ſometimes very ſtrangely foil'd by ſome petty Princes; and 'tis plain, that though [d] the *Britains* had not the Improvement of Letters, yet they wanted not many great Souls, who had a quick Senſe of Honour and Greatneſs, and delighted in the boldeſt and braveſt Attempts. But not being united in their publick Danger, they expoſed themſelves to the common Enemy; who, often more by the Diviſions of others, than by his own Power, became Maſter of the World.

So that with what probability the long Succeſſion of Abſolute Monarchs from [e] *Brutus* to *Caſſivellaun* can be maintain'd, I am to ſeek; and therefore ſhall leave it to thoſe, who are of more eaſie Faith: Adding only thus much to juſtifie my own Diffidence, That I cannot imagine how the Memory of thoſe ancient Times could be preſerv'd to Poſterity, when it is almoſt certain, that they had not the Uſe of Letters in this Nation till the *Romans* brought them in. Indeed ſome report, That not only the Greek Tongue, but Schools of Learning were ſettled here long before the *Romans* Arrival; which, had it been true, we ſhould have had ſome mention of it in *Cæſar*'s, or others Writings: Whereas now, on the contrary, we find that the *Druids*, who were the Miniſters of Juſtice and Religion among the *Britains*, and the admired Philoſophers of thoſe Ages, committed not their Myſteries to Writing, but deliver'd them by Tradition; which ſure they would not have done, had they had more certain ways of imparting them to their Nation. And *Cornelius Tacitus* tells us, That *Agricola*, Præfect of this Province under *Domitian*, cauſed the principal Men's Sons to be taught the Liberal Sciences; which the *Britains* could not have been ignorant of, had the Greek Learning been ſettled among them ſo many Ages before. Wherefore 'tis clear, that there was no other way of conveying the Tranſactions of former Ages but by Tradition; and how little that can be depended upon, all wiſe Men know.

The State of the Britains under the Romans.

As to the State of the *Britains* during their Subjection to the *Romans*, we find that they were govern'd by the *Roman* Præfects; or if they had any Kings of their own, they were tributary, and had no other Authority than what they had from the Emperor's Will, who, as *Tacitus* relates, made Kings but Inſtruments of more heavy Bondage and Slavery, ſpeaking of *Cogedunus*, to whom *Claudius* gave certain Cities in *Britain*, under the Title of King. For when *Cæſar* had once got Footing among them, and made part of their Country tributary, they would not venture to withſtand the *Roman* Arms for the future, and recover their ancient Freedom; for tho' during the time of the Civil Wars at *Rome*, by which the Government there was chang'd from a Common-wealth to a Monarchy, they had twenty Years ſpace given them to rid themſelves of their Enemies, yet they patiently ſubmitted; and as ſoon as *Auguſtus* had gotten the abſolute Sovereignty, all the Princes and Cities of *Britain* came voluntarily with their Gifts and Tributes to profeſs their Subjection to him, and gain his Favour,

[a] The *Britiſh* Pearls, which were then of great Eſteem in the World, were no ſmall Motive to *Cæſar* to invade *Britain*. Dry Honour, without Gain, was not always the Inducement of the *Roman* Heroes to conquer the World. *Rome* her ſelf lov'd a full Treaſury, and her Great Men a full Purſe.

[b] *Ptolomy* gives the Names of the ſeveral People and Kingdoms among the Old *Britains* before the *Romans* Invaſion, which are exactly ſet down to us in the late Edition of Mr. *Cambden*'s *Britannia*.

[c] The moſt probable Account of the firſt Original of the People of this Iſland is, That they were ſome Colonies of *Gauls*, who tranſplanted themſelves into *Britain*, when their own Country grew over-populous, which was uſual in the long-liv'd Ages of Men, near the Creation and Flood.

[d] The *Britains*, through the continual Wars they had among themſelves, were ſuch expert Soldiers for thoſe early Times, that *Cæſar* himſelf confeſſes, he learnt many Stratagems of War from them: So that had they had Union among themſelves, *Cæſar* might have return'd without Succeſs.

[e] The Story of *Brutus*, which ſeems nothing but an Invention of the *Britains* to vie even with the reſt of the World in the Antiquity of their Deſcent; for 'twas then the Humour of the World to draw their Pedigree from the *Trojans*, is now utterly exploded.

Favour, fearing leſt a new Governour ſhould make their Yoke heavier than it hath hitherto been; which conſiſted only in a very tolerable Tribute, which they were contented to bear with their Neighbours. After *Auguſtus*'s Death, when the Corruptions of the Empire had cauſed miſerable Diſtractions in all Parts of the World, the *Britains* alſo falling into Factions among themſelves, and Diſcontents with their *Roman* Governours, with-held their Obedience, till *Claudius* obtain'd the Empire; who being an ambitious Prince, and deſirous of Glory, caſt his Eye upon *Britain*, as the moſt probable Place for him to gain his firſt Triumph in. Hither therefore he ſends *P. Oſtorius Scapula*, a great Warriour, to be Proprætor; who tho' he met with various Diſtractions, and a reſolute People, hardly to be forc'd into Subjection, yet as an experienc'd Commander, who knew how much the firſt Attempts do uſually either daunt or encourage an Enemy, contriv'd to fall upon them by Surprize, and where he had any Advantages, to uſe an affrighting Severity againſt them: But theſe Stratagems did not produce the wiſhed Effect; for [a] *Caradocus* (one of the *Britiſh* Kings) maintain'd War againſt him for nine Years together, and could not be maſtered by this brave General, till being betray'd by his own Nation, he came into his Hands, and was with his Wife and Children carried to *Rome* to be led in Triumph.

Claudius's Conqueſt of Britain, and their Revolt ſoon after.

Claudius after this, paſſed at *Rome* for the Conqueror of *Britain*, tho' that Iſland was not perfectly reduc'd to their Obedience, till a long time after: For the *Britains*, finding that their Diviſions were likely to betray them to the *Romans*, who would prove cruel Maſters, enter'd into a defenſive League againſt them upon this Occaſion. *Praſutagus*, King of the *Iceni*, a Rich and Potent Prince, dying, left *Nero* his Heir, with the Care of his Wife and his two Daughters; hoping by this Gift, to ſecure his Family and Nation from any Injury from the *Romans*; but it happen'd clear otherwiſe after his Death: For he was no ſooner dead, but the *Roman* Captains, as if his Kingdom had been left a Prey to them, ravag'd and plunder'd it; his Wife *Boadicea* was whipp'd, his Daughters raviſh'd, his Kindred treated as Captives, and his rich Subjects depriv'd of their Paternal Inheritance and Eſtates. This inhumane Uſage exaſperated the *Britains* ſo much againſt them, that they conſpired with the *Trinobantes*, and others, to recover their Liberty, and free themſelves from ſuch cruel Oppreſſors. *Boadicea*, the injured Queen, animated them in this Reſolution, and led them forward in their Deſign. And firſt they ſet upon the Veteran Soldiers, who lay in Garriſon at *London*, *Verulam* and *Camalodunum*, and having put them to flight, with their Captain *Cerealis*, they ſlew Seventy Thouſand of them. *Suetonius*, Governour of the Province, not diſcourag'd by this Loſs from maintaining his Station, rally'd all the Forces he could together, and haſten'd to engage them. The *Britains* were an hundred and twenty Thouſand, under the Conduct of *Boadicea*, who together with their Wives, encourag'd them manfully to purſue the Advantage, and rather die, than come under the *Romans Tyranny*. *Suetonius* on the other ſide was not wanting with the like Advice: And ſo much the more, becauſe his Army was much inferiour in [b] Number to the *Britains*, tho' of experienc'd old Soldiers. This Battel was very ſharp, but the Victory in the iſſue fell to the *Romans*, who ſlew Eighty Thouſand *Britains* in the gaining of it. *Boadicea* eſcap'd their Fury, but poiſon'd her ſelf, chooſing to die, rather than ſee the miſerable Calamities which would certainly come upon her Country. After this Victory the *Romans* grievouſly oppreſs'd the *Britains*, who, tho' they often revolted, and upon every Advantage that they could ſpy, ſtruggled to ſhake off their uneaſie Yoke; yet being over-power'd with Numbers, which were ſent againſt them almoſt from all Parts of the *Empire*, were at laſt forc'd to yield, and undergo an unwilling Subjection, being under the Curb of Fourteen Garriſons, and a ſtanding Army of near Thirty Thouſand Foot and Horſe.

The Miſeries of the Britains under the Romans.

In this lamentable Condition of Slavery and Oppreſſion did the *Britains* remain, as long as the *Romans* had the Government of them; who, not contented to rob them of their Eſtates and Poſſeſſions at home, and involve them in cruel Bondage, conſtrain'd them to engage in their ambitious Quarrels abroad, and purchaſe them Glory with the loſs of their own Blood and Lives: And not only ſo, but being left to the arbitrary Power of their Governours, they were forc'd to aſſiſt them in their Rebellions: For after the Election of the Emperor fell into the Hands of their Army, many Governours here having great Forces under their Command, were proclaim'd *Cæſars*, and ſet up for the whole Empire. Thus did *Carauſius* firſt, and after him *Alectus*, whom *Conſtantius*, who was Copartner with *Maximianus* in the Imperial Dignity, at his firſt coming into *Britain* conquer'd, by the auſpicious Arms of *Aſclepiodorus* Captain of his Life-guard. After this the [d] *Caledonians* and [e] *Picts* made their Inrodes into the Northern parts of *Britain*, and much infeſted the Inhabitants, diſturbing their Peace, and waſting their Lands; *Conſtantius*, who then was ſole Emperor of the Weſt, compaſſionating the Miſeries of his Subjects, as well as deſirous to ſecure his Dominions from the Spoil of theſe Barbarians, undertook a ſecond Journey into *Britain*, and had the good Fortune to be Victorious againſt them, and drive them out of his Dominions; though he liv'd not to ſee the Peace that follow'd thereupon, dying ſoon after at *York*. *Conſtantine* his Son (afterwards ſurnamed the Great) was preſent at his Death, being upon notice of his Father's Sickneſs lately come out of *Illyria*, where he had been with *Galerius* warring againſt the *Sarmatians*. As ſoon as *Conſtantius* was dead, *Conſtantine* was immediately ſaluted Emperor of the *Britains*, which he ſo kindly reſented,

[a] *Caractatus*, or *Caradocus*, the valiant Champion for the *Britiſh* Liberties, was betray'd to the *Romans* by the treacherous Woman *Carteſmandua*, Queen of the *Brigantes*.

[b] *Viz.* Not much above Ten Thouſand.

[c] *Agricola*'s good Temper and mild Government made their Subjection ſo tolerable, that by his Direction and Encouragement they were willing almoſt to turn *Romans*; learning their Oratory, Building, Gardening, and all other Arts of Peace and Quietneſs. But this was but a ſhort Breathing from their Miſeries; all their Comforts being remov'd with him by *Domitian*.

[d] The *Caledonians*, from *Cilliddin*, which ſignifies Borderers, were thoſe People that dwelt in the more Southern Part of *North-Britain*, now call'd *Scotland*; and ſo border'd upon the *Roman-Britain*, now call'd *England*.

[e] The *Picts* ſeem to have been a ruder ſort of *Britains*, that would never yield to the *Romans*, but ſtill keep up their ancient Manners and Liberties; and were call'd *Picts* (about Three Hundred Years after Chriſt) by the *Romans*, becauſe they continu'd the old *Britiſh* Cuſtom of painting their Bodies. They dwelt in the North Parts of *North-Britain*, and in probability are the Anceſtors of the Highlanders in *Scotland*.

resented, that he ever after had a particular Esteem for them; and before he left them, put their Government into such a new Model, as was more easie and pleasant to them. After this we have no certain Information in what posture Affairs were among the *Britains*, till the Reign of *Valentinian* the Elder, who sent *Theodosius* (the Father of the Emperor of that Name) a Person eminent for his Heroick Exploits and good Fortune, into *Britain* to oppose the Incursions of the *Picts*, *Saxons*, [a] *Scots*, and [b] *Attacotti*, who like a destroying Deluge over-run the Country; *Theodosius*'s Army was compos'd chiefly of *Battavians* and *Herulians*, hardy and stout Soldiers, who by the prudent Conduct of their General, soon vanquish'd the rude Barbarians, and restor'd the miserable Inhabitants to their Properties and Ease: Which done, *Theodosius* left *Britain*, *Civilis* being sent to govern the Province, and *Dulcitius* the Army, Men both of great Name and Experience.

Maximus, General of the Roman Army in Britain, claims the Empire.

In these Wars with *Theodosius* was one *Maximus*, a *Spaniard* by Birth, but educated at *Rome*, by which he became so accomplish'd a Person, that he was made in the Time of *Valentinian* the Younger, the supreme Commander of the Army in *Britain*. This Man taking it ill, that *Gratian* had declar'd *Theodosius* Emperor, revolted from his Allegience, and got himself proclaim'd *Cæsar*; and to establish himself in the Imperial Throne, transported the Flower of the *Britains* into *Gaul*, where by their Help he brought over *Gaul*, *Spain* and *Germany* to his Party; and at length grew so powerful, that he in a set Battel conquer'd *Gratian*, and after by Subtilty slew him, and forc'd *Valentinian*, his Brother and Co-partner, to fly to *Theodosius* Emperor of the *East* for Help, by whose Assistance *Valentinian* recover'd his Right; *Maximus*, and great part of his Forces, being destroy'd at *Aquileia*. This Rebellious Expedition much dispeopled *Britain*, their ablest Youth and strongest Garrisons being taken out of it, which were all either slain with *Maximus*, or, as some relate, seated themselves in *Armorica* (now call'd *Britain* in *France*) which retains the *British* Language to this Day.

Marcus set up for Emperor by the Britains, after him others.

But this unfortunate Blow did not allay the factious Humour then got in among the *Britains*; for in the time of *Honorius* the Emperor, the Colony of *Veterans*, fearing the Invasion of the *Vandals*, revolted, and chose one *Marcus* Emperor, who not answering their Expectation, was slain by them, and one *Gratian* a *Britain* put in his Place; but neither had he the Luck to please them above four Months: wherefore, putting him to Death, they pitch'd upon *Constantine*, whose very Name seem'd to them to portend Good Fortune, though his Merit was not extraordinary. This *Constantine* following *Maximus*'s Steps, and gathering together all the remaining Forces of *Britain*, invaded several Parts of the *Western Empire*, gave his Son *Constans* (a Monk) the Name of *Augustus*; and after many Re-encounters with *Honorius*'s Forces, was at length conquer'd; his whole Army brought out of *Britain*, being destroy'd, and himself executed at *Arles*. The *British* Nation being thus almost exhausted of its Strength, lay open to the Ravages of the Barbarians of the *North*, who observing this Advantage, came down upon them in great Numbers, and by their Incursions reduc'd them to great Straights and Calamities; so that they were forc'd to implore the Aid of *Aetius*, then Præfect of the *Gauls* under *Valentinian* III. by all the Arts of moving Commiseration they could invent; sending their Ambassadors with torn Garments, and Dust on their Heads. *Aetius*, mov'd with their Petitions, did send them such Succours as soon routed their Enemy; and to secure them for the future, helped them to raise a Wall upon the Trench, which *Adrian* had cast up before from Sea to Sea; and so he left them. This Relief prov'd but of little worth; for the Barbarians no sooner heard of *Aetius*'s Departure, but they again assaulted the *Britains* afresh, beat down their Walls, and haras's'd the Country much worse than before. The *Britains* repeat their Suit to *Aetius*, but all in vain. The Emperors, and his own Safety requir'd of them a more vigorous Defence than before, the Empire it self being in as great Hazard, and under as great Distractions as their Island. Wherefore being left to themselves to fall into the Hands of the Barbarians, and so the Government of the *Romans*, being unable to support it self, expir'd wholly in *Britain*, after they had held it Four Hundred Seventy Six Years, from the Time that *Julius Cæsar* invaded it: In all which time we find only these seven *British* Kings to have reign'd, viz. [c] *Theomantius*, *Cunobelinus*, *Guiderius*, *Arviragus*, *Marius*, *Coel*; and lastly *Lucius*, who is highly celebrated by our Historians for bringing in the Christian Religion into this Nation. All the rest to *Vortigern* were *Roman* Governours.

The Roman Government expir'd in Britain. A. C. 443.

Britain being thus first weaken'd, and at last deserted by the *Romans*, was left to provide for its own Defence against its Invaders. The Inhabitants were in miserable Distractions among themselves, what to do in this sad Juncture. Many Kings they chose, but soon deposed them. *Vortigern*, a Noble *Britain*, and Earl of *Cornwall*, was at last fix'd upon as their General against their Enemies; who either fearing [d] his own Deposition from the Government he had newly gotten, and desir'd the countinuance of, or finding the Nation unable to grapple with its fierce and cruel Enemies, the *Scots* and *Picts*, sent for the *Saxons* out of *Germany* to assist him. 450.

The Description of the Saxons; their Invitation to Britain, and obtaining of it.

[e] The *Saxons* at this time possess'd the third Part of *Germany*, and held all the Country between the Rivers *Rhine* and *Elb*, having on the North the *Baltick*-Sea and Ocean, on the South the *Hyrcinian*-Wood; and divided into two Parts by the River *Weser*, viz. *Eastphalia* (as the Country on the East of the River *Weser* was anciently call'd) and *Westphalia*. They were govern'd by an Aristocracy of twelve Princes, who in times of War chose a General to lead and conduct

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[a] *Scots* were Inhabitants of *Ireland*, who came to assist the *Picts* against the *Romans* and *Britains*, their Subjects.

[b] *Attacotti* are not certainly known by Antiquaries: Some think them a Party of the *Scots*, who came out of *Ireland*; others, among whom is the Learned Bishop of *Worcester*, that they were the *Wild-Britains*, from *Jerome*, who says, they were a *British* People.

[c] Some of these Kings are fabulous; the Bishop of *Worcester* proves *Arviragus*, and his two Sons, *Marius* and *Coillus*, to be the Invention of *Jeffrey* of *Monmouth*, who tells very pleasant Stories of the former of them, and thinks that none are certainly reckon'd such, but *Prasutagus*, *Cogidunus*, *Caractacus*, *Togodumnus*, and *Galgacus*, who are mention'd in the *Roman* History; his Conjecture of *Lucius* is set down before, *Orig. Brit.* p. 3[illegible] 54.

[d] By the Party of *Aurelius Ambrosius*; for whom, the *Romans* left in the Province stood very zealously to have him their Governour, and not a *Britain*, as *Vortigern* was.

[e] The *Saxons* were a very Warlike People, who dwelt on the neareſt *German*-Shore, had kept the *Romans* themselves always upon their Guard, and had sometimes attack'd them in this Isle, which made *Vortigern* think these People most fit for his Assistance against the *Picts* and *Scots*.

duct their Army. Their Country was large, very populous and rich, furniſh'd with Shipping, (which at that time the *Britains* had not;) all which things, as they fitted them for any foreign Expedition, ſo they made them readily embrace *Vortigern*'s Invitation; which they had no ſooner receiv'd, but they diſpatch'd away a conſiderable Body of Men into *Britain*, under the Command of *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, two Brethren of the chiefeſt Blood and Nobility of the *Saxons*. The *Saxons* at firſt ſerved the *Britains* as Stipendiaries, and did them ſo good Service, that within a little time *Britain* was wholly freed from their troubleſome Enemies, and liv'd at peace: *Vortigern* allowing them the Iſle of *Thanet* for their Reſidence, kept them ſtill near him; which gave them an Opportunity of better underſtanding the Nature of the *Engliſh* Soil, and Strength of the *Britiſh* People. Some time theſe two Nations liv'd in Amity and Friendſhip, but at length the *Saxons* ſeeing their Country large, their Soil fruitful, and the Inhabitants weak and unable to make any conſiderable Reſiſtance, firſt quarrel with *Vortigern* about their Pay, afterward get the whole Country of *Kent* made over to them by Covenant; with which not content, *Hengiſt* marries his Siſter to *Vortigern*, and under the Shews of Friendſhip deſired all the Country beyond *Humber*, under this Pretence, That the *Saxons* being well ſeated in thoſe Parts, would ſecure the *Britains* againſt the Invaſions of the *Scots* and *Picts*. *Vortigern* eaſily granted this Petition, and *Hengiſt* immediately ſent for his Brother *Otha* and Son *Abuſa*, with great Supplies, out of *Saxony* to People thoſe Parts; who, glad to exchange their own Country for a much better, ſoon arriv'd; and ſo the *Saxons* became abſolute Maſters of all *Kent* and *Northumberland*, which then contain'd all the Country from *Humber* to *Stotland*.

War between the Britains *and* Saxons; *who conquer.*

And now the *Saxons* growing ſtrong and potent, by continual Acceſſes of their Countrymen to thoſe Parts where they were ſeated, began to contemn their Maſters and Entertainers, and commit many Inſolencies upon them. The *Britiſh* Nobility, not able to bear their domineering Carriage, combined together againſt them; and firſt depoſing *Vortigern*, who had been the Cauſe of their Admiſſion, elected *Vortimer* his Son to be their King and Leader againſt them. This brave and valiant Prince maintain'd many Battels with them, and whilſt he liv'd (which was not long) protected his Country much from them; and after his Death *Ambroſius* the laſt of the *Romans*, and *Arthur* the Nobleſt of *Britains*, (who is ſaid in twelve ſet Battels to have encounter'd them, and either vanquiſh'd, or come off with an equal Loſs in them all) kept them from their intended and deſired Uſurpation of the *Britains* Country and Eſtate. But at laſt, partly by the Politick Management of *Hengiſt*, who liv'd forty Years in Wars, and partly by Treachery [a], the *Saxons* prevail'd, and forc'd the *Britains*, almoſt conſum'd with long Wars, to fly into the Mountains and remote Deſarts of the Weſtern part [b] of the Iſle, leaving the whole Nation almoſt in the Power and ſole Diſpoſal of their Conquerors.

The Diviſion of Britain *by the* Saxons, *after their Conqueſt of it.*

The *Saxons* being thus become Maſters of this Iſland, ſoon canton'd it out among themſelves; and other their Countrymen, who having News of their Succeſs, came over to poſſeſs themſelves of the *Britains* Lands and Eſtates. *Hengiſt* retain'd his Kingdom of *Kent*, and *Otha* and *Ebuſa* ſtill held the Country between *Humber* and *Scotland*; *Ella* and his Sons conquer'd the South Eaſt Parts, and began the Kingdom of the *South-Saxons*, containing *Suſſex* and part of *Surrey*: *Cerdick*, and his Sons, landed at *Portſmouth*, and invaded the South and Weſt Parts, and began the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*, which after contain'd the Countries of *Hampſhire*, *Barkſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Somerſetſhire* and *Devonſhire*: Near the ſame time *Uffa* invaded the North-Eaſt Parts, and began the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles*, containing *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeſhire*, and the Iſle of *Ely*: *Erkenwin* began the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, containing *Eſſex*, *Middleſex*, and a Part of *Hertfordſhire*. The Outparts of the Iſle being thus diſtributed among the unjuſt Invaders, *Cridda* began the Kingdom of *Mercia*, or *Middle-Angles*, containing *Lincolniſhire*, *Northamptonſhire*, *Huntingtonſhire*, *Rutlandſhire*, *Bedford*, *Buckingham*, *Oxfordſhire*, *Cheſhire*, *Darbyſhire*, *Nottingham*, and *Staffordſhire*, with part of the Shires of *Hereford* and *Hertford*, *Warwickſhire*, *Shropſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, and *Gloceſterſhire*. But theſe Settlements were made not without great Difficulty, and in no ſmall Compaſs of Time: The *Britains* making ſuch a vigorous Oppoſition to their Eſtabliſhment, that tho' indeed they were vanquiſh'd wholly at laſt, yet they enjoy'd little of the *Britains* Eſtates, but naked Land. For in theſe bloody Conteſts between the Proprietors and Invaders, all the Noble Buildings, Baths, Aquæducts, High-ways, and other Ornaments of Conveniency or Delight, which either the *Romans*, or the *Britains* in Imitation of them, had built and raiſed, were utterly demoliſh'd, ſo that not the leaſt Mark or Footſteps of them is now left; but inſtead of them we find very frequent Entrenchments, Mounts, and Burroughs raiſed for Tombs and Defences upon all the wide Champions and high Hills almoſt of this Iſle, the indelible Proofs of the many Hazards and bloody Conflicts the *Saxons* underwent to get a peaceable Poſſeſſion of their Conqueſts in this Iſland; which at laſt they obtain'd, but with the Ruine and Deſtruction of the old Inhabitants.

The general Change of States at this time.

Nor was it the peculiar Fate of *Britain* at this time to change its old Proprietors for new Lords; but this Nation only ſympathiz'd with the reſt of the World in the great Changes which Providence had then began to make, and ſoon after compleated. For there was ſcarcely any one Country or Province in the World, which did not about this time change its Bounds, Inhabitants, Cuſtoms, Language and Name. The Empire being firſt divided into two Parts, and thoſe broken into many Parties and Factions, which call'd in other Nations to their Aſſiſtance, made way to the innumerable Changes that ſoon after follow'd. For the *French* and *Burgundians* diſpoſſeſs'd the *Gauls*, and gave the Name of *France* and *Burgundy* to their Province: The *Gauls* tranſplanted themſelves to the Coaſts of *Spain*, and fix'd their Habitation, not for Conveniency but Neceſſity, in ſuch Places as they could by Force obtain, which from them was after call'd *Gallicia* and *Portugal*: The *Hunns* and *Avari* ſeiz'd upon *Pannonia*, and gave it the Name of *Hungary*: The *Longobards*, a People of *Germany*, who border'd upon the *Saxons*, enter'd *Italy*, got the greateſt part thereof, which after their own Name they call'd by the Name of *Lombardy*, as it remains to this Day: The *Goths* and *Vandals* miſerably haraſs'd the reſt of the Empire, ſack'd *Rome* it ſelf; and after ſubdu'd, peopl'd and poſſeſs'd *Spain*. So that *Britain* was not ruin'd alone, but ſuffer'd in the common Deluge.

Britain being thus furniſh'd with new Inhabitants,

[a] In ſlaying the *Britiſh* Nobility at *Salisbury-Plain*.

[b] *Wales* and *Cornwall*.

Saxons make a new face of things in Britain.

tants, puts on a new Face of Things: With its new Lords, it had new Laws and Government. Nothing was retain'd of the *British* Customs or Usages, as tho' they were resolv'd to have no Marks left of so troublesome an Enemy as the *Britains* had been. Their Cities and Towns, Rivers, Hills and Mountains, because they could not demolish them, they gave them new Names. *Britain* it self was forbidden to be call'd by its ancient Name, but *New-Saxony*; and shortly after, either from the *Angles*, the greatest part of the Invaders, or from *Hengist*, their most eminent Commander call'd *Engist-land*, or *England*. The whole Nation at first they divided into Eight [a] Kingdoms, which continu'd till the *Britains* were quite expell'd their Country, under *Cadwallo* their King, who was driven over the *Severn* an Hundred Thirty Six Years after *Hengist* first came into *England*. But as soon as their common Enemy was remov'd, their Ambition stirring them up to enlarge their Dominions, they fell into Dissentions among themselves; and the strongest soon usurping the Dominions of the weaker, they were reduc'd to Seven Kingdoms, the *Northumbrians* enlarging themselves to the utmost Bounds of their next Neighbours, so made one Kingdom of two. Nor did this Settlement hold long: for the *West-Saxons* took the Kingdom of the *South-Saxons* to their Dominion, and so they became Six, as they continu'd about Two Hundred and Fifty Years.

Saxon Government.

At their first Settlement, the *Saxons*, for an Hundred and Fifty Years, were govern'd by their own Laws, without any Mixture of those of the *Britains*, or any other Nation. But when *Augustine* the Monk, commonly call'd the *English Apostle*, arriv'd here with forty others his Companions, sent hither by Pope *Gregory* the Great, and had converted *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, and some other Persons of Note; they soon after embrac'd the Christian Faith unanimously, and suffer'd their Laws and Rites to be modell'd according to the Ecclesiastical Constitutions. Their Kings, laying aside their warlike and rough Tempers, became humble and pious, conformable to the Genius of that Religion they had submitted themselves to; and their only Ambition was, who should raise the noblest and most numerous Monuments of Piety, which soon became visible in all Parts of the Land: Divers of their Kings left their Temporal Dignities and worldly Grandeur, to embrace an holy Retirement, and live a Monastick Life; as *Ethelred* and *Kinrid*, Kings of *Mercia*; *Offa*, King of the *East-Saxons*; *Kadwallo* and *Ina*, King of the *West-Saxons*; *Eadbert*, King of the *Northumbrians*, and many others.

The Heptarchy reduc'd at first to two Kingdoms.

As to the Civil State of the Kingdom, tho' the Six Kingdoms held their own some Ages, yet at length the Kingdoms of *Mercia* and *West-Saxons* so far over-power'd the rest, that it lay between them, who should govern all. For *Ina*, a martial, wise, and religious Prince, governing the *West-Saxons*, advanc'd that Kingdom, by his Conquest of *Kent* and the *South-Saxons*, to so great an Eminency, that he was able to contend for a Supremacy with the King of *Mercia*, and that with doubtful Victory. But *Offa*, afterward King of *Mercia*, was in a fair way to have swallow'd up both the *West-Saxons*, and all the other Kingdoms: For while he liv'd, which was in the Time of *Charles* the Great, (with whom he was Confederate) he was accounted the most potent King of the Nation: But the many Injuries he did to others, especially that barbarous Cruelty and Perfidiousness, which he was guilty of, in murthering *Ethelbert* King of the *East-Angles*, in his own House, when he came to him upon the publick Faith to court his Daughter, were so closely pursu'd by the Hand of Divine Justice, that tho' he dy'd in Peace, yet his Posterity never flourish'd, but every Day declin'd, till in the end they lost all. For *Egbert*, the Son of *Ivegild*, or *Ingils*, the Brother of *Ina*, having obtain'd the Kingdom of *West-Saxons*, laid the Foundation of the Conquest of the rest; being a Prince, who from a private Station, wherein he had learned much Moderation, and inur'd himself to much Hardship, was raised to that Dignity by these means: *Ina*, his Great Uncle, having left the World and Kingdom, and dying without Issue, left the Succession involv'd in Troubles, and out of the direct Line, as he found it; and tho' we find a Succession of four Kings inheriting his Throne, *viz.* *Ethelard*, *Sigibert*, *Kenwulf*, and *Brithric*; yet they got it either by Election or Force, not by any Right of Descent. *Brithric*, the last of them, was sensible of the Weakness of his Title, and therefore seeing the promising and towardly Disposition of *Egbert*, who by Blood was nearly related to the former Kings, he used all the Arts he could to destroy him; but *Egbert* perceiving his bloody Design, he fled to *Offa* King of *Mercia*, where finding his Abode hazardous, because *Brithric* to strengthen himself had marry'd the Daughter of that King, he made his escape into *France* [b], and there remain'd till the Death of *Brithric* [c]; and then returning, obtain'd the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons*, and subdu'd *Cornwall*, then inhabited by the [d] *Britains*; and after invades *Bernulph*, who was newly possess'd of the Kingdom of *Mercia*, a State at that time, through the Interruption of the Royal Line, in a wavering Condition. For *Egfryde*, the Son of *Offa*, enjoy'd his Kingdom but four Months; the Hand of Providence cutting him off for his Father's Cruelty, and left his Kingdom to *Kenwolfe*, a Kinsman in the sixth Descent, whose Son *Kenelm*, a Child of six Years old, was soon depriv'd of it by *Quindred* his Sister, who murther'd him to get into his Throne, but miss'd of her aim, the People electing *Ceolulph* her Uncle to it. *Ceolulph* enjoy'd not the Kingdom long, being expell'd out of it by *Bernulph*, who met with the same Fortune from *Egbert*, who seizing on it made his Kingdom tributary to that of the *West-Saxons*, as he did afterwards those of the *South* and *East-Saxons* with the Kingdom of *Northumberland*: So that *Egbert* in a manner became an [e] absolute Monarch of the whole Country; tho' his Power

Egbert first Monarch of England.

A. D. 800.

was

[a] We generally account the first Settlement of the *Saxons* to be in an Heptarchy, or Seven Kingdoms, *viz.* The Kingdoms of *Kent*, *South-Saxons*, *East-Saxons*, *East-Angles*, *West-Saxons*, *Mercia*, and *Northumberland*; but those that count Eight, divided this last into the Kingdom of *Deira*, which lies on this side *Humber*, and *Bernicia*, which lies beyond *Humber*, between that River and *Scotland*.

[b] *Charles* the Great was then King of *France*, and finding *Egbert* dextrous and ingenious, he employ'd him in his Wars, and many other Affairs of his Government, where by he was made a very accomplish'd Prince.

[c] *Brithric* was poison'd by *Ethelberg* his Wife; a Woman of that malicious Temper, that all she could not remove by Accusations, though false, she would poison; which designing to do to one of the King's Friends, the King himself drank of the Potion, and dy'd.

[d] But they are said to have held out so long against his Arms, *viz.* Fourteen Years, that he made a Law, that it should be Death for any *Britain* to pass over *Offa*'s Ditch; thinking by this means to prevent any disturbance from them.

[e] *Egbert* was thus far an absolute Monarch of *Britain*, that all the Seven Kingdoms were either subdu'd by him, or tributary to him. The *Danes* disquieted his Reign indeed, but had no part of *England* their own.

was never compleat, nor his Peace firm, becauſe of the [a] *Danes*, who having got footing in this Nation in the Reign of *Brithric*, could never be driven out again, but created continual Troubles in the Reigns of himſelf and Succeſſors; till at length they raviſh'd the Sovereignty from the *Saxons*, and took it into their own Hands.

An Account of the Original of the Danes.

The *Danes* were a People of *Germany*, near Neighbours to the *Saxons*; and of a Language and Manners not much differing from them, poſſeſſing beſides the *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus* (now call'd *Denmark*) all the Iſles adjoyning, lying in the *Baltick* Sea, and ſome time the Kingdom of *Norway*: A ſtrong, hardy and warlike Nation, having plenty of Shipping, and great Numbers of People. Theſe Men perceiving the Succeſs the *Saxons* had here, and how much better a Soil they inhabited than their own, were very deſirous to put in for a ſhare with them; to which Attempt they were encourag'd, not only from the Nakedneſs of the Coaſts, which every where almoſt lay open to Invaſion, but chiefly by the many Diviſions and Quarrels between their ſeveral Princes and Nations, which they foreſaw would much facilitate their Entrance. The *Saxons* therefore had ſcarcely ended their troubleſome Wars with the *Britains*, and began to ſettle themſelves under a Monarchy, when the *Danes*, as if they were ſent to revenge the Cruelties they had done to the *Britains*, began to aſſault them with the ſame Diſturbances. It would be both uneaſie and tedious to the Reader, as well as difficult for me, to give a particular account of the many bloody Battels and Rencounters which happen'd between theſe two fierce Nations, while they ſcuffled for the abſolute Maſtery of this Kingdom, becauſe they are ſo confuſedly and diſorderly deliver'd by Writers; and therefore I ſhall ſpare my ſelf the Pains, and the Reader the trouble of reading of them.

Ethelwolfe *his Gifts to the Church and* Rome.

After the Death of *Egbert*, [b] *Ethelwolfe* his Son ſucceeded him in his Kingdom, under the Title of King of the *Weſt-Saxons* only. He was a Prince more addicted to Devotion than Action; as is evident by his [c] Donation of the Tenth part of his whole Kingdom to the Service of God, and an Exemption of all Lands belonging to the Church from all Tribute and regal Services: Beſides, he gave an Annuity of [d] three hundred Marks to be expended in pious Uſes at *Rome*, whither he went twice in Perſon, with his youngeſt Son *Alfred*, who was the chief Object of his Love, whom *Pope Leo IV.* anointed King at eleven Years old, as preſaging his future Greatneſs and Fortune. In his laſt Journey, and whole Year's ſtay at *Rome*, *Ethelbald* his eldeſt Son conſpir'd with the Nobility of the *Weſt-Saxons* to keep him out of his Kingdom, and deprive him utterly of his Government; which he ſo craftily manag'd, that notwithſtanding his People lov'd him extreamly well, yet he was brought to yield up the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons* to *Ethelbald*, and retain only the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles* (a ſmall Principality of far leſs Dignity) to himſelf. After this he liv'd two Years, and left his whole Kingdom to *Ethelbald*, who to his eternal Infamy marry'd his Father's Wife [e] *Judith*, Daughter of *Charles* the Bald, King of *France*. He enjoy'd his ill-gotten Honour but two Years and a half; and then left it [f] to his Brother *Ethelred*, who held it indeed five Years, but in [g] continual War with the *Danes*, and dy'd of the Plague, and was bury'd at *Winburn*. After whom

A. D. 872. Alfred's *Wars.*

ALFRED, or ELFRED [h], a moſt incomparable Prince, who was made a King before he had a Kingdom, or any apparent Succeſſion to it, began his troubleſome Reign at two and twenty Years of Age, and in a Year wherein there were eight ſeveral Battels fought between the *Saxons* and *Danes*; which was ominous to him, for his Reign was but as it were one continu'd War, either with his Enemies, or his Peoples Vices. In the beginning of his Reign he was ſo powerfully aſſaulted by the [i] *Danes*, that he had almoſt loſt all, and was forc'd to yield up a part of his Kingdom (*viz.* the Country of the *Eaſt-Angles* and *Northumberland*) to *Guthrum* or *Gurmund*, the Commander of the *Danes*; whom, upon his Converſion to Chriſtianity and Baptiſm, he made his Confederate, and by free Gift confirm'd to him the Poſſeſſion of thoſe Dominions, which before he only uſurped.

His Proviſions for the Peace and good Government of the Kingdom.

But notwithſtanding his continual Engagements in War againſt his Enemies, yet he was not wanting to provide all things that were neceſſary for the well-being of his Nation; for he firſt of all collected the Laws of his Predeceſſors, and the other Kings of the *Saxons*, eſpecially thoſe of *Offa* King of *Mercia*, and *Ethelbert* the firſt Chriſtian King of the *Engliſh*, into one Body; and by the advice and conſent of his States then aſſembled, made choice of the beſt, abrogated the uſeleſs, and added others, according to the neceſſity of the time. Then he provided for the Security of his People againſt the Robberies and Riots, to which the War with Foreigners had expos'd them, (for certain Men combining together to plunder both ſides, ſo infeſted the High-ways, that no Man could travel about his Buſineſs without a Convoy or Guard againſt them.) *Alfred* to remedy this great Diſorder, made a Diviſion of his Kingdom into Shires, Hundreds and Tythings, that every *Engliſhman* (for ſo the *Saxons* now generally call'd themſelves) living orderly, might be of ſome Hundred or Tything, from which he was not to remove without Security; and out of which, if he were accuſed of any Crime, he was likewiſe to produce Sureties for his good Behaviour for the future; which if he could not find, he was forced to ſuffer the Penalty of the Law. If any Malefactor, before or after he had put in Sureties, eſcaped, all the Tything or Hundred were oblig'd to pay a Fine to the King, by which means he ſecured Travellers, and ſoon ſettled the Peace of the Country.

The great Admiration and Love which he had for Learning, made him much lament the want of it in himſelf; accounting it one of his greateſt

[a] They landed three times in four Years, *viz.* at *Landiſfern*, now *Holy-Iſland*, *Cornwall*, and the Iſle of *Shepey* in *Kent*; were very hardly driven off by *Egbert* and the *Engliſh*.

[b] *Ethelwolf* was bred a Monk, and had entred into Deacons Orders at *Wincheſter*, but by Pope *Leo*'s Permiſſion was made King. He marry'd his Cupbearer's Daughter, nam'd *Egburga*, by whom he had four Sons, *Ethelbald*, *Ethelbert*, *Ethelred*, and *Alfred*, who reign'd ſucceſſively; but rebell'd all againſt their Father, but *Alfred*.

[c] The Original Inſtrument is in *Fuller*'s *Church-Hiſtory*, *ad A.* C. 817.

[d] This Sum was afterwards charg'd by the Pope on the Biſhopricks, in what Proportion Mr. *Fox* relates, *Acts and Mon.* p. 340.

[e] It is ſaid, that he put away his Mother upon the Admonition of S. *Swithun* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and ever after rul'd his Kingdom in Peace and Juſtice, as a ſign of his Repentance for that Crime. *Radb. Hiſt. Wint.* p. 204.

[f] *Ethelbert* his Elder Brother reign'd five Years before the Kingdom came to *Ethelred*. He had Troubles by the *Danes*, but eaſed himſelf by giving them Money.

[g] It is related, that this King in one Year fought nine Battels with the *Danes*, and in moſt came off Victor, ſlaying one of their Kings, and ſeveral of their Great Men.

[h] He had his Education under the Tuition of *Swithun* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

[i] *Rollo* the *Dane* and firſt Duke of that *Norman* Race from which *William* the Conqueror was deſcended, landed with ten Ships; but being forc'd from Shoar, invaded *Neuſtria* in *France*, afterward from them call'd *Normandy*.

This King's Proviſion for Learning.

Miſfortunes to be bred up in the Ignorance of it, and to have his Kingdom ſo utterly deſtitute [a] of Learned Men, as it was, through the long continuance of the War with the Barbarians. To repair this defect, and raiſe the eſteem of good Letters among his People [b], he ſent into ſeveral Parts for ſuch as were grown famous for their Learning; whom, upon their Arrival, he highly preferr'd, encourag'd them to teach others, and had them himſelf in great veneration: Rareneſs then ſetting a greater value upon leſſer Attainments, than after Plenty did upon the greateſt Perfections. *Grimbald* and *Scotus* were invited hither out of *France*, and *Aſſerius Menevenſis* (who wrote his Life) out of *Wales*, and others [c] came from other parts. All the time he could ſpare from the important Concerns of a confuſed State, he ſpent in his Studies; by which he made no ſmall progreſs in Learning, and deſervedly bears the Honour of the firſt Learned Prince we had in *England*.

His own illiterate Education made him the more careful of that of his Children, for whom he provided the beſt and moſt diligent Maſters; and by their Example encourag'd almoſt all the Nobility of the Kingdom to train up their Children in the ſame way. For the compleating of which Rudiments, he either raiſed or revived [d] publick Schools in ſeveral of the chief Cities of the Land. The Learning, which by his great Diligence he had gain'd in his riper Years, he employ'd not for ſhew or his own honour, but for the publick advantage, in tranſlating the [e] beſt Authors into the vulgar Language; which it ſeems he labour'd much to adorn, and eſpecially affected the *Saxon* Verſes, which he was ſo elegant a Compoſer of, that he gain'd the Name of a Poet to that of a King. The Natural Day, conſiſting of twenty four Hours, he divided into three Parts, whereof he alotted eight to Prayer, Study and Writing, eight to the Care of his Body, in Eating, Exerciſe and Sleep, and the other eight to the Affairs of State; which ſpaces of Time, becauſe he had no better Inſtrument to meaſure them by, he mark'd out by the burning of a great Wax Taper, diſtinguiſh'd into ſo many parts, which as ſoon as they were each of them burned, he had a Perſon who attended it to give him notice. His Revenues alſo he proportion'd into as good an Order, making his Liberality equal to all his other Expences; in which, that he might not be over-laviſh, he took an exact account of all his Income, cauſed a general Survey of his Kingdom to be made, and had all the Branches of his Revenue to be regiſter'd in a Book, which he kept in his Treaſury at *Winchester*. In this regular Courſe did he live, notwithſtanding the various Changes of his Fortune, and the weak Habit of Body he lay under, and reign'd twenty ſeven Years; leaving his Son *Edward*, a noble and worthy Prince, his Succeſſor.

His Compoſures, and good Management of his Time and Expences.

EDWARD, [f] [Sirnamed the Elder] tho' he was much inferiour to his Father in Learning, much excell'd him in Power, being a warlike, couragious and fortunate Prince: For he was abſolute King of *Mercia*, and had the actual Poſſeſſion of it, for which *Alfred* receiv'd only a certain Homage; and, as ſome Writers aſſures us, rul'd over the *Eaſt-Angles* and People of *Northumberland*; tho' we find by the Laws that he and *Guthrum* made by joint-conſent, that they held the ſame Correſpondence as his Father had. He conquer'd the *Britains* in *Wales*, and fortify'd and furniſh'd with ſtrong [g] Garriſons divers Towns in *England*, whoſe Situation made them fit to prevent the Incurſions of the *Danes*, and was the whole twenty three Years that he reign'd in continual Wars, and in them very fortunate. And indeed his Father himſelf, and many of his Succeſſors, during the Wars with the *Danes*, tho' they loſt their Eaſe, yet made a much more valuable Purchaſe of Honour by it; For this National Calamity kept them in ſuch continual Exerciſe, that they had no time to indulge themſelves in Eaſe and Luxury; but were obliged thereby to be more [h] pious, juſt and careful in their Government: For otherwiſe it had been impoſſible for them to have held out ſo long againſt the *Danes* as they did, being a People of that Vigour and undaunted Courage, as no adverſe Fortune could deter them, ſo as to let go the hold that they had gotten upon this Nation, who, if they had met with an unactive Prince for their Enemy, would ſoon have wrought themſelves into the whole. And this was the Reaſon that the Succeſſion of the *Saxon* Monarchy is ſomething broken, the People being forc'd to chooſe a more able Prince, where the direct Line impoſed a Minor, or unfit Perſon upon them; as in

Edward's Succeſs againſt the Danes.

A. D. 924.

ATHELSTAN, or ETHELSTAN, who tho' he was an Illegitimate Son of King *Edward*, was yet preferr'd before his Lawful Son *Edmund*, who was under Age, and ſo unfit for a Kingdom in thoſe difficult times, becauſe he was grown to Man's Eſtate, and promis'd no ſmall Advantages to the Nation from his Courage and Prudence. He was therefore Crown'd with as great Solemnity and Joy as any of his Anceſtors, and by an unanimous Election made their King. His Conduct in his Government anſwer'd the Expectation the People had of him. He prov'd Couragious [i] againſt his Enemies, Juſt to his People, and Zealous for Religion, in which Noble Actions, having ſpent a Reign of ſixteen Years, he dy'd as honourably as he liv'd, but without Iſſue.

Athelſtan's Courage and Virtues.

940.

EDMUND his Brother ſucceeded him: A Prince equal to any of his Predeceſſors in his [k] Valour and Virtues, had he liv'd to have given a full Proof of them. In the five Years he reign'd, ſo fortunate

[a] It is ſaid, that on the South-ſide of the *Thames*, the People of *England* were ſo illeterate, that few or none could read.

[b] He alſo made a Law, that all Freemen that had two Hides of Land ſhould keep their Sons at School till fifteen Years old.

[c] Viz. *Neoth*, *John* of St. *Davids*, and *Joannes Monachus*, whom he plac'd in his School at *Oxford*, now *University-College*, as he did *Scotus* and *Grimbald* in another, now part of *Brazen-noſe-College*.

[d] He founded the Univerſity of *Oxford*, a School at *Crikelade* in *Wiltſhire* for Greek, and *Lechlade* in *Glouceſterſhire* for Latin. He built three Monaſteries, viz. *Ethelinge*, *Wincheſter* and *Shaftsbury*, in one of which he was bury'd, *viz. Wincheſter*.

[e] *Gregory*'s Paſtoral, *David*'s Pſalms, *Boethius*, *Bede*'s Hiſtory, *&c.*

[f] He was Crown'd at *Kingſtone* upon *Thames*, and is the firſt of our *Engliſh* Kings whom we read to have been Anointed at his Coronation, according to the Cuſtom of the *Jewiſh* Kings.

[g] He erected *Hereford Caſtle*, to curb the Rebellious Temper of the *Welchmen*, and *Cheſter*, *Hereford*, &c.

[h] An Inſtance of his pious Care was in repairing the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, burnt by the *Danes*, and reſtoring it to its Luſtre.

[i] He conquer'd the *Scots*, and by the Prayers of *John* of *Beverley*, is ſaid to have obtain'd a Sign, that the *Scots* ought to be ſubject to the *Engliſh*, which was this: He ſtruck a Rock with his Sword, and cut a Yard deep into it; which is to be ſeen near the Caſtle of *Dunbar* at this Day. *Rauh. Hiſt. Wint.* p. 211. He among many other Victories over the *Danes*, in one more Signal ſlew five Kings, twelve Captains, and almoſt all their Army; and ſo brought them to yield him a quiet Reign over all *England*. At the Concluſion of which Agreement, the ſingle Combat of the famous *Guy* Earl of *Warwick* and *Colbrand* the *Daniſh* Giant, is ſaid to have decided all Differences, the Victory falling to the *Engliſh* Champion. Tho' this Story is ſuſpected of Falſhood.

[k] He is ſaid to have recover'd *Lincoln*, *Derby*, *Stafford*, *Leiceſter*, from the *Danes*, and converted them to the Chriſtian Faith.

fortunate were his Arms, that none of his Enemies could ſtand before him; but tho' he eſcaped in the midſt of Dangers, yet he met with his Death in his own Palace, being ſlain at a Feaſt in his own Houſe, by the Hand of a baſe Aſſaſſin, in the midſt of his Nobles and People, who admir'd and lov'd him. He left two Sons, but being both too young to enter upon a Kingdom ſo full of Troubles,

EDRED his Brother was preferr'd before them both, who inheriting the Virtues and Bravery of his Anceſtors, maintain'd his Kingdom ſtoutly againſt the continual Inrodes of the *Danes* all his Reign, which laſted but ten Years; when dying, he left his Kingdom to

A. D. 955. EDWIN, or EDWY, his Nephew, the eldeſt Son of his Brother *Edmund*, (a [a] vicious and extravagant Youth) who declining from the excellent Qualities of his Anceſtors, was an Happineſs to his People in nothing but his ſhort Reign of four Years; after which dying, he left his Kingdom to

959. EDGAR, his Brother, a Prince of great Worth: He was indeed very Young when he came to his Throne, being but ſixteen Years old; but being of a pliable Diſpoſition, and willing to admit of Counſel, was by the grave Advice of his Biſhops, (who in thoſe Religious times had an abſolute ſway over the Hearts and Affections of moſt Men) ſo inſtructed in all the Methods and Rules of a good Government and Religion, that he became a moſt heroical Prince, and admirable Governor.

His Navy built againſt the Pirates. Among other his excellent Acts of Government, he provided a mighty Navy to ſecure his Coaſts from Invaſion, which as he gather'd from lamentable Examples (tho' late) would be the beſt way to keep the like Calamities out of this Nation for the future; which for ſome Ages paſt, and at that time did greatly diſturb and afflict it, not being expert in Sea-affairs. For when the *Romans* firſt conquer'd it, the *Britains* had no Shipping, but a few ſmall Boats made of Wicker, or Oſiers, cover'd with Hides; with which they could make no Oppoſition to the *Romans*, nor after to the *Danes*, who had very ſtrong Ships, as the Times then were, and therefore eaſily found a ſecure Place to land on ſo naked Coaſts. *Egbert* indeed is ſaid to have provided a ſtrong Navy about the Year 840. and *Alfred* thirty or forty Years after is reported to have done the like: But their Ships being either conſum'd by the Enemy, or decay'd and loſt by diſuſe and neglect, *Edgar* builds a freſh Navy, and ſets out a Fleet of ſixteen hundred Sail, as ſome write, and others ſay * more; he divided it into four Parts, appointing them their ſeveral Points to cruize at, thereby to ſecure his Coaſts from Pirates, and all foreign Enemies, himſelf every Year in part of his Navy, ſailing round the Iſle, of which he ſtil'd himſelf King.

* Three thouſand.

He was abſolute Monarch of England. And that he might compleatly reduce the Nation to one Monarchy and Name, he ſtil'd himſelf King of *Albion*, as appears from the Charter granted by him to the Abbey of *Malmsbury* in theſe Words, *Ego Edgarus totius Albionis Baſileus, nec non Maritimorum, ſeu Inſulauorum Regum circum-habitantium*, &c. *i. e.* 'I *Edgar* King of all *Albion*, and of the 'Kings inhabiting the Iſles, and Sea-coaſts there-'of, &c. For having firſt of all the *Saxon* Kings made Peace with the *Danes*, and granted them a quiet Settlement among his own People in all his Dominions, he had a Sovereign Rule over them: And *Kenneth* King of *Scots* did him homage, whether for *Cumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, given to that Crown by King *Edmund* his Father, or for his whole Kingdom, I cannot affirm; and five Kings of *Wales* did the like for their Country, coming all to him at his Court at *Cardiffe*: So that he ſeems the firſt abſolute Monarch of this Land.

He was ſtiled Pacificus. [b] The general Peace which he enjoy'd through his whole Reign, procur'd him the honourable Title of *Pacificus*, and made his Kingdom, always a Stranger before to ſo great a Bleſſing, very flouriſhing and proſperous during [c] his Time, which was ſixteen Years. But it laſted little longer than his Reign; and, as if it had been made for him, as it was by him, was almoſt bury'd in his Grave. He dy'd young, *viz.* in the 32d Year of his Age, and left his Son *Edward*, a Child, to inherit his Throne; who, not being able to avoid the cruel Deſigns which his Mother-in-Law *Elfrida* had form'd to raiſe her Son *Ethelred* to his Dignity, fell a Sacrifice to her Ambition; and being ſo robb'd of his Earthly, was untimely tranſlated to a Celeſtial Crown: He was murther'd by her own Hand in her Houſe (*Corfe-Caſtle*) in the Iſle of *Purbeck*, as he was hunting, having loſt his Company, and coming thither to viſit her, and refreſh himſelf, tir'd with the Chaſe. 975. *St. Edward.*

ETHELRED, the Son of King *Edgar*, by his ſecond Wife *Elfrida*, having gotten the Crown by his his Mother's Cruelty from his elder Brother, was put into the full poſſeſſion of it by St. *Dunſtan*; who [d] againſt his Will crown'd him King of *England*. It is ſaid, that the Holy Man preaching the Sermon before his Coronation, prophetically foretold the Miſeries which ſhould follow his unjuſt Acquiſition, in theſe words; *Quoniam aſpiraſti ad regnum per mortem fratris tui*, &c. *i. e.* "Be- 978. *St. Dunſtan's Reproof of his Uſurpation.*
"cauſe thou haſt aſpired to the Crown by the "Death of thy Brother, whom thy wicked Mo-"ther hath ſlain, Thus ſaith the Lord, The "Sword ſhall never depart from thy Houſe, ra-"ging againſt thee all the Days of thy Life; de-"ſtroying thy Poſterity, till thy Kingdom be "tranſlated to another Nation, whoſe Cuſtoms "and Language thy People know not: Nor ſhall "thy Sin, and that of thy cruel Mother, and her "Accomplices in that bloody Fact, be expiated "but by long Puniſhment." Whether this Speech were thus deliver'd or no, may perhaps be doubted by ſome: But 'tis certain, it was verified by the Event. For the new erected Monarchy thro' a Divine Curſe upon the Governor, fell immediately in pieces, and two Conqueſts by foreign Nations, within the ſpace of fifty Years, followed.

Danes freſh Aſſaults and Succeſs againſt the Engliſh. The *Danes*, *in the firſt place, being multiplied* among themſelves, and having much ſtrengthen'd their Intereſts by marrying with the *Engliſh* in the late Peace, which they enjoyed twenty Years together, found themſelves in a better Condition to oppoſe them with good Succeſs than they had ever been; eſpecially obſerving that the *Engliſh* were unſatisfied with their King, diſaffected to

[a] He hated the Monks, and is ſaid to have baniſh'd *Dunſtan* for reproving his Exceſſes: But we muſt beware how we believe Monkiſh Writers, when they write of their Enemies.

[b] In all his Reign no foreign Army diſquieted the Peace of this Nation.

[c] But in this Peace the *Engliſh* are ſaid to have learn'd ſuch exceſſive Drinking, that *Edgar* was forc'd to make a ſevere Law againſt Drinking, That no Man ſhould drink beyond certain Nicks or Marks made in their Pots for that end.

[d] S. *Dunſtan* would have had *Edgith*, the Siſter of *Edward* the Martyr, crown'd Queen.

his Government, and divided among themſelves, ſo that 'twas very improbable they could or would make any tolerable Reſiſtance. Wherefore that they might effect an abſolute Conqueſt of the Land, which they had ſo long attempted in vain, they invited their Country-men out of *Denmark* to come with all the Aſſiſtance they could poſſibly make for them; who thereupon came in ſuch great Multitudes, that they aſſaulted moſt of the Coaſts and Parts of the Nation at once: So that the State was at a loſs how to ſuppreſs their Inſolencies. *Ethelred* encountred them with ſmall Forces once, and again, but to no purpoſe; and therefore was forced to buy his Peace at the Price of 10000 *l.* The *Danes* gladly accepted the Money, but never let the poor *Engliſh* enjoy their Purchaſe: For this Compoſition being too manifeſt a Proof of the *Engliſh* Weakneſs, and the *Danes* Strength, they every Year renewed their Invaſion on purpoſe to ſell their Peace; which they always did at a dearer Rate every Year than other. This produced the [a] firſt Tax that was ever laid upon the *Engliſh*, then known by the Name of *Dane-gelt*; which tho' it was very grievous to the People, yet was continued for many Ages after the Occaſion ceaſed: And in the end (tho' under other Names) became the uſual way of Supply for Princes Wants in time of War and Danger.

The firſt Tax which the Engliſh *were called* Dane-gelt.

Ethelred, by his Gifts, was ſo far from eaſing his People of their Troubles, that he rather procured greater Expences. The *Danes* deſirous of Money growing greater by their Receipts, inſomuch, that *Swain* King of *Denmark*, and *Aulafe*, or *Anlaſe* King of *Norway*, thought it worth their while to go in Perſon upon an Expedition into *England* to return laden with Treaſure, which accordingly they had: And *Aulafe*, who was a Prince of a milder Diſpoſition, was converted to Chriſtianity and baptized. Theſe heavy Burthens, and grievous Calamities, which the *Engliſh* ſuffer'd from Foreigners, were much increaſed by the Diſloyalties and Unfaithfulneſs of *Ethelred*'s own Subjects; his principal Men, who were intruſted in the Defence of the Nation, proving the Betrayers of it, as it uſually happens to broken Fortunes, very few are faithful Friends to them. For when after the Example of *Edgar* his Father, he had provided a great Navy; *Elfrick*, the Admiral, is ſaid to have given Intelligence of their Strength and Deſign to the *Danes*, and ſo diſappointed the whole Intent of it. The Earls *Fran*, *Frithigiſt*, *Godwin*, and *Turkettle*, the Chief Commanders of the Army by Land, being ſecret Friends to the *Danes*, diſcourag'd their Men by Flight from the Battel they had begun, and ſo cauſed their Defeat. *Edric*, Duke of *Mercia*, who after theſe was created General of all the King's Forces; was ſo much the more infamous for his Diſloyalty, by how much the King repoſed the greater Truſt in him: For when he came to engage the Enemy, he feigned himſelf ſick, and left his Army to ſhift for themſelves; who fell into the *Danes* Hands, and left the Country to be their Prey, for which he bore the Name of *Falſe*.

The Unfaithfulneſs of his Officers.

Wilnod, or *Wilmot*, a Nobleman of *Suſſex*; who was for his Miſdemeanour out-lawed and baniſhed by the King, infeſted the Coaſts with continual Robberies, having twenty Ships mann'd with Thieves and Pirates. The King ſent eighty Sail of his Ships to take him, which being firſt lamentably torn with a Tempeſt, were ſet upon by *Wilmot*, and being unable to reſiſt were all by him ſet on Fire. This Perfidiouſneſs of the Nobility, tho' it might proceed from their Diſcontents, Emulations, or diſloyal Affections, yet is charg'd upon *Ethelred*'s Pride and Vice, whom yet we find to have been more unfortunate than really weak; and had he had faithful Miniſters of his Affairs, might have gone in the foremoſt Rank of our *Engliſh* Worthies: For he neglected no Occaſion to make a brave Reſiſtance againſt his Enemies, and to that end made great Preparations both by Land and Sea, brought his Affairs many times to a great Ripeneſs; but thro' an unlucky Fate, that lay upon him, he never proved Succeſsful. So that tho' indeed he was a Prince of good Deſigns and Arms, yet being unfortunate in his Actions, he bears a Name of Ignominy and Reproach, which all the deſperate Battels he fought [b], the good Conſtitutions of Government he made, and the great Proviſions which he on all occaſions made for his Kingdoms Safety, can never reſcue him from.

Ethelred *of himſelf no bad Prince.*

To the former Calamities were joyned Famine, and a great Mortality, with unuſual Inundations of the Rivers and Seas, as if God and Man had conſpired together to make this Nation as miſerable as the Sins of the Prince and People deſerved; and nothing would ſatisfie, but their utter Deſtruction.

While the Nation was ſtruggling with theſe heavy Judgments, *Swain* King of *Denmark*, to greaten the Load of their Afflictions, comes with a ſtrong Navy to raiſe new Sums of Money upon the *Engliſh*, oppreſſing the poor diſtreſſed People till he had a Sum of 48000 *l.* granted in an Aſſembly of the States at *London*, paid to him; by which means a Peace, or rather a Bargain of Slavery, was made between the two Nations, That they ſhould dwell quietly together, and enjoy their own Liberties and Properties without any Moleſtation, which was confirmed by ſolemn Oaths on both ſides, and Hoſtages delivered by the *Engliſh*. The *Danes* in this Agreement laid aſide open Hoſtilities indeed, but could not diſſemble their Thoughts, that they were Maſters; and therefore behaved themſelves with [c] great Inſolency to the *Engliſh*, committed many cloſe Outrages; offered many baſe Abuſes to the Wives and Daughters, not only of the meaner Sort, but of the Nobility themſelves; with many other intolerable Diſorders. Theſe things ſo exaſperated the Spirits of the *Engliſh*, that they reſolved upon a full Revenge. One *Hune*, a great Commander, and valiant Soldier of that time, being ſenſible of the Weakneſs of the Nation to right themſelves of ſuch Injuries, propounded a ſecret way of Revenge, by a ſudden and univerſal Maſſacre of the *Danes* in all parts of the Land. *Ethelred* approves the Motion, and advanc'd the Deſign,

The Danes come for Engliſh *Money.*

A Maſſacre of the Danes.

[a] It is ſaid, That *Edric*, the Falſe Duke of *Mercia*, was the Cauſe and Adviſer of this Tax. The Peers, and among them *Siricius*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, were the Promoters of the Compoſition with the *Danes*; but *Edric* to reimburſe his Maſter, deviſed the Impoſition upon the People, which tho' advantageous to himſelf, render'd him odious to the People, eſpecially after it was redoubled, and yet extorted from them, as it was ſhortly after.

[b] He was particularly careful of the due Execution of Juſtice, and made many good Laws for his Judges, injoyning them to do Juſtice, yet with Mercy; to accept no Man's Perſon, and take no Bribes: And was ſo ſtrict in the Obſervance of them, that having found one *Walgeatus*, a Judge, whom he particularly loved, to have broken his Laws, he depoſed him from his Office.

[c] The *Danes* every where treated the *Engliſh* no better than their Slaves: forcing them to Labour, while they ſat at home with their Wives, and like Drones fed on the Honey, which by their indefatigable Induſtry the poor *Engliſh* had gathered. Nor were they herewith contented, but as an open Reproach of their Cowardice, the *Danes* required them to call them Lords; which for more Quietneſs ſake they yielded to.

A. D. 1002. Design, by giving his Orders for the Execution of it [On the Feast of S. *Bricius*, *Nov.* 13. 1002. this bloody Tragedy was acted] with so much implacable Fury and Cruelty, as evidently shewed the Rancour and inveterate Anger the *English* had conceived against them. Neither Temples, nor Altars, Supplications, nor any Bands of Alliance could save them from Slaughter; but where-ever they found the *Danes*, they immediately destroyed them. *Gunhild*, the Sister of *Swain* King of *Denmark*, who had shewed her self a continual Friend to the *English*, and by her Mediation procured them a Peace; yet being a *Dane*, could not escape their Fury, but was slain with [a] her Husband and Son. She being a Woman of a Masculine Courage, met her Death not with Fears, but Threats; telling the Murtherers, that her Blood should cost their Nation dear, and that a severe Revenge should be taken of them for her Death, as it after happened.

Swain revenges the Danes Deaths.

The News of this sad and bloody Fact was soon carried over to *Swain* King of *Denmark*, who as he resented it not with more Grief than Fury, so he made the speediest Preparations he could to revenge it; having now a just occasion to deal with the *English* with the utmost Rigour and Severity, who had first shewn him an Example of unmerciful Cruelty. The next Summer therefore (for sooner such an Expedition was not safe to be attempted) he sets forth for *England* with a great Navy, enter'd the Country in the Western Parts, and after a most barbarous manner ravaged and spoiled it. The *English* not so couragious to maintain their Fact, as they had been to commit it, yielded up the Possession of their Country to him; chusing rather to submit, than stand the Hazard of a Victory. All the Nation became *Swain's*, except the City of *London*, which being strongly fortified, *Ethelred* held out against him, and made a noble Resistance; till he left them, and fled first into the Isle of *Wight* and after into *Normandy*, whether he had sent *Emma* his Queen with her two Sons, *Edward* and *Alfrid*, from the Rage of this Tempest. But within two Months after, he was again invited home by his own People upon the Death of *Swain*, who just when he was ready to have been crowned King of this Island, died; leaving his Son *Canutus* to succeed him in his Fortunes, and accomplish his intended Designs.

Swain's Death.

Ethelred expels Canutus, and gets to London.

Ethelred being returned home, was soon furnished with an Army; and setting upon *Canutus*, lying then at *Lindsey* with his Father's Ships, and *English* Hostages given his Father a little before, forced him to Sea: At which he being enraged, made about to *Sandwich*, where he first treated cruelly all such of *Ethelred's* Friends as he could get into his Power, and then grievously mangling the Hostages, he sent them home, himself returning into his own Country with the Spoils which he and his Father had gotten, to make greater Preparations for the Prosecution of his Purpose the next Year. *Ethelred* in the mean time did not desist from pursuing the Advantage he had got; and to weaken the *Danes* Power and Interest, he, in a General Assembly at *Oxford*, caused many of the *Danish* Nobility to be murther'd; among which was *Sigifrith* and *Morchar*, Earls of *Northumberland*, whom the false Earl *Edric* (who was never backward to be an Actor of Mischief on either side) having invited to a Banquet at his Lodgings, caused there to be kill'd, and their Followers with them; who, having defended themselves and Master, as long as they could, fled into a Church, where they were consum'd in the Flames with the Building.

Canutus having strengthen'd himself with all the Forces he could raise at home, or procure of his Neighbours, with whom he was in League, return'd again to *England* within the Year; and landing at *Sandwich*, had all the West parts surrender'd up to him without resistance, who gave him Pledges for their Obedience, and furnish'd him with Horse and Armour. *Ethelred* lay very dangerously sick, and not being able to oppose the fierce Invader himself, sent his Son *Edmund*, surnamed *Ironside*, with a good Army against him. *Edmund*, a Prince full of Youth and Courage, and every ways fitted to have deliver'd his Country, had he liv'd in better Times, and among faithful People, joyfully march'd against *Canute*, to try his fortune; but in the way being inform'd, that *Edric* the False had promised to betray his Father's Fleet to the Enemy, (which he soon after did, going over to them with forty Ships) and being deserted by *Utred*, one of his chief Commanders, he was obliged to retreat to *London*, the only place which retain'd their Loyalty to their King in his Misfortunes. Hither also *Ethelred* himself, having a little recover'd his Sickness, came with such small Forces as kept their Fidelity to him; but relapsing into his Distemper soon after his arrival, and tired with Troubles, dy'd, having reign'd thirty seven Years, and was bury'd in St. *Paul's* Church at *London*, behind the Quire.

Canutus invades England.

CANUTUS, after the Death of *Ethelred*, (whose long Reign shews, that the Unfortunate often have too long time allotted them, and the Fortunate too little) was by most of the Clergy and Nobility chosen King; only the City of *London*, with some of the Nobility there-abouts, elected *Edmund*, and furnish'd him with so good an Army, that through the couragious Briskness and Vigour of his Youth, (which is generally most fierce in the first Attempts) he had much the [b] better in three successive Battels, fought within three Months after he was made King; and had certainly gain'd a fourth at [c] *Ashdon* or *Essendon*, had not the Disloyal *Edric* forsaken his Sovereign, and carried over his Party to the Enemy, who in all Probability, had receiv'd a deadly Blow without that Assistance, and with it gain'd that fatal Victory, which prov'd the Conquest of *England*: For here *Edmund* lost the Flower of his Nobility, and best of his Soldiers, and among them *Ulchel* the Heroick Earl of *Essex*; who being a Man of great Worth and Courage, stood up boldly in defence of his Country in the time of *Swain*, and gave proof that there were both Hope and Possibility of keeping out the Enemy, had not there wanted Union and Loyalty among them.

A. D. 1016.

Edmund's Success against the Danes.

From this Battel *Edmund* made his escape to *Gloucester*, to gather new Forces; and was not so utterly forsaken by the *English* (tho' *London* by the late Victory fell into the Enemy's hand) but that in a small time he gather'd another powerful Army, and resolv'd to try his Fortune once more with *Canute*, who was swollen with the great Thoughts of this Victory. *Canutus*, on the other side as sollicitous to keep the Advantage he had gotten, as he was lucky to get it, pursues after him, and overtakes him near the River *Severn*. Here, when both Armies were ready to joyn Battel,

Edmund's single Combat with Canutus for the Kingdom, and their division of it.

[a] *Palingus*, a Noble *Dane*, of great Power and Wealth, being a Christian.

[b] At *Gillingham* in *Dorsetshire*, at *Shoreston* in *Worcestershire*, at *Brantford* near *Otford* in *Kent*.

[c] A little Town near *Walden* in *Essex*, where remain certain Hills cast up in Memory of this Victory; and where *Canutus* after built a Church, as a grateful Acknowledgment of God's Gift of the Kingdom to him.

Battel, a Motion of Peace was made; or, in case that could not be accepted, a single Combat between the two Kings, to save Expence of Blood; for 'twas most just, that they who were to wear the Honour should decide the Quarrel, which was not likely to be ended, but with the utter Extirpation of one of the Nations. A single Combat was consented to by both Kings, and in an Isle, surrounded by the *Severn* (now call'd *Alney*) in the sight of the Armies, did they fight for the Kingdom. The Combat was long and equal, but *Edmund* had the Advantage both in Strength and Fortune; for he gave *Canute* a dangerous Wound, and much overpower'd him; which the *Dane* craftily concealing, made a Proposition of Peace, and won *Edmund* to throw down his Arms, and come to this Agreement, That they would live in perfect Love and Friendship one with another, and enjoy an [a] equal Division of the Kindom: To confirm which Agreement, they not only mutually swore, but chang'd Cloaths and Arms, to shew the Unity of their Minds; as tho' *Edmund* were now become *Canutus*, and *Canutus Edmund*. A fatal and ignominious Exchange for so free and couragious a Prince, who not only made himself half a King by this Act, but expos'd himself to that Treachery of his Enemies which he need not have fear'd from their strongest Armies. For in a few Days after this League, he was treacherously [b] slain at *Oxford*, some say by Duke *Edric*, others by his Son, an Evil Egg of an Evil Bird; and so the Kingdom was wholly translated to *Canutus*; who, tho' he liked not Treason, nor approved of the Act of the Traitor, yet embraced willingly the Purchase of both. He reign'd scarce one whole Year, and left two Sons, *Edward* and *Edmund*, and one Daughter, *Margaret*, marry'd to *Malcolm* King of *Scots*.

Edmund Ironside *and* Canutus *divide the Kingdom.*

A. D. 1018. CANUTUS, the Son of *Swain* King of *Denmark*, having thus gotten the absolute Dominion of this Kingdom, govern'd it with greater Justice than he had obtain'd it; putting off his natural Roughness, and conforming to a more civil and smooth Conversation. And that the Nation might be sensible, that he resolv'd, now he was King of it, to study its advantage, he immediately [c] sent away his Navy, and dismissed his hired Soldiers to their own home, and cast himself wholly upon his People; believing, that his Kindness to his People would be a surer way for his Establishment, than the use of Force; which so pleased the Nobles then assembled at *London*, that they consented to give him eighty three thousand Pounds in Silver to pay them off, and discharge them.

Canutus *the* Dane *King of* England.

Canutus *puts* Edric *to Death.*

At his first Accession to the Crown, his Care was to rid himself as well of his false Friends, as of his avowed Enemies. *Edric*, who first came to salute him sole Monarch of *England* (as if he had told him, that he made him so) he order'd to be [d] beheaded, and his Head to be set upon the highest Pinnacle in the Tower of *London*; therein making good the Promise he gave him, when he brought him *Edmund*'s Head, *That he would advance his Head above all the Peers of the Kingdom.* This just Punishment of Treason gave a wonderful Satisfaction to all the Nation, which rejoyced to see his Perfidiousness so well rewarded. After the same manner he, not long after, dealt with the two Earls, *Turkill* and *Ericke*, who being by him banish'd the Nation, and sent into *Denmark*, he caused to be executed upon their arrival there.

His Cruelty to the Heirs of the English *Crown.*

But the Love of his People, and the good Opinion of Justice, which he had gotten by the former Actions, were again soon after lost by his Cruelty to the Royal Branches, *Edmund* and *Edward* the Sons, and [e] *Edwin* the Brother of King *Edmund*; whom in his Opinion being such Impediments to his Dignity, that his Crown could never sit fast, so long as they were alive, he sent to his Brother in *Denmark* to be murther'd: By which Privacy, tho' he thought to have escaped the Infamy of so foul a Fact at home, yet Suspicion alone soon raised him a general Odium among the People. But these young Princes met with kinder usage abroad, than they could have hoped for at home, under *Canutus*'s jealous Eye; for their tender and innocent Years moved their intended Executioner to such Compassion, that he not only spar'd them himself, but convey'd them out of danger, by sending them to *Solomon* King of *Hungary*, to be educated in his Court; where afterwards *Edward*, who survived his Brother, was marry'd to *Agatha*, the Sister of that Queen, and Daughter to the Emperor *Henry* II. by whom he had two Sons, *Edmund* and *Edgar*, and as many Daughters, *Margaret* and *Christian*. *Alfred* and *Edward*, the Sons of King *Ethelred* by *Emma*, were preserved by *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*, their Uncle, and so were out of his Reach.

Canutus being thus rid of his Fears, tho', as he was sensible, with a little damage to his Reputation, set himself to recover his Honour again, by becoming a most eminent Benefactor to the Publick; and to that end employ'd all his Thoughts and Revenues to repair the Damages, which the Nation had suffer'd by the Wars, both in its Buildings and Laws. He erected several Churches and [f] Monasteries, and by his Patents endow'd them with plentiful Estates and Provisions, especially in or near those Places, where he had obtain'd any signal Victories; that at once he might testifie his Devotion and Thankfulness to God. He made many [g] Ecclesiastical and Civil Laws, which he publish'd in the Language of that Time: They are very full of pious Admonitions; which testifie not only the Piety as well as Justice of the King himself, but also that the best way in his opinion to have Laws observed, was to have them first approved in their Consciences. Among other things he inflicted [h] severe Punishment on all Intemperances of his People, and all Offences of ill influence

Canutus's *beneficial Acts to the Nation.*

[a] *Edmund* had for for his part *Kent*, the Kingdoms of *West-Saxons*, *East-Saxons*, and *East-Angles*; and *Canutus* had *Mercia* and *Northumbria*.

[b] He was stabb'd in the Belly by Earl *Edric*'s Son, as he was easing his Body at *Oxford*. *Radb. Hist. Winc.*

[c] At the Persuasion of Queen *Emma*, the Widow of *Ethelred*, marry'd to *Canutus*.

[d] Others say he was smother'd, and cast out of a Window into the *Thames*.

[e] *Edwin* remain'd in *Canutus*'s Court awhile, that King shewing him much Favour; but being a Man of Morose Temper, for which he was call'd the King of Churles, he was never lov'd in the Court, and therefore soon met with Death among his professed Enemies and false Friends; but by what Instruments, we have only Conjecture to inform us.

[f] He, by the advice of *Emma* his Queen, repair'd the old Monastery at *Winchester*, and adorn'd it with so much Gold, and Silver, and Jewels, that it was admir'd for the Riches of it. Particularly he is said to have given a Cross worth a Year's Revenue of the Crown. He built *Bennit*-Abbey in *Norfolk*, and St *Edmund*'s in *Suffolk*.

[g] These Laws, both Ecclesiastical and Civil, were not so much compos'd by him, as *Edgar*; but only were more firmly established: They were the *Saxon* Laws, afterwards more fully enacted by *Edward* the Confessor, and from him called the *Confessor*'s Laws; now for the most part extant in the *Magna Charta*.

[h] He caused all Clergymen guilty of Murthers, Adulteries, or other foul Crimes, to be degraded; Adultereresses to have their Noses slit, *&c.*

influence upon good Manners. Juſt he was in the higheſt degree, but not Cruel; few of his Laws being Sanguinary, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Times, which, tho' rough and warlike, yet had a Way of preſerving good Order in his Kingdom without the Effuſion of much Blood: For no Puniſhments were made capital, but treaſonable Conſpiracies; but all other Crimes were puniſh'd by Fines, Baniſhment, Slavery, or Impriſonment. One Example of his Clemency, among many, is worthy our notice. There was a Law then in force, That *whoſoever had committed Theft, and the Goods were found in his Houſe, all his Family were made Slaves even to the Child in the Cradle.* This Law he abrogated, as moſt unjuſt; and enacted, That *only the Malefactor, and ſuch as aſſiſted him, ſhould ſuffer the Puniſhment; and that the Wife (unleſs the ſtolen Goods were found in her Cuſtody under Lock) ſhould not be guilty, or ſuffer for her Husband's Offence.* By theſe Laws, and other his good Actions, did this King ſo gain the Love and Affections of the People, that he made as abſolute a Conqueſt of their Hearts, as had of their Country; and *England* thought it their Happineſs to be his People and Subjects. Nor did he ſuffer their Affections to cool, but increaſed them daily by many popular Actions; for he not only paid a ſingular Reverence and Honour to the Memory of the late King *Edmund* his Confederate, but ſeverely puniſh'd all thoſe that had any ſhare in murthering him. Then he marry'd the Wife of King *Ethelred*, *Emma*, (tho' his Bed was no great Honour to her, who had loſt her former Husband by his Hands) by whoſe means he ſecured himſelf from any attempts of the Duke of *Normandy* for his Nephews, in regard that ſhe might have Iſſue by him, who by contract of Marriage were to ſucceed.

Canutus's Clemency.

Canutus made King of Norway.

Scarce was this Monarch well eſtabliſh'd in his Kingdom over the *Engliſh*, but another offer'd it ſelf. The People of *Norway* contemning the weakneſs of their King, and conſpiring to depoſe him, broke out into Factions, and revolted. *Canutus* faſtens upon this Opportunity, and partly by his great Strength, which he carry'd out of *England*, and partly by his Money and great Reputation, he ſo much prevail'd with the People as to chooſe him their King. And ſo he became the moſt Puiſſant and Renowned Prince in all theſe Parts of the World, being entitled, *King of England*, [a] *Denmark and Norway*. With his Power he enlarged his Magnificence; eſpecially towards the Church, which he ſought all Means to advance, either to appeaſe his own Conſcience, or ingratiate himſelf with his People; which at that time being addicted to Religion, were much pleaſed with ſuch Acts of Devotion. And having enriched his Kingdom with many Acts of his pious Bounty, he undertakes a Journey to *Rome* to viſit the Sepulchres of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*: All along the Way, [b] he did many Works of Charity, by freeing all Streights and Paſſages from Toll, which had uſually been exacted before of Travellers that paſſed that way. At *Rome* he gave many large Gifts to St. *Peter's* Church, and by his Mediation obtain'd, that the *Saxon* School, founded there by his Predeceſſors, Kings of *England*, ſhould be freed from all Impoſitions and Tributes for ever. What Entertainment he met at *Rome* from the Pope, *Conradus* the Emperor, and divers other Chriſtian Princes, he gives an account of to his Biſhops and Nobility, in a Letter written to them from thence; wherein he earneſtly exhorts them to take care in his abſence, that Juſtice be impartially adminiſter'd to all his Subjects, without any regard to his advantage or profit; for he would by no means have his Revenue enlarg'd by the Injuries of others. He alſo ſtraitly charges them, that the Dues which are owing either to the Church at home, or the See of *Rome*, be all paid, and diſcharg'd before his Return.

Thus did this great Prince, the mightieſt and moſt abſolute Monarch that ever yet had ſat on the *Engliſh* Throne, the Original of a new Line of Kings, and of a new Government, ſtrive to lay a good Foundation of a laſting Succeſſion in theſe Kingdoms, and by his good Deeds bring the Divine Favour upon his Poſterity. And who would have thought, but he might have been a Root of as long a Deſcent, as afterward the *Norman* was, having as numerous a Male-Iſſue, being better Belov'd, of greater Power and Virtues than he? But it was not in his Fate. He left ſeveral Sons, *viz. Swane*, *Harold*, *Hardicanute*; of which, tho' two enter'd the *Engliſh* Succeſſion, yet they enjoy'd it but a little while: So that the Poſſeſſion, which *Canutus* had purchas'd at ſo great Expence of Blood and Labour, was loſt in a manner with him.

Canutus's Greatneſs, but want of Succeſſion.

HAROLD, the Son of *Canutus*, after his Father's Death, ſucceeded him in his Kingdom of *England*; being, as ſome ſay, made King by his Father's Appointment; but as others write, by the Election of the *Daniſh* Nobility in an Aſſembly at *Oxford*. *Godwin*, Earl of *Kent*, who was left Guardian (as he pretended) of the Queen and her Children, with moſt of the *Engliſh* Nobility, ſtood for *Hardicanute* the Son of *Emma*, or elſe *Alfrid* the Son of *Ethelred*, who is ſaid to have come out of *Normandy* upon the Death of *Canutus* to claim the Crown: But *Harold*, who had gotten Poſſeſſion of it, had ſo ſtrengthened himſelf againſt all Pretenders, that notwithſtanding this Oppoſition, he was proclaimed and [c] crowned King. The firſt Act of his Reign was to ſeize the Treaſure of his Step-mother Queen *Emma*, whom he baniſhed out of his Realm; then he put out the Eyes of *Alfrid* her Son, who had been a Competitor with him for the Kingdom, and committed him to a loathſome Priſon, where he died. Earl *Godwin* is reported to have betrayed the young Prince into the King's hand. The Queen *Emma* fled to *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, her Kinſman, where ſhe remained to the Death of *Harold*, who reigned but four Years; and then ſhe returned into *England* with her Son *Hardicanute*, who accidentally came out of *Denmark* to viſit her at *Bruges* [d]. *Harold* died without Children.

A. D. 1036. Harold *choſen King by the* Danes.

HARDICANUTE, after the Death of *Harold*, his Half-Brother, was proclaimed King of *England*. The Nation promiſed themſelves great Happineſs under his Government, but they found themſelves ſoon diſappointed; for he no ſooner was inveſted with the Royal Dignity, but he made himſelf odious to his People, by a Piece of unnatural

1041. Hardicanute *loſt the Love of his People.*

[a] *Denmark* was given to *Hardicanute*, and he was crown'd King of it in his Father's Life, and *Norway* to *Swane*; but *Norway* revolted.

[b] He paid ſo much for the *French* to their King, that he eaſed them of one half of the heavy Taxes they then lay under.

[c] By *Ailnothus*, or *Elnothus*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, tho' againſt his Will, becauſe he judg'd the Crown to belong to the *Sons* of *Emma*.

[d] It is ſaid, That *Harold*'s Cruelty and bad Government over the *Engliſh*, begot ſuch an Averſion to all the *Daniſh* Race, that it was enacted by the *Engliſh* Nobles, That no *Danes* ſhould ever after Reign over them.

unnatural Revenge; in cauſing the Body of King *Harold* to be taken out of its Tomb, and having ſevered the Head from it, to be caſt into the River *Thames*: Then he made a ſtrict Enquiry after thoſe who had been inſtrumental in the Death of *Alfrid*, his Brother by his Mother. Earl *Godwin*, and *Livingus* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, were accuſed of it. [*Alfricus* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*] The Biſhop was deprived of his See, but the Earl by a rich Preſent of a Ship of Gold, made his Proteſtations of Innocency to be eaſily credited by the King and the Nobility, among whom he had great Intereſt. The Biſhop finding the Strength of Gold, by a Sum obtain'd his Biſhoprick, and ſo that bloody Act was wholly imputed to the late King.

Not long after this, by the Inſtigation of Earl *Godwin*, he impoſed a general Grievance on the whole Kingdom by a prodigal Gift, which he beſtowed on his Fleet of *Danes*; ordering every Mariner to be paid eight Marks, and every Captain ten, which he raiſed upon the State; a Tax ſo heavy in thoſe Days, that it cauſed a Tumult at *Worceſter*, wherein [a] the Collectors were killed. Thus by his Vices and ill Actions, he was a Burthen to his Nation, and only an Eaſe by his ſhort Reign; for he died in the ſecond Year of his Reign at *Lambeth*, where he was celebrating a Marriage. He was thought to have been poiſon'd. With him ended the Government of the *Danes* in *England* (having continued twenty ſix Years only under the three laſt Kings) and ſo the Power, which no Force could withſtand in *England*, expired of it ſelf, and the Nation was left to chuſe a King of their own, without Competition. There being one Son of *Ethelred* remaining alive, *viz.*

Edward *the Son of* Ethelred, *crowned King of* England.

EDWARD the CONFESSOR, the Son of *Ethelred*, by *Emma* his Queen, who by the provident Care of his Mother, was ſent into *Normandy* to ſecure him from the *Daniſh* Force, was immediately ſent for upon the Death of *Hardicanute*: And being [b] elected King by the general Conſent of the Nation, was crowned at *Winchester* by *Edſine* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, *An.* 1042. being then about forty Years of Age. *Godwin*, Earl of *Kent*, was a Principal Agent in this Preferment: But for his own Ends. The Kingdom (having dearly paid for the Admiſſion of Strangers) made an Order, That he ſhould not bring any *Normans* with him. The firſt publick Act he did, was, That he remitted the heavy Tribute called *Danegelt*, impoſed by his Father, which amounted to 40000 *l.* a Year, and had been [c] paid for forty Years paſt. He cauſed a Body of the beſt and moſt wholſome [d] Laws, to be collected out of thoſe of the *Mercians*, *Weſt-Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Northumbrians*, and to be written in *Latin*. He was indeed a Man very exemplary for his [e] Piety, but fit for no time, but thoſe peaceable and quiet Times he lived in: For having been educated with the Nuns of *Juniegas* in *Normandy*, he ſcarce knew himſelf to be a Man, when he came into *England*, much leſs a King. And of this, ſome give us this notable Inſtance, That being very angry with a Country Fellow for diſturbing his Game when he was a hunting; he ſaid, I would puniſh thee were I able. And as if he had vowed Continency with the Nuns, with whom he was bred, he was ſo far from knowing other Women, that tho' he lived many Years in a formal Shew of Marriage with his Wife, yet after his Death ſhe proteſted her ſelf a Virgin.

A. D. 1042.

Godwin marries his Daughter to the King.

The Eaſineſs and Simplicity of the King was made a means of raiſing himſelf and Family to the higheſt Pitch of Greatneſs by Earl *Godwin*; who firſt inſinuating, that he was the chief Man that raiſed the King to his Crown, obtain'd that his Daughter ſhould be accepted in Marriage by the King, by which the whole Nation in a manner came to be governed by the Earl. *Syward*, Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Leofrick*, Earl of *Hereford*, Men of Spirit and Greatneſs took notice of his aſpiring Ambition, and ſeeing him ſo much for himſelf, ſtood up the more for the King. This Emulation proved advantageous to the Nation; for as *Godwin* ſought to greaten himſelf by the Conqueſt of *Wales* for the King; which his Son *Harold*, Earl of the *Weſt-Saxons*, effected, by vanquiſhing the two *Welch* Kings, *Ris* and *Griffith*; ſo *Syward* deprived *Macbeth*, the *Scotiſh* Uſurper, of his Life and Crown, and reſtored *Melcolm* to his juſt Right. *Robert*, Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, a *Norman*, much in Favour with the King, was alſo *Godwin*'s Enemy: So that not only he miſſed of his preſent Deſigns, but through the Sagaciouſneſs of his Enemies, his future Aims were diſcovered, which they made manifeſt to the King upon this Occaſion.

A Diſturbance at Dover.

Euſtathius, Earl of *Bullogne*, who had married *Goda* the King's Siſter, having been at Court to viſit the King; and in his return again to *France*, his Harbinger, who was ſent before to provide him and his Retinue Lodgings at *Dover*, behaving himſelf rudely and inſultingly to a Citizen, was ſlain by him. The Earl after arriving with his Company, purſues the Perſon and ſlew him, with eighteen more. The City being alarm'd at this piece of Revenge, took Arms, and ſlew twenty two of the Earl's Servants: At this, the Earl haſtens to the King, complains of the Citizens Rudeneſs, and ſo aggravates the Matter, that Earl *Godwin* was immediately commanded with a ſufficient Force to go down to *Dover*, and chaſtiſe them for this Inſolency. The Earl knowing, that this Sentence proceeded from the Information of one ſide only, adviſed the King firſt to ſend for ſome of the Chief of the Citizens to anſwer the Charge, and according to their Defence, to proceed. This wholeſome Counſel was interpreted by his Enemies, as if the Earl favoured the King's Enemies, and deſigned to make himſelf popular: And they ſo far poſſeſs'd the King of it, that he began then to have a Suſpicion of his Affection to him, and at length looked upon him as aiming at his Crown; wherefore not long after, the Earl was ſummoned to a Parliament at *Gloceſter*, but neither he, nor any of his Sons would appear: But ſuſpecting, that his Enemies had ſome ill Deſigns againſt him, he raiſed ſome Forces, under

Godwin refuſes to appear at Gloceſter.

[a] One *Thurſtan* and *Frader*.

[b] There was a nearer Heir to the Crown alive, *viz.* *Edward* the Son of *Edmund Ironſide*; But he having none in the Nation to ſollicit his Intereſt, loſt his Inheritance, and this *Edward* was by Election placed in it.

[c] By all the Subjects of *England*, except the Clergy, who thro' the Piety of thoſe Times were exempted from all Taxes, which ſince have been doubled upon them.

[d] Theſe Laws are for the moſt part the common Laws of *England*, now in uſe; ſo called becauſe they are ſuch Uſages and Practices, as by long Experience have been found for the common Good of this Nation: Among theſe Laws he enacted, *That no Perſon ſhould be moleſted or troubled with any Law-ſuits upon certain Feſtivals: And that Criminals flying to the Church for Safety, ſhould be protected and apprehended by none but the Biſhop and his Miniſters.* With many other excellent Laws.

[e] His Piety was ſo acceptable to God, as well as remarkable among his Subjects, that God gave him a Power of healing Diſeaſes miraculouſly; and from him it is, that the miraculous Gift of healing the Diſeaſe from thence called the King's-Evil, is derived to the Chriſtian Kings of *England*, tho' common to the Kings of *France* with them, and by as good a Title.

under a Pretence of ſuppreſſing the *Welſh*, who at that time made no Diſturbance. Whereupon the Parliament removed to *London*, and there ſummoned him again to appear, and diſmiſſing his Forces to come to them, with twelve Men only, he returned them this Anſwer, *That he ſhould be content to diſmiſs his Forces, do any thing the King would command him, provided it were with Safety of his Life and Honour; but to attend upon them without a ſufficient Guard, he was ſatisfied was for neither.* The Parliament having received this Anſwer, knew no other way to rid themſelves of him, but to command him to depart the Realm within five Days, which he did; and with his Sons, *Swain*, *Toſto*, and *Girth*, ſailed into *Flanders*, where *Toſto* married the Daughter of Earl *Baldwin* V. *Harold* his eldeſt Son fled into *Ireland*. The King puts away his Queen, that ſhe might ſhare in the Diſgrace of her Family, and Misfortunes of her Kindred; tho' according to the Deſcription which is given by the Writers of thoſe Times of her, ſhe was moſt undeſerving of that Puniſhment: For they ſay, ſhe was a Lady of great Worth and rare Parts; very learned and beautiful, and of as fair a Mind as Body. Earl *Godwin*, in his Exile (while the *Normans* and his Enemies had the King's Favour) fell to Piracy; diſturbed and plundered the Coaſts, and ventured up to *London* by the River: Where being ſo popular, that no Forces would oppoſe him, he was admitted to ſuch a Peace as he would make; which being ſuch, as if not directly, yet in the end would tend to the Ruine of the *French* and his other Enemies, they thought it their beſt Courſe to forſake the Court and Kingdom, but carried with them ſuch a true Notion of the Kingdom's Weakneſs, thro' the Diſtractions of the People, and Factions of great Men, as a little after gave them Encouragement to attempt the Conqueſt of it.

Earl Godwin banished.

Earl *Godwin* being again reſtored to his Country, and in great Credit with the King, made uſe of his Intereſt and Authority to gratifie his own revengeful Temper, and injure others. *Robert*, Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and his *Normans*, he cauſed to be baniſhed, and did many Acts of Injuſtice to the People; which did ſo blacken thoſe peaceable Times, and diſaffect the People to the King, that they accounted him among the worſt of Governours, who tho' he did no ill himſelf, yet ſuffered his Authority to be abuſed by thoſe that did. The Queen *Emma* had her ſhare of Trouble in this Reign, ſuffering much, both in her Eſtate and good Name, thro' *Godwin*'s Hatred to her. Her grand Accuſation was, That ſhe had kept Company too familiary with *Alwyne*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and by her ſcandalous Behaviour diſgraced the Royal Line; for which ſhe was deprived of her [a] Riches and Eſtates, and impriſoned. The Queen, to vindicate her Innocency, was contented to undergo the ſevere Tryal of [b] Fire-Ordeal (which was to paſs blindfold with her bare Feet over nine Plow-ſhares, made red hot, and laid at even diſtance one by another) which ſhe ſafely performed, and by it, recovered her Fame and Honour with the King and Nobles of the Land, who were all Spectators of this miraculous Act: But Earl *Godwin*'s [c] Death put an end to farther Trouble by his Means.

Earl Godwin's Revenge upon the Normans.

Edward having now reigned near twenty Years, and being pretty well advanced in Age, and being without Iſſue, began to think upon his [d] Succeſſion, and to ſecure that in his own Line, ſent for his Nephew, *Edward* called the Out-law, out of *Hungary*, with his Children. They liv'd ſome time in his Court; but *Edward* died before him, leaving only one Son. *Edgar*, ſurnamed *Atheling*, whom he had by his Wife *Agatha*, Daughter to the Emperor *Henry* II. who being very young and bred a Stranger, which are really no juſt Bar to Right, was neglected at the Death of his Uncle, the pious King *Edward*, which happened *An.* 1065. when he had reigned twenty four Years. His Body was interred in the Church of *Weſtminſter*, which he had newly founded, and his Throne diſpoſed out of his Line to *Harold*.

A. D. 1065.

HAROLD, the Son of Earl *Godwin*, the next Day after *Edward*'s Death, was raiſed to the Regal Dignity, and made King; whether by any Title he derived from the *Daniſh* Kings, by his Mother, (who was the Siſter of *Swain*, King of *Denmark*) or by mere Election of the Nobility, it is not eaſy to determine: But it ſeems, that the Circumſtances of the Times were ſuch, as neceſſarily required, that the Scepter ſhould be put into the hands of ſuch a Perſon as was beſt able to undergo the Burthen of War, and the other great Troubles the Nation was likely to fall into, thro' the [e] various Claims, then put in both by the *Dane* and *Norman* for the *Engliſh* Crown, and none could be fitter for it in ſuch a Juncture than *Harold*, who was judged on all hands the moſt eminent Man of the Kingdom, both for his Deſerts and great Alliance with the Nobility of this Kingdom, both by his own Pedigree and his Wife's; who was *Algith*, the Siſter of *Edwin* and *Morchar*, the Earls of *Yorkſhire* and *Cheſter*. Neither did he deceive the Expectations of the Nation in electing him; for he took the beſt Methods to govern the Kingdom well, and made ſuch Proviſions for the Safety of the Nation, as the moſt active and politick Prince could do: And had he had but a favourable Fortune, and faithful and courageous Subjects, to ſecond his brave Actions, the Attempts of the Enemies of the Kingdom had been in vain; but the approaching Danger ſo terrified the Nation, that the Terrour robbed them at once of their Courage and Diligence.

Harold Son of Earl Godwin made King of England.

Harold's Conqueſt of his Brother Toſto, and Harold King of Norway.

The firſt that gave his Reign any Diſturbance was his own Brother *Toſto*; who in the time of King *Edward*, being entruſted with the Government of *Northumberland*, behaved himſelf with ſuch Pride and Cruelty to the People, that he was baniſhed the Kingdom. Being in *Normandy*, when his Brother obtain'd the Crown of *England*, with *William* Duke of that Country, whoſe Wife's Siſter

[a] It is ſaid, that *Edward* as ſoon as he came to the Throne, depriv'd *Emma* of all her Eſtate; only ordering her a neceſſary Maintenance, for her Cruelty to him in his Adverſity, in denying him whatever he asked of her.

[b] The Sentence in ſuch Caſes was, That the Perſon guilty was to walk with the whole Weight of her Body and bare Feet upon the nine Plow-ſhares red hot, and if ſhe were not burnt ſhe was judged innocent; if ſhe were, ſhe ſuffer'd farther Puniſhment: And this was the Sentence pronounc'd upon the Queen, and Tryal ſhe went through, though this Hiſtorian ſeems to underſtand it otherwiſe.

[c] It is ſaid, That Earl *Godwin*'s Death was thus: Being at a Banquet with the King, he ſuſpected by ſome Reflection the King made on him, that he thought him guilty of the Death of his Brother *Alfred*; and to clear himſelf of it, he wiſhed that the next Morſel might choak him if he was any Cauſe of it. The King, we are told, bleſſed the Morſel, and he eating, was choaked.

[d] This makes the Story, that *Edward* gave the Crown to *William* Duke of *Normandy*, very improbable.

[e] Of *William* Duke of *Normandy*, who claimed by *Edward*'s Will; and *Harold Harfager* King of *Norway*, who claimed it by deſcent from *Canutus* the *Dane*.

Sister he had marry'd, he was easily instigated through Hatred to his Brother, to invade *England*; and being furnished with a Fleet and Men, he first assaults the Isle of *Wight*, and then fell upon the Coasts of *Kent*, where he plunder'd some of the Inhabitants, but was soon driven off by the King's Navy: Whereupon he withdrew from thence into the North parts, and attempting to land, was so warmly received by *Morcar* and *Edwin*, the Earls of *Yorkshire* and *Chester*, that they forced him to fly, tho' with loss to themselves. *Tosto* seeing all his endeavours in vain, and being unwilling to return to *Normandy* with nothing but ill News, repairs to the King of *Scots*, to beg his Assistance, but received a Denial; by which he was reduced almost to despair. In his return he met with *Harold*, surnamed [a] *Harfager*, King of *Norway*, who having conquer'd the *Orcades*, was coming with three hundred Ships to invade *England*, to whom *Tosto* joyn'd himself, and encourag'd the Attempt. They landed at *Tinmouth*, and breaking through the faint Opposition they met with in those parts, which were unprovided to encounter an Enemy, march'd into the heart of the Country without any loss [b]. Near *Stamford*, *Harold* met them with a strong Army, and after a long and eager Battel obtain'd remarkable Victory; slaying, besides the two Captains, *Harfager* and *Tosto*, the greatest part and worthiest Men of their Army.

The Duke of Normandy invades England, and conquers it.

William, Duke of *Normandy*, not discourag'd by the Misfortune of *Tosto*, was resolved not to give over his Claim of the Crown of *England*, which he [c] pretended was given him by the last Will of King *Edward* his Kinsman; and therefore, notwithstanding this ill success, provided a great Navy, and strong Army, to make a second Attempt. He landed at *Pemsey*, not far from *Hastings*, in *Sussex*. *Harold* remained yet in the North; but upon the News of *William*'s arrival, hasted with all the Forces he had into the South. At *London* he met with a Messenger from *William*, who came to demand his Kingdom *Harold* could scarcely hear the Message with patience; but checking his Passion, he charged him to depart out of his Country: And immediately mustering his Army near *London*, he march'd against the Invader. About seven Miles from *Hastings* was the Controversie, decided between *Harold* and his Competitor, *William* Duke of *Normandy*; upon whom, tho' Fortune cast the Victory, yet never Battel was more bravely fought on the part of the *English*; who, rather than fall under the Slavery of the *Normans*, dy'd 69074 upon the Spot, few or none escaping. Strange it is indeed, that so great a Kingdom, as *England* was at that time, should at one Blow, by so small a Nation as the *Normans* were, be quite subdu'd, so that it could never make any considerable Resistance against the Conqueror. But the Causes and Reasons are very apparent to any that consider the Circumstances of Things, and Nature of the People: For besides the Divisions that were among the Nobility at that very instant, when Danger was so near them, that nothing but the closest Union could save them, the People of the Nation in general, by living long secure from any Enemy in peaceable Times, were grown unexperienced and negligent in Arms, and generally render'd weak and effeminate by Luxury and Idleness; the Clergy grown Licentious and Illiterate; the Nobility given to Gluttony, Whoredom and Oppression; the Commonalty addicted to Drunkenness and Disorder. And 'tis said, that in the last Action of *Harold* at *Stamford*, he lost his bravest Men; and the rest were discontented, because *Harold* retained the [d] Spoil to himself: So that he came to this Battel with many raw undisciplin'd Soldiers, and a discontented Army, which was an occasion of this lamentable Loss. Besides, the *Normans* had a peculiar way of Fighting with long Bows, with which the *English* being wholly unacquainted, were chiefly overthrown. And yet their own Writers report, how that the main Body of the *English* Army (consisting of Bills, their chief and ancient Weapon) held so close together in one Body, that no Force could dissolve them, till the *Normans* (making a shew of Flight) drew them into Disorder, and so got the Day.

Causes of the Norman Conquest.

The Body of *Harold* being obtain'd of the Conqueror, by the Request of his Mother, who sent two [e] Monks of *Waltham-Abby* to beg it of him [f], was after much search found among the Heaps of dead Bodies, and bury'd in the same Abby which he had himself built. He was a very unfortunate Prince; his Reign was full of Miseries and Troubles; he Ruled but little, but lost all. He left four Sons, *Godwin*, *Edmund*, *Magnus*, and *Wolfe*. The two Eldest fled away after this Battel into *Ireland*, and from thence made some Attempts upon the *Western* Coast of *England*, but to little purpose. With this King ended the *Saxon* Line, after it had been in *England* five hundred Years, from the first coming of *Hengist*, and his Settlement here. And from the Commencement of the *Norman* Race do I intend to begin my History.

Harold slain, and his Burial

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[a] *Harold Harfager* claim'd the Crown of *England* as his Right by *Canutus*. He is said to have been slain by *Harold*'s own hand.

[b] *Harold*'s Army being to pass over a Bridge, to encounter his Enemies, one *Norwegian* kept the Bridge a considerable while against his whole Army, and slew forty Men before they could get free passage over it.

[c] That it was but a meer Pretence, appears from the most serious words which he spake upon his Death-Bed, concerning his Right to the *English* Crown: *'Twas not an Hereditary Right that put me in Possession of this Honour; but by a desperate Engagement, and much Bloodshed, I wrested it from the Perjur'd King*, Harold; *and having slain, or put to flight all his Abbettors, made my self Master of it.*

[d] It seems, it was the Custom of the *English* in their Wars to give the most considerable and valuable part of their Booty to their Captains, and leave the rest to their Soldiers; which *Harold*, through Covetousness, or perhaps Necessity, at that time seizing upon, gave a Discontent to his Soldiers, when he had most use of them.

[e] They are said to be *Osegod* and *Ailricke*.

[f] She offer'd him its weight in Gold for the Body, which Duke *William* refus'd.

E. Lutterell delin.
P. Vanderbank Sculp.
KING WILLIAM the CONQUEROUR

THE LIFE and REIGN OF WILLIAM I.

A. D. 1066.

The State of England by the Norman Conqueſt.

BY the Conqueſt of *England* by *William* Duke of *Normandy*, there was ſo great a Change made of the ancient Laws, Cuſtoms, Language, Writing, Forms of Battels, Buildings, yea every thing but [a] Religion; that there cannot be a fitter Period of Hiſtory, than to begin with his Entrance upon the Government: For with a new Race of Kings, *England* put on a new Face of Affairs, and was ſo much changed, as if it had been metamorphiz'd into another Kingdom. It grew more Victorious Abroad, and refin'd at Home. The *Danes* indeed united it under one Form of Government, and made it the moſt terrible of all the Kingdoms of the North: For whereas before, for five Hundred Years, it was buſied at home in civil Wars and Factions. *Canutus*, by his Mildneſs, brought it to ſubmit to him as their Head; and employing their victorious Arms abroad, brought the Kingdom of *Norway* into Subjection to him: But the *Normans* coming upon them, enlarged their Dominions beyond the Seas, and added the goodly † Provinces of the South † to their Command. Nor did they leſs improve things at home; for they brought in greater Civility into common Converſe, antiquated their old Cuſtom of intemperate drinking, and inſtead of their Roughneſs and Exceſſes, implanted Temperance and a generous Deſire of Reputation and Honour. Now the *Engliſh* began to deſpiſe their little homely Cottages, and to build themſelves ſtately Houſes, magnificent Churches and Monaſteries, to provide neat and good Furniture, and to erect Caſtles and Towers after the *Norman* Faſhion. They no longer hunt in common, as they did before, but they incloſed Parks for their private Pleaſures: And in fine, they took up all the *Norman* Faſhions and Habits; and tho' there was a greater Mixture of many Nations, than ever before, yet they all ſo eagerly complied with the *Norman* way of Living, either thro' Fear, or Novelty, that they immediately ſeemed but one. The *Saxon* Language in the general ſtill remained; but was ſoon mixed ſo much with the *French* (all the Terms of Building, Hunting, Handicrafts, Cloathing, and War, with the Names of all ſuch Inſtruments and Weapons as were uſed in them, being wholly in that Language, and the Character of the Letters altered to the *Roman* and *French*) that the Tongue ſeemed quite changed, and exactly conformed to the new Scheme of things, and is now hardly to be known. But that we may know both the Man and the Nation which ſubdued us, I will look back a little upon the Original of both, and give you this Account of them.

† *of Gaul.*

The Norman Manners and Faſhions imitated by the Engliſh.

An Account of the Original of the Normans.

The [b] *Normans* were a People which came out of *Norway* and *Denmark*, and conſequently of the ſame Manners and Faſhions with thoſe Northern Countries: Which thro' their promiſcuous Uſe of Venery, without any ties of lawful Marriage, produced ſuch great Abundance of People, that they were forced frequently to arm out great Numbers of them to ſeek themſelves ſuch Habitations as they could by War and Violence obtain. Such a Colony was ſent out in the Time of King *Alfred*, under the Command of one *Rollo*, or *Roul*, a great Captain among them. Theſe Adventurers having left their own Country, firſt landed in *England* (which always lay open to Invaders) and hoped to have found good Entertainment there: But contrary to their Expectation, meeting with fierce Oppoſition, they were content to leave them with a ſmall Booty of Cattel, which they had got from them, and uſe their Forces another way. From hence *Rollo* ſailed againſt *Rambalt* Duke of *Frieſland*, and *Reignier*, Duke of *Chaumont* and *Hainalt*, with whom he had many ſharp Conteſts, and did much Miſchief in their Country; but not being able to gain a Place of Settlement, he paſſed along the Coaſt of *France*, and entring the Mouth of the River *Seine*, ravaged the Country up as high as *Roven*; where the People having not long before been miſerably afflicted by *Haſting*, or *Hading* (another of theſe *Daniſh* Invaders) were extreamly affrighted at the Approach of a new Army: Inſomuch, that the Arch-biſhop of *Roven*, by the Inſtigation of the People, offered him the Obedience of that City, and the adjoyning Country thereabout, upon condition that he would defend them, and adminiſter Juſtice according to the Laws of Chriſt, and Cuſtoms of the Country: For *Charles* the *Simple*, who was then King of *France*, not being able to protect them againſt this Invaſion, becauſe his Forces were employed againſt

[a] Yet our Hiſtorians ſay, That ſome Novelties in Religion came into the *Engliſh* Church by this Conqueſt; for the *Engliſh* before, had the Scriptures read in their Churches in a known Tongue, preferr'd the Original *Hebrew* before the *Latin* Verſion; had no Prayers for the dead, or for the Pardon of Sins, or the Relaxation of the Pains of ſuch as were thought to be in Purgatory, which they believ'd not; worſhipp'd not Saints, tho' they had an honourable Memory of them; had the Communion in both Kinds; the contrary to which Doctrines crept in by the *Norman* Conqueſt.

[b] North-men, being the Flower of the *Swedes*, *Danes* and *Norwegians*, Northern Nations. Theſe People infeſted the Coaſts of *England*, *France*, *Ireland*, and *Holland*, with Piracies ſo much in the Times of *Charles* the Great, that it was made a Petition in the Publick Litanies to deliver them from the *Normans*, *From the Rage of the* Normans, *Good Lord deliver us.*

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against the Enemies of his Crown, was obliged to ſuffer them to ſettle in that Place; and in a ſhort time, he grew ſo Powerful, that he attempted the Conqueſt of *Paris* it ſelf, and notably foil'd the *French* Captains in ſeveral Skirmiſhes: So that *Charles* was forced to come to an Agreement with him, and yield up the whole Country of *Neuſtria* to him, which from the *Normans* was called *Normandy*. *Rollo* being thus gotten into the peaceable Poſſeſſion of a Dukedom for himſelf, and a convenient Habitation for his *Normans*; began to eſtabliſh Laws, and ſettle ſo well a formed Government, that he made his Name ever after in great Honour and Reverence among his People, and laid a Foundation of a firm Succeſſion for his Poſterity. Not long after he had thus ſet things in Order, he was converted to Chriſtianity; and being baptized, received the Name of *Robert* from his God-father *Robert*, Brother of *Eudes*, late King of *France*, who then was a Competitor with *Charles* for the Crown; who is ſaid to have aſſiſted *Rollo* under-hand in his Attempts upon *France*, tho' afterward he alledged it as a Crime againſt *Charles*, that he had given away his Country, and favoured Strangers. From *Rollo* deſcended ſix Dukes of *Normandy* in a direct Line, who reigned an hundred and twenty Years, *viz.* *William* I. *Richard* I. *Richard* II. who had two Sons *Richard* and *Robert*, who ruled ſucceſſively.

The Norman *Dukes in their Succeſſion.*

Robert, the laſt of them, having ruled eight Years, either out of Devotion, or to expiate ſome [a] ſecret Sin, which lay heavy upon his Conſcience, took up a Reſolution to viſit the Holy Sepulchre: And that he might ſet all things in order for his Departure, aſſembled all his Nobility to acquaint them with it. They diſſuaded him much from it, not only becauſe he had no Children; but becauſe *Alain*, Earl of *Britain*, and the Earl of *Burgundy*, were already in Conteſt about the Succeſſion to his Dutchy: So that upon his Death or Departure, their Country was like to become a Seat of War, and a Prey to Ambition, which they thought he was bound in Conſcience by all means he could to prevent. The Duke not at all removed from his Intention, deſired them to reſt contented; telling them, 'That 'he had a Son, which tho' not begot in lawful 'Marriage, he did not doubt but he was his own 'Child, and that he would inveſt him in his 'Dutchy, as his Heir before he left them; and 'deſired, that they would acknowledge him 'ſuch, and ſubmit to him as their Prince. The 'Earl of *Britain*, (ſaith he) notwithſtanding his 'Competition for my Throne, yet ſuch is my 'Confidence in him, I will make him his Go'vernor, and Preſident of *Normandy*, and the 'King of *France* his Guardian; and ſo I will 'leave him to God and your Loyalty. Soon after the Biſhops and Barons did their Homage to the young Prince, named *William*, who was the ſixth Duke of *Normandy* after *Rollo*, being begotten by Duke *Robert* on *Arlet*, a beautiful Virgin, but of mean Degree, in the City of *Falaiſe*. After this, the Duke delivering the Child to *Henry* the Firſt, King of *France*, with his own hand, and cauſing him to do him Homage for his Dutchy, committed him to his Royal Faith, and ſo enter'd upon his intended Journey; at the end of which, as ſoon almoſt as he came, he died [b]. *William*, his Son and Succeſſor, being thus left at nine Years old, became ſubject to all the Afflictions and Calamities of Minors, the Nobles of *Normandy* fell into great Factions and Quarrels; which while the chief Officers thought to allay by his Preſence (having obtain'd him by much Entreaty from the King of *France*) they increaſed. For preſently upon his coming among them, there followed the murthering and poiſoning of their Governors, Intruſions into Offices, ſupplanting and ſurprizing his Perſon, by the Nobility, who were proud and haughty, not able to endure the Precedency and Greatneſs one of another.

William made Duke of Normandy.

But theſe Troubles about his Perſon, were far leſs than ſeveral others, which he was forced to encounter in the Defence of his Right to the Succeſſion; which being ſtained with his illegitimate Blood and Birth, render'd him obnoxious to the Conteſts which better Claims might commence. And of theſe, the firſt that appeared againſt him was *Roger de Freſney*, a Perſon of great Worth and much Experience in Military Affairs, having been a Captain in the Wars againſt the *Saracens* in *Spain*: He brought a fair Pedigree from *Rollo*, to juſtifie his Claim to the Dutchy, and by feaſting the Nobility of the *Normans*, got a great Intereſt among them. Hereupon he begins to urge it to them; *That it was a great Wrong and Injury to the Poſterity of* Rollo, *who had gotten the Dukedom by his Valour and Courage, to have a Baſtard to be preferred before him, who was a Legitimate Deſcendant from him; and no leſs Diſgrace to ſo brave a People as the* Normans *were, to ſuffer themſelves to be ſo govern'd; eſpecially ſince they had others, who in a direct Line were come from their former Dukes,* Rollo, William, *and* Richard, *and no leſs worthy of that Dignity, than their preſent Prince.* By theſe means he had got a conſiderable Party, and being impatient of delay, brought his Claim ſoon to be decided in a Field Battel. *Roger de Beaumont* headed the young Prince's Forces againſt this Competitor, and by his Conduct gained ſo compleat a Victory, that all Fear from him was utterly extinguiſhed; himſelf, two Brethren, and the greateſt part of his Army being ſlain. This Action ſo advanced the Reputation of the Duke, that the King of *France* began to be jealous of his riſing Power; and therefore (contrary to his Truſt repoſed in him by *Robert*) he firſt takes from him the Caſtle of *Thuilliers* and demoliſhed it; pretending ſome Wrongs and Injuries to be done by the Garriſon that lay there to his Subjects, and then openly aſſiſted his Baſe-born Uncle, *William* Earl of *Arques*, againſt him; lending him a powerful Army to vindicate his Claim to the Dukedom, tho' he came off in it with as great a Loſs as Diſhonour. For Count *Guiffard*, the Duke's General, drew the *French* into ſuch an Ambuſh by a Stratagem, that he deſtroyed the whole Army, and left but few to relate their Misfortune at *Paris*, to the great Grief of that King; and *Arques* being conquer'd by the young Duke, not yet ſeventeen Years old, fled to ſeek his Fortune with *Euſtace* Earl of *Bullogne*, where he found but cold Entertainment, Favour generally changing with Mens Fortune, and few regarding Men overthrown. Theſe Enemies being ſubdued, a greater Danger ſucceeds by a private Conſpiracy. There lived with Duke *William* a young Lord of his own Age, named *Guy* Son of *Regnault* Earl of *Burgogne*, and *Alix* Daughter to *Richard* II. Duke of *Normandy*; who being ſenſible of his Title to the Dukedom, was perſuaded by ſome ſtirring Spirits to endeavour to obtain it,

Several Competitors with William, *for the Dukedom of* Normandy.

A Conſpiracy againſt William *ſtrangely diſcovered.*

[a] He is ſaid to have poiſon'd his Brother *Richard*, and tho' he had a Natural Affection for his illegitimate Son *William*, yet 'tis not improbable; but that his Sin, which he committed in begetting him on *Arlet* the Daughter of a *Skinner* of *Falaiſe*, might trouble his Conſcience; and to expiate for theſe Sins, he reſolv'd upon this Pilgrimage, a thing much us'd his time.

[b] At *Nice* in *Bythinia*, Anno 1035. *Du Cheſne.*

it, which they told him was by Right his, and uſurped by the Baſtard. Theſe Admonitions kindled the young Man's Ambition, which to gratifie he had now a lucky Opportunity; for having lately compoſed a Quarrel between two of the greateſt Lords of *Normandy*, Viſcount *Neel* and the Earl of *Beſſin*, with much Prudence and Caution he had gain'd the Love and Friendſhip of both Parties, with ſome Diſguſt to Duke *William*, who ſeemed to diſdain them by not taking notice of it. Theſe he eaſily brought to joyn with him in a Conſpiracy to murther the Duke ſuddenly, and by Surprize; which probably they had done, had they not been diſcovered by a Fool, who not being excluded their Conſultations, becauſe he was thought not to have Wit enough to take notice of it, went at Midnight to diſcover the Plot to Duke *William*; who obſerving the Fright the Fool was in, and conſidering what Prudence it was to avoid Dangers in the leaſt ſuſpected, immediately took Horſe and fled to *Falaiſe*. The Conſpirators not diſcouraged, tho' they were a little diſappointed, purſue him; and tho' they could not overtake him, yet they raiſed ſo ſtrong a Faction of all ſorts of People, that he was forced to leave his own Dominions, and to fly to the King of *France* to beg his Aid and Aſſiſtance againſt them. His Requeſt was not eaſily obtained, becauſe that King was afraid of his growing Greatneſs; but the Duke putting him in mind of the faithful Services his Father had done him; That he himſelf was his Homager, and held his Crown under him, and could fly to none ſo properly as him for help againſt his mutinous Nobility; That this Rebellion, if not repreſſed, would be of dangerous Conſequence to his own Kingdom, with many other Arguments to ſhew the Importance and Neceſſity of a Relief, ſo prevailed with the King, that he was contented to go in perſon with a powerful Army againſt the Conſpirators, whom they found in the Valley of *Dunes*, ready to encounter them; and ſo there began a Battel with equal Reſolution on both ſides. In this Fight one *Guilleſon*, Uncle to Viſcount *Neel* by his Mother, forced his Horſe into the Battalion of *French* and ſtruck the King from his Horſe with his Lance; and tho' he himſelf was diſmounted by Count *St. Paul*, and his Horſe ſlain by *Caſtillon*, who came to reſcue the King from the Danger he was in; yet he made his Eſcape out of the Preſs, and fled into *Apulia*, with divers others. The King being incenſed with this Blow, ſpared not to avenge himſelf on his Enemies, and Duke *William* was not inferiour to him in any daring Attempt. The Victory was a long time wavering; till *Ralf de Teſſon*, to gain the Duke's Favour, betrayed the Army of the Conſpirators, and ſo they were conquer'd. Divers of them, whoſe Hearts were too great to yield, fled over the Mountains into *Italy* to *Robert Guiſcard*, their Country-man, who of a private Gentleman, became Supreme Lord of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicily*; and had he lived, was in a fair way to have been Emperor of *Conſtantinople*; but dying left his Dominion in *Italy* to *Roger* his ſecond Son, *Beaumont* his eldeſt being then engaged in the Holy Wars, were he became Prince of *Antioch*. To this *Guiſcard* theſe rebellious *Normans* were very welcome, and none more than *Guelleſon*, for the late deſpetate Attempt he made upon the *French* King; becauſe as he ſought to increaſe his Army by entertaining them, ſo he was moſt pleaſed with the braveſt Men. *Guy de Bourgogne* having eſcaped the Fight, fortified his Caſtles of *Briern* and *Vernouille*, but in the end was forced to ſurrender them and himſelf to the Duke's Mercy; who dealt ſo favourably with him in ſparing his Life, and allowing him a Penſion, that many others ſubmitted themſelves to him, and thereby ſecured their Lordſhips and Eſtates, but he demoliſhed their Caſtles to ſecure their Obedience.

William begs the King of France's Aſſiſtance againſt them.

Robert Guiſcard Lord of Apulia.

William having thus ſettled his own Dominions in Peace, had but little Enjoyment of it before a foreign Enemy gave him a Diſquiet. *Jeoffrey Martel* Earl of *Anjou*, making War upon the People of *Poictou*, encroached upon the Neighbouring States; and among others ſeized upon *Alenzon*, *Dampfront*, and *Paſſais*, Cities belonging to the Dutchy of *Normandy*. *William*, who was always for getting and never for loſing, immediately levies an Army, and firſt recovers *Alenzon*, where (becauſe the beſieged ſcornfully reproached him for his Mother and Place of Nativity; crying out, when they ſaw him, *La Pel, La Pel, i. e.* a Skin, a Skin, in reference to the Skinners of *Falaiſe*, of whom his Mother's Father was one) he uſed them with great Cruelty. Then he laid Siege to *Dampfront*, and hearing that Count *Martel* was coming with great Forces to relieve it, he ſent *Roger de Montgomery*, with two other Knights, with this Meſſage to the Earl; *That if he came to victual* Dampfront, *he ſhould find him Porter to keep him out.* Whereunto the Duke returned this Anſwer; *Tell the Duke, to morrow by break of Day, he ſhall have me there on a White Horſe ready to give him Battel, and will enter* Dampfront, *if I can; and that he may know me, I ſhall have a Shield of* Or, *without any Device. Roger* replies, *Sir, You may ſpare the Pains; the Duke will be here ready to meet you on a Bay Horſe, with a Streamer of Taffata on the top of his Lance to wipe your Face:* And then they parted. The Earl made all the Preparations for next day he could; and in the Morning, as he was ordering his Army for Battel, News was brought him that *Dampfront* was taken: Upon which he immediately departs, and in his Paſſage homeward, was in a narrow Streight ſet upon by Viſcount *Neel*, and great part of his Army cut off; by which good Service that Earl regained the Duke's Favour, and kept it ever after. *Dampfront* being taken, the Duke with his Engines and Forces removed to *Hambriers*, a Frontier Town of Count *Martel's*, and by the way (had he not diſcovered it himſelf) had been utterly deſtroyed by an Ambuſh, which coſt him a great many brave Men to get himſelf free of; at which he was ſo enraged, that he ruſhed himſelf into the midſt of his Enemies, and making at Count *Martel*, beat him down with a Blow of his Sword, clave his Helmet in ſunder, and cut off one of his Ears, and yet eſcaped out of the Preſs; and in the iſſue utterly defeated the *Anjovins*. While he was thus buſied againſt his Enemies abroad, another Conſpiracy was formed againſt him at home, by *William Guelan* Earl of *Mortaigne*, who was deſcended from *Richard* the Second, and *William* Earl of *Eu* and *Montreul*, a Branch from the Family of *William*, Brother of the ſaid *Richard*, and *Eſſelin*, Counteſs of *Montreul*. The firſt was only vehemently ſuſpected, the other was proved guilty; and being baniſhed, his Eſtate was ſeized, his Earldom of *Mortaigne* was given to *Robert*, and that of *Eu* to *Odo* (after Biſhop of *Bayeux*) both his [a] Brethren

William annoy'd by foreign Enemies.

Another Conſpiracy againſt William.

[a] *Arlet*, Duke *William*'s Mother, married one *Herlain*, a *Norman* Gentleman, with Duke *Robert*'s Conſent; and had theſe two Sons by him, whom Duke *William* own'd, and preferr'd as his Brethren.

thren by his Mother. These Assaults from abroad these Scorns and Conspiracies at home, he pass'd through before he was two and twenty Years of Age; and thus his Enemies made him, whom they sought to undo. And now, having dispers'd all outward and visible signs of Enmity both at home and abroad, he dare not promise himself Safety; but to secure himself, and strengthen his Kingdom against all ill Practices for the future, he summon'd a Parliament of Prelates, Barons, and Gentlemen, and caused them to take an Oath of Allegiance to him, and raze their Castles; which done, he marry'd *Mathilda*, Daughter of *Baldwin* V. Earl of *Flanders*; yet not without some ensuing trouble. For his Uncle *Mauger* Archbishop of *Roan*, excommunicated him for marrying within the degrees of Consanguinity, which were forbidden by the Church, *Mathilda* being the Daughter of *Eleanor*, his Father's Sister: To expiate for which Offence, by a Dispensation from Pope *Victor*, he was enjoyn'd to build an Hospital for blind People, and two Abbies, one for Men, and the other for Women; which he did at *Caen* in *Normandy*.

Duke William's *Marriage.*

The Success which *William* had against his Enemies on all sides, made him so formidable to the neighbouring Princes, that *France* it self began to be very jealous of his growing Power; and having naturally no Love for the *Normans* (whom in scorn they call'd *Trewans*) incited their King, who himself was forward enough to repress a Person grown so much more powerful than the other Princes of his Dominions, to find out some pretence of Quarrel with him. This was an easie matter to do, where their Dominions had so near Confines; and therefore in the first place he accuses him of having done many Wrongs and Injuries to his Subjects bordering on his Dukedom; and particularly, he resented his late oppressing of Count *Martel*: And that his Cause might look the more plausible, he alledged, "That it concerned him in Honour and Justice to have that "Province, which held of his Crown, to be go-"vern'd by a Prince of lawful Blood, according "to the Christian Doctrine, and Laws Ecclesia-"stical; and therefore resolved to depose Duke "*William*, and settle a Legitimate Prince. Hereupon he raised two powerful Armies, gather'd from all Parts of his Kingdom, and sent them against him; the one by the River *Sein*, and the other by the Country of *Bessin*; that his Dukedom being encompassed on all sides, he might not possibly escape. The Duke in the mean time was not unmindful of his own Defence against so potent an Enemy, and having gather'd a good Army, divided it into two parts; with the one he sent out his Brother *Odo* Earl of *Eu*, *Walter Guifford* Earl of *Longueville*, and others into the Country of *Caux*; and with the other part he went himself towards *Eureux*, intending to oppose the King of *France*, who was at *Maute*. The Cattel, and all other portable Provisions, he caused to be removed out of the flat Country into the Cities and Castles, not only to furnish themselves, but incommode the Enemy. The *French* Army march'd on towards them from *Beauvais* to *Mortimer*, where finding the Country stor'd with all manner of Provisions, they staid that Night, and feasted themselves with Plenty of Good Cheer; thinking that the *Norman* Army was with their Duke at *Eureux*. *Otho*, who commanded the Army in *Caux*, having Intelligence of the *French* Army's Dissoluteness and Security, made use of that opportunity to oppress them; and marching all the Night, fell upon them about break of Day with that Suddenness and Fury, that they slew near three parts of them, being in all forty thousand, took many Prisoners, and among them several Persons of Note, and put the rest to flight, leaving their Horses and Baggage to the *Normans*. This Defeat caused the King to return home in Anger and Rage; upon cooler Thoughts he desisted from Revenge: And upon the Delivery of the captiv'd *French*, agreed to a Peace with the Duke, and restor'd to him the Castle of *Thuilliers*, which in his Minority he had taken from him. Count *Martel*, tho' very much disheartened by the Loss of the *French* Army, yet did not desist from making some Attempts to recover the Towns the Duke had taken from him; but found that it was to no purpose without a greater Army than he had, or could raise, the *Normans* being so powerful. Wherefore the next Spring, he went to importune the King of *France* to assist him against the Duke, telling him, That the *Normans* were grown so insolent by the Victory they had stollen, not gotten fairly of the *French*, that there was no living by them; that they made the *French* ever since, the Subject of their Sports and Songs, as if the King of *France*, through the Loss of a few Men, was quite retired, and had rather stick to a dishonourable Peace, than appear again in the Field against them. These Importunities, and the Relation of the Abuses and Reproaches of the *Normans*, so prevailed with the *French* King, that he raised another Army, much bigger than the former, in which were three Dukes, and twelve Earls; and notwithstanding he had so lately made a solemn Peace with the Duke and confirm'd it with an Oath, yet he enter'd *Normandy* in Harvest-time, over-ran and ravag'd all the Country along the Coast to *Bessin*; from whence he march'd to *Bayeux* and *Caen*, designing to pass the River *Dive* at *Verneville*, and destroy the Countries of *Auge*, *Lysieux*, and *Roumois*, as far as *Rouen*. Coming to the River, he found the Causway leading to it long, and the Bridge narrow; and therefore, that he might get over safely, he sent over his Van-guard first, and to secure his Rear-guard, commanded by the Duke of *Berry*, he himself stays behind at *Caen*, till his People and their Carriages were pass'd over. Duke *William* all this while was employ'd in fortifying and victualling his Towns, and particularly of *Falaise*, where he himself intended to reside. He had no Army in the Field, but a running Camp, which he kept ready to take all Advantages. He was sensible of the Calamities of his People by the *French*, but had not Strength to oppose them, till he had some advantageous Offer, which he was resolv'd not to neglect. And long it was not before he had one: Being inform'd of the Passage of the *French* Army over the Bridge on the *Dive*, wherefore marching all Night with ten thousand Men, in the Morning early he set upon the Reer-guard with so sudden a cry and fury, that they who were on the Causway hearing the Noise behind, thrust their Fellows forward to get over the Bridge, with so great a crowd and noise, that they broke it, and many were drowned in the River. They who were gotten over could not return to help the rest; nor the King, by reason of the Marshes on both sides, yield any Succours to his People, but was forced with Grief to behold the miserable Slaughter and Captivity of his People; among whom six Earls were taken, of which the banish'd Earl of *Eu* was one, who having gotten into the King's Favour, was created by him *Count de Soissons*. This ill Success stuck so close to the *French* King's Heart, that he dy'd not long after with Grief; which render'd Duke *William* so formidable, that tho' many had Will, yet none had Courage to disturb his Peace for a long time after; which brought great Prosperity to *Normandy*.

The King of France's *Wars against Duke* William.

The French *Army defeated.*

The King of France *raises another Army against Duke* William.

Duke William *routs the* French *Army.*

Duke

Duke William's *Actions in Peace.*

Duke *William* enjoying Peace was not leſs active than he was in War, tho' in Works of a better nature: For now he employ'd his time in ordering his State and Government, and adorning his Country with ſumptuous and beautiful Buildings, erecting Churches and Monaſteries, and endowing them with large Eſtates. He had before built two Monaſteries at *Caen*, and now in theſe peaceable times he gather'd Reliques from all parts to furniſh them with, and built himſelf and Wife a Tomb in them. He alſo frequently feaſted his Nobility, and thoſe of them that he obſerved to be Men of Worth, and able to ſerve the State well, he preferr'd and rewarded; by which means he gained the Love and Affections of his Nobility, and People ſo generally, that they were all entirely his, and ready to do any thing he could command or deſire. In this ſerene part of his Life and Reign he made a Journey into *England*, to viſit [a] his Kinſman, King *Edward*, who in Conſideration of his Preſervation and Education in *Normandy* by *Richard* the Second (Grandfather to them both) gave him moſt Noble and Royal Entertainment. At this Interview he ſhewed himſelf to the *Engliſh*, and without doubt took himſelf a ſharp aſpect of the State and Affairs of *England*: To be ſure ſo much was done by the King, or *Harold* in his Name, at this meeting, as gave the Duke ground to [b] claim the Kingdom by the Donation of *Edward* after his Death: What it was, could not be found out exactly. It is certain, that *Harold* going into *Normandy* did make ſome Promiſes to the Duke, and confirm'd them with an Oath upon the Evangeliſts and the ſacred Reliques at *Roven*; and thereupon *Adeliza*, the Duke's Daughter, was affianced or betrothed to him, and *Welnot* his Brother left as a Pledge for the Performance: Which ſhews the matter was of great Importance, and perhaps might be concerning the Kingdom; but it was never pretended otherwiſe to be made over to him but by Will; and therefore theſe Promiſes of *Harold*'s are thought only to aſſure him of his aſſiſtance in gaining the Kingdom. But, however this be, it is againſt the Law and Cuſtom of the Nation to diſpoſe of the Kingly Power by Will; and therefore, if any ſuch thing were, it was of no Validity. *For the Crown of* England *is held not by a Paternal Right, but by the Law of the Realm, which allows no power of diſpoſing the Throne to its Kings, but admits the next lineal Heir to the Poſſeſſion of it: For every Succeſſor is not ſaid properly to be Heir of the King, but of the Kingdom which makes him ſo, and can't be depriv'd by any Act of his Predeceſſor.* Nor indeed did *William* afterward eſtabliſh his Right upon King *Edward*'s Will, but ſet up that Pretence only to make way for his Arms, by which he intended to compaſs his deſires. As ſoon therefore as he heard of the Death of King *Edward*, and that *Harold* was choſen and crowned King, "he call'd together the States of "*Normandy*, and acquaints them with the Right "he had to the Crown of *England*; and ſollicited "them to contribute their utmoſt aſſiſtance for "the recovery of it, and the Depoſition of [c] *Ha*-"*rold*, the perjur'd Uſurper of it. And to encourage them in the Attempt, he repreſented "to them how great probability there was of "ſucceſs; he had a numerous Party in the Nation "for him already; the People were under great "Deſtractions and Diviſions, which made them "weak and eaſie to be overcome, as he was in-"form'd by ſure Intelligence: And what Honour, "Wealth, and Greatneſs would it add to their Na-"tion, to be Maſters of ſuch a rich Kingdom as "*England* was, which they had now an opportu-"nity put into their hands to be, if they had but "that Wiſdom to make uſe of it." Theſe fair Speeches, tho' very plauſible and encouraging, yet induced very few to like the Undertaking; and thoſe only ſuch as had been long Soldiers, and had no Eſtates to uphold them in Peace, ſo that they would run any hazard to better their Fortunes: All the reſt were of different Opinions; ſome were for Peace, and thought it ſufficient for them to hold and defend their own Country, without running an hazard to conquer others, and theſe were generally the Richeſt ſort; others were willing to contribute toward the Charge, but yet ſo ſparingly as would little advance his Deſign; others were ſo tired with Wars, that they were loth to begin the ſame Troubles afreſh. The Duke was a little diſcouraged at this oppoſition and faintneſs among his Subjects, but reſolved to try another method before he gave it over. Having found ſeveral of his Friends very forward in the Enterprize, and ſeemingly willing to venture all with him, he begins with them, and asks them what they would contribute towards this Expedition? *William Fitz-Auber* made the firſt offer, promiſing him to furniſh out forty Ships with Men and Ammunition, the Biſhop of *Bayeux* forty, the Biſhop of *Mans* thirty; and ſo ſeveral others, according to, or rather beyond their Abilities. By theſe Perſons Examples he drew in the reſt of the Biſhops and Nobles, with whom he treated about it ſeverally, to joyn in the Deſign, and cauſed all the Sums contributed to be regiſter'd; by which means he at length raiſed ſuch an Emulation among his Subjects, as that they, who a little before would do nothing, grew now ambitious who ſhould do moſt. Nor was he ſo prevalent with his own Subjects only, but by his winning Perſuaſions and large Promiſes, he engaged moſt of the greateſt Princes and Nobles of *France* to venture not only their Perſons but Eſtates with him, viz. *Robert Fitz-Harveys* Duke of *Orleance*, the Earls of *Britain*, *Poictou*, *Pointhieu*, *Bologne*, *Mayne*, *Never*, *Hieſms*, and *Aumal*, Seigneur *de Tours*, and even his mortal Enemy, *Martel* Earl of *Anjou*, was as forward as any. The King of *France*, whoſe Intereſt it had been to have cruſh'd this Deſign, was a Minor, and under the care of *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, whoſe Daughter the Duke had marry'd, and who would not hinder his deſign, if he could not farther it; yet to blind the young Prince and *French* Court, he promiſed to hold *England*, if he conquer'd it, in dependence upon the *French* King, as he did *Normandy*. The Pope, who was *Alexander* the II[d] at that Time, he brought to applaud his Enterprize, by promiſing him [d] to hold it of the

Duke William *viſits* Edward *King of* England *his Couſin.*

The Rights of the Kings of England *to their Crown.*

Duke William's *Preparations for the Crown of* England.

The King of France *and* Pope *encourage him.*

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[a] King *Edward* and *William* were Kinſmen, but not in the degree which Mr. *Daniel* writes: For *Emma*, the Mother of King *Edward*, was not the Daughter of *Richard* the II[d] Duke of *Normandy*, but the Siſter; and ſo *Richard* the Second was not his Grandfather, but Uncle, which our Author expreſly mentions in the Life of *Canutus*.

[b] Some relate, that *Edward*, while he lived in Baniſhment in *Normandy*, made *William* a Promiſe of the next Reverſion of the Crown of *England*; others think he did it at this Viſit, being not likely to have Iſſue, and adopted him for his Heir. This *William* declared himſelf, as he march'd through *Wallingford* to *London*, *That the Bounteous King* Edward *had by Adoption made him Heir to the Crown of* England, *and now God had by his Providence given it him.* But in his Dying Speech he ſays, *That the Royal Diadem, which none of his Predeceſſors wore, he got not by Right of Inheritance, but by Heavenly Grace.*

[c] *Harold*, being a Priſoner in *Normandy*, had promis'd *William* upon Oath, that he might gain his Liberty, to ſecure him the Kingdom of *England*, if *Edward* dy'd without Heirs; and hereupon was affianced to Duke *William*'s Daughter, which Promiſe he not performing, was accounted Perjur'd.

[d] That this was a meer Pretence, to procure the Concurrence of the Pope, appears from the Letter he wrote to *Gregory* the VIIth this Pope's Succeſſor; wherein he diſowns, that he had ever any ſuch Intention to ſubmit his Kingdom to the Pope,

the Apoſtolick See, if he was ſucceſsful; whereupon the Pope ſent him a Conſecrated Banner, a Golden *Agnus Dei*, and one of St. *Peter's* Hairs. The Emperor *Henry* IV. alſo ſent him a conſiderable Body of Men, under the Command of a *German* Prince. And thus in eight Months time having collected a very numerous Army, not out of *Normandy* only, but out of *France*, *Flanders*, and *Germany*, ſufficient to proceed in his intended Expedition; he ſummon'd them to their Rendezvouz at *St. Velery* in *Normandy*, from whence he tranſported them into *England* in 896 Ships, as ſome write; Providence ordering ſuch a ſtrange Concurrence of Diſpoſitions to effect the wonderful Change it had decreed to be now made in *England*.

A. D. 1066. Duke *William* having had a victorious landing, and conquer'd *Harold's* Army at *Haſtings October* 14. 1066. as is before ſpoken of in the Life of *Harold*, march'd directly without any oppſition to *London*; where *Edwin* and *Morchar*, the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Mercia*, (two Brothers of great Honour and Dignity in the Kingdom) had done their utmoſt to excite the People to ſtand up in defence of their Liberties, and make *Edgar Atheling*, the next of the Royal Iſſue, who had Right to the Crown, King, to preſerve the Kingdom from Servitude and Conqueſt. Many of the Nobility had conſented to this Propoſition; but the Biſhops being averſe to it, and wavering, becauſe they had heard a good Character of the Duke's Piety and Bounty to the Church, and ſo doubted not of his Favour to their Function, ſo diſheartned the Nobility, and damped their Reſolutions, fearing leſt their backwardneſs ſhould make them fare the worſe, if through their Diviſions the Duke ſhould at laſt ſubdue them, that they alſo yi elded to Neceſſity, and gave over all thoughts of Oppoſition; by which means the Commons being diſtitute of an Head, could not move but irregularly: So that [a] all degrees of Men being either corrupted with Hopes, or tranſported with Fear, their poor Country was left naked to the Will of a Stranger. Wherefore at his approach to *London* the Gates were ſet open, and the Archbiſhop *Stigand*, with the Biſhops his Brethen, the Nobility, Magiſtrates and People, joyfully received him with all outward Demonſtrations of Subjection, and Promiſes of Obedience: He at the ſame time returning all Aſſurances of a mild and good Government over them, and proteſting that he would rule with Juſtice and Equity. On *Chriſtmas* Day next following he was crowned King of *England* at *Weſtminſter*, by *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York*, becauſe *Stigand* was not thought [b] Canonically inveſted in his See, altho' he was a great Promoter of this Alteration. At his Coronation, according to Cuſtom, the Biſhops and Barons of the Realm took their Oaths of Allegiance to him, obliging themſelves to be his true and loyal Subjects; and after, he alſo (being required to do it by the Archbiſhop of *York*) ſwore ſolemnly, ſtanding before the Altar of St. *Peter*, That he would govern all his People in his Dominion with Juſtice; That he would enact juſt Laws, and ſee that they be duly executed. Nor did he ever violate this his Oath by any arbitrary Actions, as an Abſolute Conqueror, but as a Regular Prince, conformed to the ancient Orders of the Realm, and was content to derive his Title to the Kingdom rather from King *Edward's* Will (tho' a weak and fictitious one) than from his Sword. And tho' he was in after-times ſtiled the *Conqueror*, yet it was rather done thro' flattery, than by his own deſire, as was evident from the whole courſe of Government; for he introduced none of the Alterations, which followed after, by violence, but mildly and gently, by way of Reformation, as tho' the Changes aroſe from Neceſſity, not his own Will or Deſign; and he would aboliſh or innovate nothing that might be preſerved with advantage to his People.

A. D. 1066.

Duke William conquers, and is made King of England.

His Coronation and Carriage in his Government.

In the Spring after his Coronation and Settlement, he found it neceſſary for him to go into *Normandy*, to ſettle Affairs there, and put the Government of that Country into ſuch a frame, as might not require his Preſence, or take him off from the management of his Kingdom of *England*, which would require all his Care. And for the better ſecurity of the Peace and Order of his new-gotten Kingdom, which he had reaſon to believe would not hold ſteady in their Subjection long, he took Hoſtages of the *Engliſh* for their Obedience, committed the Government of the Kingdom to his moſt truſty Friend, *Odo* his Brother Biſhop of *Bayeux*, and his Couſin *Fitz-Auber*, whom he had lately created Earl of *Hereford*, and took with him into *Normandy* all the chief Men of *England*, who were the moſt likely to head any Revolt, viz. *Edgar Etheling*, *Stigand* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the two great Earls *Edwin* and *Morcar*, with many others Biſhops and Noblemen. And to lighten his Charge, and empty his Court, he took along with him all the *French* Princes who had been Partners with him in the Adventure, and others of the *Normans*, who were grown now unneceſſary to him, rewarding them for their Labour and Aſſiſtance, as far as his Treaſure would reach, and made up the reſt with fair Promiſes. During his abſence all that Summer, nothing was attempted againſt the Government, only *Edric*, ſurnamed the *Forreſter*, having obtained the help of the *Welſh* Kings, plunder'd and ſpoil'd the remote parts of the Country of *Hereford*. All the other parts of the Kingdom were quiet; hoping, that ſince by their change of Governours they had found little or no alteration in their ancient Conſtitutions, their Laws and Liberties remaining the ſame as they were before, this Change wou'd prove rather for the Advantage than Inconvenience of *England*, by the addition of a new Province and enlarging its Dominions beyond the Seas, eſpecially ſince the *Normans* were but a ſmall People, and liv'd in a plentiful and fruitful Country, large enough for themſelves; ſo that *England* was not, in all probability, likely much to be peſter'd with them.

1067. *His Voyage into* Normandy.

Having ſettled Affairs in *Normandy*, he return'd again into *England* towards Winter, where he met with a harder task to compoſe things well [c], than what he had finiſhed. The *Normans* and others who had aſſiſted him in the hazardous adventure of getting the *Engliſh* Crown, were very big with Expectations of Rewards and Preferments, which he knew muſt be ſatisfy'd in ſome meaſure; and yet

His return into England, *and his Rewards of the* Normans.

[a] Yet *Stigand*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, is ſaid by *Brompton* to have refus'd to Crown him, becauſe he had no Title; and *Frederick* the Stout Abbot of St. *Albans*, a *Saxon* of the Royal Blood, fortify'd his Abby with Trees to reſiſt him, as though he would have fought againſt ſo great a Conqueror alone, ſaying, *That if others had done their duty, the Duke of* Normandy *had not been here.*

[b] *Stigand* had obtain'd the Arch-biſhoprick through Simony and held it with the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, contrary to the Canons: For which, as *Simeon* of *Durham* and *Florence* of *Worceſter* affirm, he then lay under the Pope's Diſpleaſure; and by the Pope's Legates, with the King's conſent, he was ſoon after depoſed.

[c] *Odo*, Biſhop of *Bayeux*, and Earl of *Kent*, by his ſevere Government, forced the *Engliſh* to rebel, and to invite over *Euſtace* Earl of *Bologne* to aſſiſt them. *Euſtace* prov'd unſucceſsful, and *Edric* the Forreſter roſe againſt the *Normans* in *Wales*; but on the King's Return the *Welſh* ſubmitted.

A. D. 1067. yet he thought it would be very prejudicial to him to wrong his new Subjects whom he desired to keep as easie as he could) to do it; for it was impossible for him to defend what he had got without them. This was a greater trouble to him than his Battel of *Hastings*, knowing what he gave the *Normans* must be either with the loss of the *English* Estates or Preferments. Wherefore he took this prudent Method to satisfie all Parties: He resolv'd to put no Man out of their Places, nor deprive any Man of his Estate, unless any had forfeited them by revolting from their Obedience; which he made good, as appears by the Controversie between one *Warren* a *Norman*, and *Sherburn* of *Sherburn*-Castle in *Norfolk*; whose Castle the King had given to *Warren*, upon an Accusation of Treason brought against *Sherburn*: Yet when *Sherburn* made it evident to the King, That he never bore Arms against him; and pleaded, That he was his Subject as well as *Warren*, and held his Lands by that Law which he had establish'd among all his Subjects; The King gave his Judgment against *Warren*, and order'd, that *Sherburn* should peaceably enioy his Lands: So that he contented himself with what Vacancies had happen'd, either by the Death of such as were kill'd in the Battel, or by the Flight of such as had left the Kingdom in discontent, or were with the Sons of *Harold*. These Men's Estates and Places he disposed to the *Normans*. And as for such Gentlemen as he design'd to prefer, but had no opportunity at present to do it, he settled them in the Abbies till he could provide for them; whereby he not only lessen'd his Charge at Court, and remov'd the Grievance of the People by a Multitude of greedy Expectants; but he had a Guard upon the Clergy, who being of great Interest with the People, were most likely to create Disturbances.

The Nobility of England discontented.

But the *English* Nobility could not be contented with a bare Possession of their Estates and Honours, so long as they found so great an Eclipse of the Royal Favour towards them, by the Imposition of *Norman* Favourites, who growing more numerous every day, they concluded would in time turn them out of all. These Surmises and Fears produced a Conspiracy among them to fly, some into *Scotland*, others into *Denmark*, to try whether by the Assistance of those Princes they could recover their lost Fortunes at home, and resettle themselves in their ancient Greatness; of these the chief was *Edgar Atheling* (call'd *England*'s Darling, for the Love the People had generally for him) who with his Mother *Agatha*, and two Sisters, *Margaret* and *Christiana*, intending to retire into *Hungary*, their Native Country, were driven by contrary Winds, into *Scotland*, where he was kindly received by *Malcolm*, then King of the *Scots*, partly becaus *Malcolm* had formerly known the Miseries of an Exile Condition, (in which he had been kindly entertain'd in the *English* Court) and partly becaus he fear'd the Power of the Conqueror of *England* might be dangerous to him: Whereupon he enter'd into a League with *Edgar* for the publick Safety, and marry'd his Sister *Margaret* [a], by which the Blood of the *Saxon* Kings was preserved, and at length united in the *Norman* Line in *Henry* II. and so became again *English*. To *Edgar*, now being in *Scotland*, came the Earls *Edwin* and *Morcar*, *Hereward*, *Gospatrick*, *Siward*, with several others [b], and shortly after *Stigand* and *Aldred* Arch-bishops, with many of the Clergy. These Malecontents having gather'd an Army by the help of *Malcolm* enter'd those parts of *England* which lie on the North of *Humber* in the third Year of this King's Reign, and made a strong Essay towards the Recovery of their lost Country; but not being done before the Government was setled, they were so far from doing any good by their weak attempts, that they really gave him but a better occasion to settle himself firmly, and become at last, what at first he really was not, *a Conqueror of England*. For while all the Southern Parts remain'd in Peace under him, and he was in Possession of their Estates, which he immediately dispos'd to the *Normans*, they did but force their Brethren to become their Enemies, and enable the *Normans* to ruine them. For the Earldom and Estate of *Edwin* in *Yorkshire* was given to *Alain* Earl of *Britain*, Kinsman to the Conqueror, the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* was conferr'd on *Lanfranc* [c] Abbot of *Caen*, and that of *York* on *Thomas* his Chaplain; and all the rest, both of the Clergy and others, which were out of the Nation, had their Places in it supplied by the *Normans*.

A. D. 1068. Reg. 3.

Cumberland *and* Northumberland.

Many Rebellions against King William, *which he suppress'd.*

Many Insurections happen'd about this Time. Two [d] of *Harold*'s Sons landing with Forces in the West [e], made great Havock among the People; and *Githa*, King *Harold*'s Mother being at *Exeter*, caused that City to rebel. At *Oxford* also there was a Commotion, but they were not able to stand long against the King's Power. The most prosperous and successful Invasion was by *Edgar Atheling* with his Lords out of *Scotland*, who enter'd *England* with a good Army, and encountering *Robert* Earl of *Mortaigne*, who was sent by the King to oppose their Progress into the Nation, slew him with seven hundred Men at *York*. The King hearing of this Defeat, took his Journey Northward with all Expedition; but before he could arrive there, the Invaders had received a large Addition to their Army from *Swain* King of *Denmark*, who had sent three hundred Ships to their Assistance, under the Command of *Harold* and *Canutus* his two Sons; *William* first sets upon the *Danes*, and either by force or corrupting their Commanders, made them useless; afterwards he fell upon the Lords Army, much weaken'd by the loss of their Confederates, and puts them to flight; and that the Country might not for the future harbour his Enemies, he laid it [f] waste all along between *York* and *Durham*, which are distant about sixty Miles. And the same methods he used on all the Coasts, where any fit Places for Invaders to land were, and then return'd to *London*. After this Victory most of the Lords came in, and submitted themselves to the King upon the publick Faith before given them, and were conducted by [g] *Fredericke*, Abbot of St. *Albans*, to *Barkamsted*,

[a] He did not marry her till two Years afterwards, *Anno* 1070. *Sim. Dun. R. Hovedon.* [b] Sir *J. H. Life of* William I.

[b] From these Refugees the best Families in *Scotland* are descended, as those of *Lindsey*, *Vaus*, *Ramsey*, *Lovell*, *Tourbris*, *Sandlands*, *Bissart*, *Fowlis*, *Wardlaw*, *Maxwell*, and others.

[c] Archbishop *Stigand* was depriv'd by *Agelwin* Bishop of the *East-Angles*, and other Bishops and Abbots commission'd by Pope *Alexander* II. For, 1. Intruding on the Archbishoprick while *Robert* his Predecessor was living. 2. For receiving his Pall from *Benedict* V. a Simonaical Pope. 3. For keeping the See of *Winchester* after his Investiture in the See of *Canterbury*. Sir *John Hayward*.

[d] *Edmund* and *Magnus*. [e] *Somersetshire*.

[f] In this furious Devastation, the King shew'd such a Respect to *John* of *Beverley*, that all his Lands were spar'd: The rest of the Country was so wasted, that the People were forc'd to eat Cats and Dogs to support Life.

[g] *Fredericke* himself was a leading Man in this Revolt, having had all the Lands between *Barnet* and *London-stone*, which belonged to his Abby, seiz'd by the King; but it seems after this Victory, he came in with the first, and was made use of to bring others to the King's Favour.

Barkamſted, where having retaken the Oath of Allegiance, they were pardoned by the King, and promiſed a Reſtitution of his Favour; and the King himſelf to pacifie their unquiet Minds, took his Perſonal Oath again before Archbiſhop *Lanfranc* and the Lords; *That he would obſerve the ancient Laws of the Realm eſtabliſhed by his Royal Predeceſſors, the Kings of* England, *and eſpecially thoſe of* Edward *the* Confeſſor [a]. By which means theſe turbulent Diſpoſitions were calmed for a while, but did not long continue ſo: For whether out of ſome new Hopes given them by Prince
A. D. 1071. Reg. 5. *Edgar* (who was ſtill in *Scotland*) or grown deſperate at the Non-performance of the King's Promiſe and Breach of Oath, or ſome other Reaſons, they brake out again. Earl *Edwin* going toward *Scotland*, was murthered by his own Men. The Lords *Morcar* and *Hereward*, got [b] into the Iſle of *Ely*, intending to fortifie it for their Winter Quarters; and to them Earl *Syward*, and the Biſhop of *Durham* out of *Scotland*, joyned them: But the King, who never gave Time in growing Dangers, immediately beſet the Iſle; and having made a Bridge two Miles long to carry his Army over, ſurprized them ſo ſoon, that they all yielded themſelves to the King's Mercy, except *Hereward*, who marching with his People deſperately through the Fens, eſcaped and got into *Scotland* [c]. The reſt were ſent into ſeveral Priſons, where they died, or remained Priſoners during the King's Life. The Lords, who perſiſted Loyal upon this laſt Submiſſion, were received into Favour, and had honourable Employments beſtowed on them. *Edric* the Foreſter (who firſt rebelled in his Reign) was admitted into the greateſt Truſt about the King's Perſon. *Goſpatric* he made Earl of *Northumberland*, and ſent him General of his Army againſt the King of *Scots*, who plunder'd and had ſubdu'd *Tiſdale*, *Cleveland*, and *Cumberland*. *Waltheof*, Son of Earl *Syward*, was ſo highly eſteemed by him, as that he married him to his Neice *Judith*; tho' in the Northern Commotion he had been a Principal Actor, and in defending the City of *York* had cut off the Head of ſeveral *Normans* as they enter'd in at the Breach, to the Admiration of all. So great a Friend was he to Virtue, even in an Enemy.

King William *went againſt* Scotland. A. D. 1072. Things being thus a little compoſed at home, the King obſerving that *Scotland* had been a continual Retreat for his Enemies, and in many of the Diſturbances he had in his Realm, afforded the Malecontents Aſſiſtance; and that *Edgar Atheling* reſided in that Court to obſerve all Advantages to diſpoſſeſs him of his Throne, he enter'd that Kingdom with a powerful Army, reſolving either to rid himſelf of thoſe his Enemies, or loſe his Life. *Malcolm* ſeeing the Danger he was in, and the Miſeries his Subjects were likely to endure in other Mens Quarrels, for which he was not like to receive any Satisfaction, made Overtures of Peace, which King *William* was willing to accept, having met with ſuch Difficulties in paſſing the Marſhes, as made his farther Enterprizes very diſcouraging. Wherefore entring into Articles with *Malcolm*, That he ſhould enjoy the ſame Dominions [d], and in the ſame Bounds as formerly, that all Delinquents on both ſides ſhould be pardoned, they returned home.

Shortly after this Peace ſo lately made, Prince A. D. 1073. Reg. 7. *Edgar* (whoſe long abode in the *Scotiſh* Court had made it become *Engliſh* almoſt; for by reaſon of the great Reſort of the *Engliſh* thither, who were preferr'd there and intermarried with the Nobles of that Nation, the Language and Cuſtoms of *England* became much in Faſhion: And here 'tis ſaid the Titles of Duke, Earl, Baron, and Knight, were firſt began) came voluntarily in, and ſubmitted himſelf to the King, who was then in *Normandy*, and was reſtored to his Grace and Favour; inſomuch, that he allowed him [e] an Eſtate ſuitable to his Greatneſs, which *Edgar* was ſo grateful, as to recompence with a peaceable Behaviour ever after. This Submiſſion, tho' fortunate enough for the King, was thought very unſeaſonable and fooliſh in *Edgar*: For in the Abſence of the King, *Roger Fitz-Auber* [f] the young Earl of *Hereford*, contrary to the King's Command, married his Siſter to *Ralph Waher*, Earl of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*; and at the ſolemnizing of it [g], the two Earls conſpired with *Euſtace* Earl of *Bologne* (who privately came over to the Nuptials) Earl *Waltheof*, and other *Engliſh* Lords, to call in the *Danes*, and by Force keep out the King from his Kingdom. This Conſpiracy was the more like to have taken Effect, becauſe the King did not ſuſpect any ſuch Treachery, eſpecially from thoſe whom he had ſo greatly advanced. But *Odo*'s watchful Eye, which obſerved every Motion of the *Engliſh*, as became his Place of the King's Vicegerent, ſoon ſpy'd the Deſign; and by the Help of the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and others, kept ſo ſtrict a Guard upon them, that they could never unite to perfect it, but perceiving themſelves diſcover'd, were forced to fly. *Roger Fitz-Auber* was taken, and ſome ſay executed, and ſo was Earl *Waltheof* [i]; though 'twas thought, he was the principal Means of the Diſcovery: But ſuch was

Edgar Atheling *ſubmits to King* William.

A. D. 1074.

Odo *ſuppreſſes a Conſpiracy againſt the King.*

1075.

the

[a] *Roger Hoveden* ſays, the *Engliſh* Nobility petition'd to be govern'd by their own Laws, beſeeching him by the Soul of King *Edward*, who bequeathed him the Kingdom, and whoſe Laws they were, to grant their Petition; to which he conſented, by the Advice of his Barons. He chang'd the Laws afterwards, and brought in the *Norman*; commanding them to be made uſe of almoſt through the whole Kingdom. The *Daniſh* Laws had prevail'd in the Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Cambridge*, and he permitted them to be ſtill current there, becauſe they had more relation to his own than thoſe of the *Saxons*.

[b] The Monks of *Ely* invited the Lords into their Iſle, that they might be a Guard to their Poſſeſſions againſt the King; but he having conquer'd them, was the more ſevere to them, and requir'd of them 700 Marks to confirm them to them: Which Sum, when they came pay it, wanting only a Groat-weight, he made them pay 1000 more. The Abbot of St. *Albans* fled to the *Engliſh* Lords in the Iſle of *Ely*, and died there, *Anno* 1077.

[c] The *Saxon* Annals, and moſt of our Authentick Hiſtorians, place the Reduction of *Ely* in the Year 1071.

[d] *Malcolm* alſo did the King Homage for ſome part of his Kingdom.

[e] *Holinſhead*, from *Hen. Huntington*, writes Vol. III. p. 10. That 'twas agreed by the Treaty of *Aburneth*, *That King* Malcolm *ſhould do Homage to King* William *for the Realm of* Scotland.

[f] Our Hiſtorians ſay, His Allowance was a Pound of Silver a Day, Sir *John Hayward* calls it twenty Shillings. He made his Submiſſion, as *Florence of Worceſter* and *Holinſhead* after him write, in the Year 1073. and, ſays the abovemention'd *Hayward*, *having large Livings in the Country, he there mellow'd to Old Age in Pleaſure and Vacancy of Affairs*. He was after that concern'd in ſeveral Wars in *Normandy* and *England*, and according to the *Saxon* Annals, was taken Priſoner at the Battel of *Tenchebrai*, with *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, Eldeſt Brother to *William* the Second and *Henry* the Firſt. *William* of *Malmſbury* ſays of him, that he was contemned at Court for his Eaſineſs or Simplicity, and remitted his Penſion of twenty Shillings a Day for a Horſe; about the middle of King *Henry* the Firſt's Reign, he retir'd from Court, and paſt his old Age privately in the Country.

[g] Sir *John Hayward* calls him *Ralph Fitz-Aubert*; and ſays, *'twas the ſame who furniſh'd forty Ships for the King's firſt Voyage to* England: If ſo, it muſt be the Father who married the Daughter, and not the Brother, the Siſter to the Earl of *Norfolk*. *Florence of Worceſter* and *William of Malmſbury* call him *Roger de Bretevil*.

[h] At *Ixnyngham* near *New-Market* in *Cambridgeſhire*.

[i] Earl *Waltheof* was beheaded at *Wincheſter* in the Year 1075. He was buried at *Creyland* in *Lincolnſhire*, and was cry'd up for a Saint by the Monks of that Abbey.

A. D. 1075. the ill Diſpoſition of the Times, that nothing could be thought a fit Remedy for the Diſeaſe, but ſuch a deſperate Cure[a]. The ſuppreſſing of the Plot at home did not free the King from the Inconveniencies of the Confederates Power abroad, who were joyned with them to expel the King, as moſt of the neighbouring Princes by their 1076. Actions did after ſhew. For the King of *France* defended *Dole* in *Britain* (a Caſtle of *Ralph Wader's*) againſt the King of *England*, and employed the Earl of *Bologn* to encourage the Conſpirators. The King of *Denmark* ſent a Navy of two hundred Sail under the Command of his Son *Canutus*, and others. *Drone*, King of *Ireland*, furniſhed *Harold's* Sons with ſixty five Ships: And *Malcolm*, and the Kings of *Wales*, were ready to lend their Aſſiſtance had there been Occaſion. And though they were diſappointed, yet it put the State to very great Charge, the King being obliged for his own Defence, to maintain (beſides his *Normans*) many Companies of *French* Soldiers, under the Command of *Hugh* the *French* King's Brother.

A. D. 1077. A. R. 11. Theſe were all the Wars which King *William* had within his Kingdom, ſaving that in the eleventh Year of his Reign he ſubdued *Wales*, and made the Kings thereof to do him Homage. The Wars he was ingaged in abroad aroſe from his Son *Robert*, with whom he was forced to contend for his Dominions in *France*: For *Robert*, who was by his Father appointed his Deputy to govern the Dukedom of *Normandy* and County of *Maine* in his abſence, was ſo much affected with the Glory of a Command, that he aſſumed to himſelf the ſupreme Government of the Province, cauſing the Barons to do him Homage as Duke and not as Deputy; and enter'd into a League with the King of *France*, who glad of this Opportunity to diſunite a People, grown too great for him, ſo fed the Ambition of the young Prince, and engaged him upon ſuch Profuſeneſs and Expence, that he was obliged to impoſe heavy Exactions upon his Subjects to ſupply his Extravagances; which though they got him the Name of *Curtois*, yet it raiſed ſuch Diſcontents among the *Normans*, that they preferred their Complaints of his ill Government and violent Exactions to his Father. The King hearing this, haſtes with his Forces into *Normandy*, deſigning to ſurprize his Son; but *Robert* having Intelligence of his coming, and being furniſhed with two thouſand Men by the 1079. King of *France*, lay in Ambuſh in the Way[b] through which he was to paſs, ſets upon him, put his Army to Flight, and in the Purſuit happens to encounter with his Father, whom he unhors'd and wounded in the Arm with his Launce, before he knew who he was: But when by his Voice he diſcover'd 'twas his Father, he made haſte to remount him, humbly begging Pardon for his Offence. The King readily granted it, and upon his Submiſſion for his Miſgovernment, took him to *Rouen* with him, and having ſetled him in his Charge again, he returned with his Son *William* (as ſoon as they were both cured of their Hurts receiv'd in the Fight) into *England*.

Robert the King's Son rebels.

The King had not been long at Home, but freſh Information was brought him, that *Robert* was fallen into his former Courſes, uſurping the abſolute Government of his Dukedom, and exacting great Taxes of the People; and to juſtifie his Actions pleaded, that his Father had promiſed him before the King of *France*, to make him their Duke, when he had conquered *England*. At which News the King being moved, thought not fit to give his Deſigns time to ripen, but made all the Preparations he could to return into *Normandy*. In his Paſſage, he was driven upon the Coaſts of *Spain*; but at length recovering *Burdeaux*, and landing with great Preparations, his Son *Robert* came immediately and ſubmitted the ſecond time. But the King thought it not ſafe to truſt him with the Government of *Normandy* again for the preſent, till he had taught him to obey better; and therefore taking him along with him Home, employed him in his Wars[c] againſt *Scotland*, which began to annoy his Dominions, and then ſent him after ſome time again into *Normandy* to govern it; but joyning his youngeſt Son *Henry*[d] with him in the Charge and Power, and repoſing greateſt Truſt and Confidence in him. Theſe two Princes being a little ſetled in their Government, went to viſit the King of *France* at *Conſtance*, where they tarried ſome Days. On a certain Day after Dinner, *Lewis* the *French* King's eldeſt Son, and Prince *Henry* to recreate themſelves, play'd a Game at Cheſs, and *Henry* won ſo much of him, that *Lewis* in Anger call'd him the Son of a Baſtard, and threw the Cheſs-board in his Face: *Henry* hereby provok'd, ſnatch'd up the Cheſs-board, and ſtruck *Lewis* with that Force as drew Blood, and had killed him, had not *Robert* timely interpoſed between them. This petty Brangle between two hot Youths, not only enraged the People ſo much againſt the *Norman* Princes, that they hardly eſcaped their Fury by their ſwift Riding; but it kindled a Quarrel between the two Kings, the Fathers, and was a Cauſe of the firſt War between the *Engliſh* and *French*. For preſently the King of *France*, joyning with *Robert*, who was as impatient of a Partner, as an Head, enter'd *Normandy*, and takes the City of *Vernon*. Whereupon the King of *England*, with his uſual Expedition invades *France*, and ſubdues the Countries of *Xaintongue* and *Poictou*, and ſo returned to *Rouen*. *Robert* made rebellious, as much or more by Inſtigation as Inclination, could not ſtand out againſt his Father, but goes the third time, and ſubmitting is reconciled to him. This was a great Diſappointment and Trouble to the King of *France*; nevertheleſs, being aſham'd to lay down his Arms diſhonourably, he ſummons King *William* to do him Homage for his Kingdom of *England*; but he replied, *That he was ready to do it for his Dutchy of* Normandy, *but for* England *he would not, becauſe he had it of none* but God and his Sword. But this would not ſatisfie the King of *France*, who ſought an Occaſion to quarrel, and therefore he invades *Normandy* again, and the King's other Territories; but with ſuch Loſs, as made him willing to conclude a Peace, which proved but ſhort. For the King of *England* being fallen into a Sickneſs through Labour, Age, and Corpulency, of which he lay ſome time at *Rouen*, the *French* King being young and luſty, ſporting

A. D. 1080. Reg. 14. *Robert revolts from his Father again.*

A. D. 1081. Reg. 15.

A. D. 1082. Reg. 16.

A. D. 1086. Reg. 20 *The King of* France *ſtirs up* Robert *to rebel, and makes War againſt King* William.

with

[a] This Conſpiracy ſo exaſperated King *William*, that ever after he carried himſelf cruelly towards the *Engliſh*, of whom, ſays *William* of *Malmsbury*, *he had ſcarce found any faithful.* He adds, from this time *England became the Habitation and Dominion of Strangers, and the Foreigners engroſs'd all Honours and Riches ſo much, that about ſeventy Years afterward there was no Original* Engliſhman *an Earl, Biſhop or Abbot.*

[b] Near *Gerberet* Caſtle, which he held out againſt his Father.

[c] In the Time of this War King *William* built a new Caſtle upon *Tine*, to be a Bar againſt the Inrodes of the *Scots*; and from it the whole Town after took its Name, being before call'd *Monkcheſter*, or rather *Mount Caſter*. Hol.

[d] The Abbot *Ingulph*, who liv'd at that time, ſays he made his Queen *Maud* Regent of *Normandy*.

A. D. 1087. Reg. 21.

with his Sickneſs, and reflecting upon his Belly, ſaid, *That the King of* England *lay in at* Rouen. This Sarcaſm ſo enraged the King, that as ſoon as he was recover'd, he got all his beſt Forces together, enters *France* in the chiefeſt time of their Fruits, ſpoiling all the Country as far as *Paris*, where the King of *France* then was: To whom he ſent word, *That he was come to give him notice of his up-riſing.* From thence he marched to *Mantz*, which he utterly raſed and deſtroyed; but got his fatal Wound by a Strain of his Horſe among the Breaches, of which he fell ſick, and being conveyed to *Rouen*, ended his Wars and Days together [a].

His Government in Peace.

Having given an Account of the Wars of this King, together with his Conduct and Succeſs in them, I ſhall ſhew what Courſe he took in ſettling the Kingdom, and eſtabliſhing a Government after he had ſuppreſſed the ſeveral Invaſions and Conſpiracies made againſt him in the North and other Parts of the Realm. It is certain he was ſo fond of the Laws and Cuſtoms of his own Nation, that he began his Reign with them, and would certainly have aboliſhed all the *Engliſh* Laws and introduced the *Norman*, had not the Nobility and Commons looked upon it as a great Grievance; and by Petition beſought him in moſt humble manner, by the Oath he had taken at his Coronation, and by the Soul of S. *Edward*, from whom he had the Crown and Kingdom, and under whoſe Laws they were born and bred, *That he would not make them ſo miſerable, nor be ſo ſevere to them, as to judge them by a Law they underſtood not.* This earneſt Addreſs had ſo great an Effect upon the King, that he was pleaſed to confirm his former Promiſes by his Charter, and gave Commandment to his Judges, to ſee that the Laws of S. *Edward* be inviolably obſerved throughout his Kingdom. But notwithſtanding all this Compliance, and a ſeeming Confirmation of the old Laws, which was alſo after done by the Charters of *Henry* I. and II. and King *John*; yet there followed ſo great an Innovation in the Laws and Government of *England*, that the People really had nothing of them but fair Promiſes. For the Body of the Common Law, with the whole Practice of it, came out of *Normandy*, notwithſtanding all Objections that can be made to the contrary. And whereas before

The Laws of England.

the Conqueſt, the Laws by which the *Engliſh* were govern'd were written in their own Tongue, and ſo eaſie to be underſtood by all; now they were tranſlated into *Latin* and *French*, and practis'd wholly in the *Norman* Form and Language, on purpoſe to make the People to learn that Speech for their Defence, which otherwiſe they would not do. And tho' indeed the King labour'd all he could by other means, as well as that, to make the Nation uſe the *French* Language, *viz.* enjoyning Children to be train'd up in no other Language, Grammars in Schools to be made in *French*, all Petitions and Buſineſs at Court in *French*, no Man regarded but he that ſpoke *French*; yet ſoon after his Death the whole Nation return'd to their old *Engliſh*, and nothing remain'd of *French* but in the Law, which is at this Day the only remaining Badge of the *Norman* Conqueſt. New Terms, new Conſtitutions, new Forms of Pleading, new Offices and Courts were introduced by the *Normans*; a People of more impatient and litigious Spirits than the *Engliſh*, who being much engag'd in War, judg'd it much better to ſpend their Peace in Devotion and good Fellowſhip, than by intricate and tedious Forms of Law make Peace it ſelf a Trouble, and a Controverſie about Popery, as pernicious as the bloodieſt Battels. For the Laws of the *Engliſh* before this were plain, brief and ſimple, without Intricacies and Perplexities; commanding, not diſputing; deciding, not confounding: Their Grants ſhort, but full, ſhewing them a clear meaning People, and of honeſt and good Intentions. As for their Tryals in Caſes Criminal, where manifeſt Proof fail'd, they continu'd their ancient Cuſtom uſed among them before their Converſion, to decide them by their *Ordeal*, i. e. a *Right Doom*, (for *Or* ſignifies Right, and *deal* a Part or Portion) "Of this ſort of Judgment they had two "Kinds; Ordeal by Fire for the better ſort of "People, and Ordeal by Water for the meaner "ſort: That of Fire was to go blindfold over cer- "tain Plowſhares, made red hot, and laid at un- "even diſtances one from another; that of Water "was either hot or cold, in the one to put their "naked Arms to the Elbow, and into the other "to be caſt headlong: According to their Eſcape "or Hurt they were judg'd; ſuch as were caſt "into Rivers, if they ſunk, they were judg'd in- "nocent; if not, Guilty, as ejected by the Ele- "ment. Theſe Tryals they call'd the Judgment "of God, and they were perform'd with ſolemn "Prayers. In ſome Caſes the Perſon accuſed was admitted to clear himſelf by receiving the Euchariſt, by his own Oath, or the Oaths of two or three credible Men; but this was allow'd only to Perſons of Note and Ability. The uſual Opinion among them being this: That Men of Ability had a greater regard of Honeſty. Beſides theſe, they had a Tryal of a Camp-fight, or Duel, (which the *Lombards*, a *German* Nation, introduced alſo into *Italy*) permitted by the Law in Caſes of Safety, Fame or Poſſeſſions. All theſe Tryals ſhew the *Engliſh* to be ignorant of any Forms of Law, and to have no Imperial or Pontifical Conſtitutions to determine Affairs by. But theſe ſorts of Judgments and Tryals had their Period ſoon after the Conqueſt. Thoſe of Fire and Water were at firſt diſuſed, and at laſt abrogated by the Pope, as a Pagan Invention, and an Impious Law; that of Combat out-liv'd the other, but very rarely ſuffer'd to be uſed. All Actions, both Criminal and Real, began to be wholly determin'd by the Verdict of twelve Men, according to the Cuſtom of *Normandy*, call'd an *Enqueſt*, where the ſame Cuſtom is uſed with the ſame Cautions to the Jurors, as among us at this Day. Some indeed hold, that this manner of Tryal was in uſe in this Kingdom long before; and to prove their Opinion, alledge a Law of King *Ethelred*'s, Father of the Confeſſor, wherein he requires his Subjects in their Gemotes or Conventions, monthly held in every Hundred, that twelve grave Men of free Condition, ſhould, with the Greve, or chief Officer among them, ſwear upon the Evangeliſts to judge every Man's Cauſe aright. But theſe Men were to be Aſſeſſors with the Judge, and no Jurors, as the manner of the *Normans* was. And indeed had there been any ſuch Form, we ſhould have heard of it more in their Laws and Practice.

A. D. 1087.

The Judgment of Ordeal.

The Engliſh Tryals.

But whatever Alterations he made in other Matters, yet in thoſe Laws which had been made by the *Saxons* for the Preſervation of the Peace, and for the good Order and Security of the Kingdom (which are of the greateſt Importance to Kings) he made no Change, becauſe he found ſuch excellent Conſtitutions made by the wary Care of former Kings, that he had none ſo good, and better could hardly be invented by Man, eſpecially the Burrough-Law, whereby every Freeman of the Commonalty was ſurety for the Behaviour of

Saxon Laws for the Peace continu'd.

[a] He dy'd on the 9th of *September*, 1087. in the ſixty firſt Year of his Age, and two and twentieth of his Reign over *England*.

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each other, after this manner: The whole Kingdom was divided into Shires or Shares, and every Shire ſubdivided into Hundreds, every Hundred conſiſting of a conſiderable number of Burroughs, Villages or Tithings, each containing ten Houſeholders; of which, if any one committed any unlawful Actions, the other nine were to attach him, and bring him to Puniſhment; if he fled, he was injoyn'd to appear within thirty one Days; if in the mean time he were apprehended, he was to reſtore what he had taken away; otherwiſe the Head-Burrough or Tithing-Man was to take with him two of the ſame Village, and as many of the three next Villages adjoyning, (*viz.* the Tithing-Man, or Head, and two other principal Men) and before the Officers of their Hundred clear himſelf and the Village of the Fact, making good the Damage done by the Goods of the Malefactor; and if they were not ſufficient, the Burrough or Tithing muſt make up the reſt; and beſides take an Oath, that they have not been acceſſary to the Fact, and to bring the Offender to Juſtice, if they knew where he was, or could get him. Beſides, every Maſter of a Family was to be ſurety for all his Family; and if any Servant was call'd in Queſtion, his Maſter was to make him anſwer it in the Hundred where he was accuſed; if he fled, the Maſter was to deliver up what Goods were left in his Cuſtody to the King: If he himſelf were accuſed of aiding his Servant, or to be privy to his Flight, he was to clear himſelf by five Men, otherwiſe to forfeit all his Goods to the King, and his Man to be out-law'd. By theſe Tyes was the State ſo firmly joyn'd together, and the Order and Peace of the Kingdom ſo well ſecur'd, that no Society of Men in the World liv'd in greater Order and Peace. For after this Eſtabliſhment, not only all Thefts and Robberies, which were common before, were wholly ſuppreſs'd, but we never read of any popular Inſurrections; which doubtleſs was a great Cauſe that the *Normans* had ſo ſpeedy a Settlement in *England*, more than the *Romans* or *Saxons*. By theſe Laws there was ſuch a ſtrict Guard put upon every Man's Behaviour, that no Man dare be guilty of any Treaſonable or Criminal Action, and ſo they could not make any conſiderable Reſiſtance againſt the Invader: Otherwiſe, 'tis probable, the Conqueſt of *England* had coſt the *Normans* as dear as it did the *Romans*, *Saxons*, or *Danes*. But King *William* executing the *Engliſh* Laws ſeverely, and withal depriving the Commonalty of all Weapons of War, forbidding all Night-meetings under grievous Penalties; injoyning every Man at [a] eight of the Clock in the Evening to put out his Fire, and go to his reſt; raiſing [b] divers Fortifications in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom to ſuppreſs all Commotions, and putting ſuch Perſons into all Places of Command and Judicature as he knew faithful to his Intereſts, made his Kingdom ſuch as he would have it.

The Saxon *Burrough Law.*

Alterations made by King William *in the* Engliſh *Government.*

As to the Judicial part of Government, he new modell'd it; and whereas the Biſhop and Aldermen were abſolute Judges in every Shire, and the Biſhop in many Caſes had a Share of the Fines impoſed for the King, the King ſtripp'd the Biſhops wholly of their Judicial Power, and confin'd them within their Province [c] to their own Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction and Care of Souls. The Aldermen's Right he took quite away; and whereas all Cauſes were to be determin'd before in their Gemotes, or monthly Conventions in every Hundred, he order'd, That four times in the Year on certain Days all Buſineſs ſhould be determin'd in ſuch Places as he ſhould appoint, by Judges conſtituted by him for that purpoſe, from whom, as from the Boſom of their Prince, all Perſons ſhould have Juſtice. What difference of Tenures he made in Men's Eſtate, is viſible from the Knowledge of the old *Engliſh* Cuſtoms. The *Saxons* had only two kinds of Tenures, Boke-Land and Folk-Land; the one a Poſſeſſion by Writing, the other without: That by Writing was as Freehold, and by Charter, Hereditary with all Immunities, and this was chiefly for the nobler Sort; that without Writing was to hold at the Will of the Lord, obliged to pay certain Rents and Services, and this was for the common People. Inheritances deſcended not to one Heir, but after the *German* Faſhion, was equally divided among all the Children, which they call'd *Land-ſkiften*, *i. e.* Part-Land; a Cuſtom ſtill retain'd in ſome part of *Kent*, by the Name of *Gavelkin*, or *Giſealkin*, which it is ſaid the People of that County gain'd from the Conqueror by this Stratagem. As the King was paſſing through their Country to *Dover*, the People (by the Advice of *Stigand* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Abbot *Egelſin* [d], who told them they would loſe all their ancient Laws and Liberties, and be involv'd in perpetual Slavery by the Conqueror) encompaſſed him on all ſides with Boughs in their Hands, to the great Surprize as well as Fear of the King, who expected no ſuch hoſtile Attempts. Out of the midſt of them came *Stigand* and *Egelſin*, and preſenting themſelves before the King, told him, That the Multitude ſurrounding him was the whole People of the Country gather'd together with Boughs in their Hands, as Olive-Branches, to procure Peace and Liberty, or elſe to entangle him in his Paſſage; reſolving to loſe their Lives, rather than their Freedom, which if he would ſecure to them they would ſubmit as good Subjects. The Conqueror ſeeing his Danger granted their Deſires, and promiſed them the continuance of their Cuſtoms and Liberties; which, if at firſt permitted, are now not better ſecured than to the reſt of the Kingdom. Thoſe Tenants, which were at the Will of their Lords, he multiplied, and made their Caſe more miſerable than before, till by their clamorous Petitions he was forced to relieve them. Their Caſe was this: All Perſons that were engag'd in any Rebellion, and were pardon'd with the Enjoyment of Life, yet having their Eſtates taken from them, became Vaſſals unto thoſe Lords to whom their Eſtates were given; and if by their Labour they attain'd any Portion of Ground, they held it only ſo long as it pleaſed their Lords, who often took it from them by Violence, and contrary to all Right. This the King redreſſed; and commanded, that whatſoever ſuch Perſons had attain'd to by their Labours, or gotten of their Lords by their good Services, or agreed for by any lawful Compact, they ſhould hold inviolably during their whole Lives.

The Cuſtoms of Kent *preſerv'd, and by what means.*

This King having thus ſettled Laws for the Government, of his People, his next Care was for

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[a] And for this end he cauſed in every City, Town and Village, a Bell be rung at that Hour, which was call'd by the *French*, *Covre-feu*; and after by Abbreviation by the *Engliſh*, the *Curfue-Bell*; in Latin, *Ignitegium*.

[b] The Chief of them were the Tower of *London*, and the Caſtles of *Haſtings*, *Nottingham* and *York*.

[c] He aſſign'd the Biſhops a ſeparate Juriſdiction, to try all Cauſes relating to Religion by the Canon-Law in Courts proper to themſelves. The Grant is in Mr. *Fox*'s *Acts and Mon.* p. 154. and in Mr. *Selden*'s Notes on *Eadmer*. It was not a new Juriſdiction, but a ſeparate manner, for the Exerciſe of it.

[d] Abbot of St. *Auſtin*'s in *Canterbury*. Sir *John Hayward* affirms, the *Kentiſh*-Men met him at *Swanſcomb*, two Miles from *Graveſend*.

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The King causes a Survey of the Lands to raise a Revenue.

for himself, to raise a sufficient Revenue for the Maintenance of his Crown and Dignity, which he judged could not well be done, but by an exact Knowledge of his Estate, and a general Survey of the Kingdom. King *Alfred* had given him a Precedent, but his Survey recorded in the Doom-book at *Winchester* was defective and imperfect; wherefore he having gotten a sufficient number of very skilful Men, and furnished them with a large Commission, sent them out into the Kingdom to take a particular Account of his own Possessions, and every Man's Estate else in the Kingdom, the Nature and Quality of their Lands, their Estates and Abilities, with the Descriptions, Bounds and Divisions of all the Shires and Hundreds; and this was drawn up into one Book, and brought into his Treasury, then newly called the *Exchequer* (as the supreme Court of *Normandy* was) whereas before it was termed *Talé*, and had the Name of *Dome-book*[a] (*Liber Judiciarius*) given it, a Record ready upon all Occasions for Taxes, or other Uses. All the Forests and Chases of the Kingdom he seized into his own Hands, and exempted them from all Laws, but his own Pleasure; making them Retreats for Kings, to recreate himself in, and his Successors, and inflicting most severe Punishments upon any

He made a new Forest.

that should presume to destroy his Game: And that his Command might be the greater, he increased the Number of them in all Parts, and on the South-Coasts dispeopled the Country for thirty Miles together, and of old Habitations and ancient Estates; to the great Damage of his People, made[b] a New Forest, as it is called to this Day; an Act which got him much Hatred among his People, yet used by his Successors (who chose to imitate his Tyranny rather than his Virtues) till it was remedied by the Charter of Forests, granted by *Henry* the Third. Soon after the general Survey of the Kingdom, he levied a Tax of 6*s.* upon every Hide of Land throughout the Nation; and after some times exacted the old

His Taxes.

Tax, commonly called *Dane-gelt*, which was an Imposition of two Shillings upon every Hide or Plough-land, raised at first to bribe the *Danes*, and after continued for the ordinary Supply of the King's Occasions in War or Peace. He imposed also upon some of his Subjects a Tax then first called *Escuage*, which was a Sum of Money taken for every Knight's Fee for Stipends and Donatives for Soldiers. But all these Taxes he levied but seldom; knowing, that Subjects never heartily love, however, they may fear those Princes which are burthensome and chargeable to them. He had no Revenues by Fines and pecuniary Mulcts, unless such as arose by the Breach of his Forest Laws and for Murther, which he laid upon the People upon this Occasion. In the beginning of his Reign, the Hatred and Malice of the *English* towards the *Normans* was such, that if they found them alone in Woods or any remote Places they murthered them; and notwithstanding all the severe Courses the King could use, the Malefactors could not be discovered. Whereupon the King ordered, That the Hundred where any *Norman* was found dead, and the Murtherer not discover'd, should pay to the King 28 or 30 *l.* according to the Extent of it, that by this general Punishment he might deter particular Men, or hasten the Discovery of the Guilty, by whom so many must suffer Damage. The Revenues which were paid by the Tenants of the Crown for the Provision of the King's Household, not in Money, some in Wheat, Malt, Beefs; others in Mutton, Hay and Oats, *&c.* was duly and orderly taken according to the Quality and Quantity of every Man's Lands throughout the whole Kingdom. Other Incomes than these there were none belonging to the Crown but what was raised by extraordinary Fines, and of those Cities and Castles where Husbandry was not used.

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From the Church he gat considerable Sums, but by Extortion rather than Justice, the Kingly Power never before extending so far, and therefore no Law or Precedent enabling him to do it. And the first thing he did in that kind was, he seized the Plate, Jewels and Treasure of all the Monasteries of *England*, pretending that the Rebels and their Assistants had conveyed their Riches into them as privileged Places, to defraud him of them. He made all the Bishopricks, and Monasteries also, that held Baronies (which before had been exempted from all secular Services) to contribute to his Wars, and other Necessities of State, which may be the Reason that in all the Histories of those Times, which were written by Church-men interested in them, he bears the Name of an Oppressor and cruel Exactor, with other Marks of Infamy; tho' if things were rightly weighed, the Nature and Necessity of his Affairs may be an Advocate for him, and in many things excuse him. He was indeed an excellent Prince, but the Name of Conqueror blasted the Appearance of all his Perfections; and though he had the Advantage of a long Reign, to blot out the Severities of his Entrance to the Crown out of Mens Memories, yet he could never gain the Affections of his People so heartily to him as his Sons did, who were much inferiour to him in real Worth.

His Exactions of the Church.

How he was furnished with Ministers of State for the Management of the important Affairs of his Reign, though Time hath deprived us of a very exact Knowledge; yet 'tis not to be doubted, but that being a Man of good Judgment himself, he had able Persons employed under him: For weak Princes make bad Choices usually, but understanding Kings are always stored with able Ministers. The principal Persons entrusted by him were *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux* and Earl of *Kent*, *Lanfranc* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *William Fitz-Auber* Earl of *Hereford*. *Odo* was his Vicegerent in his absence, and had the Management of his Treasury. He was a Man of great Reach, and of an active Spirit; high indeed in the Favour of his Prince, and by his Place; but yet very ambitious, and aiming at greater things: For having gather'd a vast Treasure of Money by his Avarice, and so profitable an Office, he design'd to buy either the Popedom, or the Kingdom of *England*, after the Death of the King his Brother. The Popedom came first in his way, and to it he had strew'd his Path with Gold at *Rome*; but when

His Council and Ministers of State.

Odo.

[a] There are several different Opinions why it was call'd *Doomsday-Book*; its first Name was the *Rolls of* Winton, because it was kept in the City of *Winchester*, and afterwards *Doomsday-Book*, i. e. *Liber Judiciarius*, or *The Book of Judgment*. The Author of the *Black Book* in the *Exchequer* supposes, That the Name of *Doomsday* was first given to this Book, because 'twas no more lawful to depart from what is in it, than from the *Day of Doom*; but Sir *John Hayward* thinks 'twas so call'd from *Domus Dei*, a Place in the Cathedral of *Winchester*, in which this Roll was kept.

[b] This Fact, which was done meerly to promote his Pleasure, was look'd upon by the Nation as one of the most intolerable and inexcusable Pieces of Cruelty, that not only he himself, but ever any Prince did; for he destroyed thirty six Parish-Churches, with the Houses and Possessions of so many Townships, to make them Habitations for wild Beasts.

[c] Knights Fee was Lands given by a Prince to such as had well deserved of him in his Wars. These Donations were first used by the *Romans*, who at first gave them only for Term of Life, and after to them and their Heirs, and from the *Romans* they came in use in *France* and *Britain*. See Sir *Henry Spelman*'s Remains publish'd by Dr. *Gibson*.

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But the Biſhop diſappointed his Intention, and became the Inſtrument of many Diſſentions among his Children, partly in Revenge for what he had ſuffer'd from their Father, and partly out of Envy to *Lanfranc*, whoſe Counſel in his greateſt Affairs the King chiefly uſed; and therefore meerly to oppoſe him, he took the contrary Courſes to him, and ſided with Duke *Robert* his Nephew; with whom (after having paſs'd many Changes of Fortune with him) he went to the Holy War, and dy'd at the Siege of *Antioch*. *Lanfranc* was a Man of as univerſal Goodneſs as Learning, born in *Lombardy*, but brought hither by a kind Providence to do *England* good; for tho' his Preferment by the King might ſeem to lay ſome Reſtraints upon him, and require a greater Obſervance, yet by his Gravity and Piety, he gat himſelf ſo great Reverence with the King, that he feared not to oppoſe *Odo* the King's Brother in his Encroachments upon the Church; yea, in all he could, ſo intervened between the Kingdom and the King, that he ſaved the Nation from many rigorous Exactions and ſevere Impoſitions. For [a] he that conquer'd all others was a Captive to *Lanfranc*'s Goodneſs. He reform'd [b] the Irregularities of the Clergy, and introduc'd Gravity and Piety among them, according to the Uſage of his Country, in this joyning in Alterations with his Maſter, tho' more for the beſt. And to raiſe Devotion among all ſorts, he did what poſſible he could to furniſh his Church with the moſt exquiſite Ornaments he could procure; he cauſed Religious Houſes to be built with greater Conveniency and State, and began the founding of Hoſpitals. Having long labour'd by indefatigable diligence to keep things in an even Courſe, during the Reign of the Conqueror; and after his Death, ſeeing his Succeſſor (who was eſtabliſh'd in his Throne by his means chiefly) to fail his Expectation, and foreſeeing, by his long Experience, the ill Tendency of the preſent Management, he began (with his Friends) much to lament the tediouſneſs of Life, which he ſhortly after was remov'd out of by a gentle Sickneſs, which neither hinder'd his Speech nor Memory; a thing which he often deſir'd of God. *William Fitz-Auber*, who (as is abovemention'd) was a principal Counſellor and Inſtrument in the Invaſion of *England*, and for that end furniſh'd the King with forty Ships at his own Charge, was a Man of a great Eſtate, but of an Heart larger than any Riches could ſuffice. He was ſo liberal to Soldiers, that the King himſelf often check'd his Profuſeneſs; and ſo kind, that he made a Law, (for that Power the Noblemen of thoſe times had in their Provinces) that in the County of *Hereford* no Man of War or Soldier ſhould be fined for any Offence whatſoever above ſeven Shillings; whereas in other Countries, upon the leaſt Offence given their Lord, they were forced to pay twenty or twenty five Shillings. He was a moſt eminent Earl, a chief Counſellor in all State Affairs, both of *England* and *Normandy*, and always in higheſt Favour with the King; yet was not contented with theſe Honours, but through hopes of greater Riches and Command, went over into *Flanders*, where, by marrying *Richeld* the Widow of *Baldwin* VI. Duke of *Flanders*, he deſign'd to get into that Government in the Minority of *Arnulph* her Son: But *Robert de Friſon* his Uncle, who was call'd to govern by the People, becauſe of the Exactions of *Richeld*, kept ſo ſtrong Poſſeſſion of that Dukedom, that *Fitz-Auber* was forced to recover it by the Sword, which before he had done he was by ſurprize ſlain. And indeed it was the Fate of the Conqueror to ſee moſt of thoſe Men, who had been the principal Actors in all his Fortunes, dead before him, as *Beaumont*, *Montfort*, *Harcourt*, *Hugh de Gourney*, Viſcount *Neele*, *Hugh de Mortimer*, Count *de Vannes*, &c. Himſelf laſt of all, having lain ſick a little time at *Rouen*, and diſpos'd of his Eſtate, dy'd in the ſeventy fourth Year of his Age, and one and twentieth Year of his Reign [c]. His Corps, tho' of ſo great a Monarch, is ſaid to have lain three Days quite neglected, his Servants minding more to provide for themſelves, than to attend upon him: At laſt his youngeſt Son *Henry* cauſed it to be convey'd to his Abby at *Caen* [d]. He was well attended to the Gates of the City; but there happening a Fire juſt at their entring into the Town, the Corps was again wholly deſerted, the Company all running to quench the Flames. After that was done, and the Body was carry'd to the Monaſtery, and ready to be bury'd, a Gentleman of Note [e] ſtands up, and with angry Countenance forbids his Burial in that place, claiming the Ground for his Inheritance, deſcended to him from his Anceſtors, but taken from him at the building of that Abby; appealing to *Row* their firſt Founder, for Juſtice; whereupon *Henry* was forced to compound with him for an Annual Rent. So hard was it for him [f], who had ſo large Dominions in his Life, to find a ſmall place for his Burial, which he could not get but by Purchaſe: Men eſteeming a living Dog more than a Dead Lyon, and moſt ready to trample upon thoſe dead, which they fear'd moſt when they were alive.

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Lanfranc.

William Fitz-Auber.

His Death and Burial.

He had a numerous Iſſue by *Maud* his Wife, *viz.* four Sons and ſix Daughters. To *Robert* his eldeſt Son he left the Dutchy of *Normandy*, to [g] *William* his third Son the Kingdom of *England*, and to *Henry* his youngeſt all his Treaſure, with an Annual Penſion to be paid him by his Brothers. *Richard*, who was his ſecond Son and his Darling, a Prince

His Children.

[a] Yet was not this King ſo blindly devoted either to *Lanfranc*'s Wiſdom or Piety; for when *Lanfranc* labour'd much with him to ſwear Fealty to the Pope, as holding the Crown of *England* from him, tho' he look'd upon it as rather a piece of his Piety than Policy, yet he would never be induc'd to do it, becauſe, as he alledg'd, none of his Predeceſſors the Kings of *England* had ever done it. The Letter he wrote to the Pope on this occaſion is to be ſeen in Mr. *Selden*'s Notes on *Eadmerus*. He was ſo jealous of his Power both in Spirituals as well as Temporals, that he would not ſuffer the Archbiſhop to call a Synod without his Leave.

[b] And for this Reaſon 'tis very probable it was, that when *Gregory* the VIIth impos'd Cœlibacy upon the Clergy of *England*, and commanded that none ſhould hear the Maſſes of any that were marry'd; *Lanfranc* was very moderate in putting the Injunction in practiſe, and would part none of the Clergy from their Wives, tho' he would ordain none that were marry'd; as judging, perhaps, that true Piety could hardly thrive, nor the Clergy ever become regularly good, if Marriage were ſtrictly forbidden.

[c] This Account of his Age is taken from *Polydore Virgil*, and is not true. *William* of *Malmsbury* ſays, 'twas in the 59th Year of his Age; *Ordericus Vitalis*, in his ſixty firſt Year; and Sir *John Hayward*, in his ſixty fourth.

[d] His Corps was abandon'd as ſoon as the Breath was out of his Body by all his Servants; and 'twas not his Son *Henry* that caus'd him to be convey'd to *Caen*, but *William* Archbiſhop of *Roan*; the Corps being firſt embalm'd at the Charge of one *Herlwyn* a Country Knight.

[e] *Anſelm Fitz-Arthur.* [f] *Henry* his youngeſt Son paid *Fitz-Arthur* one Hundred Pounds for the Ground.

[g] In his Dying Speech he ſaid, *He would conſtitute no Heir to the Realm of* England, *but would commend it to God, becauſe he poſſeſs'd not that Honour by Right of Inheritance, but by the Inſtinct of God, Effuſion of Blood, and Perjury of* Harold. Yet he wiſh'd that his Son *William*, who had been ever obedient to him, might flouriſh in it; and to that end, he ſent him with a Letter to *Lanfranc*. He left *Henry* five thouſand Marks only. *Ord. Vital.*

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a Prince of great Hope, was ſlain by a Stag as he was hunting in the New Foreſt in *Hampſhire*; the firſt Inſtance how fatal that Place would prove to the Royal Family, which had been made out of the Eſtates, and by the Wrongs of ſo many: For not long after *William Rufus* was ſlain there alſo by an Arrow, and *Richard* the Son of *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* brake his Neck by a Fall there, very ſad Allays to thoſe Pleaſures, which we take by other Mens Injuries, yet the deſerved Rewards of Injuſtice and Oppreſſion. His eldeſt Daughter *Cicilia* was made a Nun, *Conſtance*, the ſecond, was married to *Allayn* Earl of *Britain*, *Adela* to *Stephen* Earl of *Bloys*, by whom, among other Iſſue, ſhe had King *Stephen*. In her Age ſhe became a Nun, according to the Devotion of thoſe Times, in which the Perſons of greateſt Quality did not refuſe a Retirement for Religion ſake. *Gundred* the fourth Daughter was married to *William de Warren* Earl of *Surrey*, the other two, *Ela* and *Margaret*, died before Marriage.

His Perſon. He was of a proportionable Stature, comely Perſonage[a], and good Preſence either riding, ſitting, or ſtanding, till by Age he grew corpulent and unweildy; of ſo healthy and ſtrong a Conſtitution, that he never had any Sickneſs till a few Months before his Death. He had ſo great a Strength of Body, that very few could bend his Bow; and tho' he was above fifty Years old when he enter'd *England*, yet his Age had not in the leaſt impaired him, as his Activity and indefatigable Labour in the Expedition proved. He was of an undaunted Courage, ſagacious Wit and ripe Judgment, as his many Encounters with the *French* and *Danes* do evidently ſhew, who were a People more powerful both in Men and Shipping than himſelf; yet by his Policy and Bravery he was able to match, if not overmatch them both. His Devotion was very exemplary and admirable, as the Clergy of that time, who never loved him, do acknowledge. His great Mercy appeared in often pardoning and receiving into Favour thoſe who had rebelled againſt him; and tho' he was troubled with ſo many Rebellions by the *Engliſh* Nobles, yet he never executed but one of them, and that was *Waltheof*, who had notoriouſly broke his Faith with him twice before; and thoſe whom he kept Priſoners in *Normandy* as the Earls *Morchar* and *Siward*, with *Wolfnoth*, the Brother of *Harold*, and others, he (out of Compaſſion to them) releaſed a little before his Death. He was ſo far from Suſpicion (a great Sign of Magnanimity) that he allowed *Edgar* his Competitor for his Crown the Freedom of his Court, at his Deſire furniſhed him out for the Holy War, where he behaved himſelf bravely, and got great Reputation by his Actions, from the Emperors of *Greece* and *Germany*, which might have been accounted dangerous, becauſe of his relation to the latter. He was a Benefactor to nine Abbies of Monks, and one of Nuns, founded by his Anceſtors in *Normandy*; and during his Reign were founded either by his Encouragement, or Charge, ſeven Monaſteries and ſix Nunneries in the ſame Province. With thoſe Forts (as he ſaid) he furniſhed *Normandy*, that they might fight againſt the World and Fleſh. In *England* he founded one great Abby near the Place where he got the Victory over *Harold*, and in Memory of it call'd it *Battel-Abby*; and two Nunneries, one at *Hinchinbroke* in *Huntingdonſhire*, and the other at *Armthwayt* in *Cumberland*, beſides many other publick Works. He was very magnificent in his Feſtival Entertaiments, which he obſerved with great Solemnity and Ceremony, which naturally beget Reverence; keeping his *Chriſtmas* at *Gloceſter*, his *Eaſter* at *Wincheſter*, and his *Whitſuntide* at *Weſtminſter*, whither he then ſummoned all his Nobility, that Ambaſſadors and Strangers might ſee his State and liberal Expences, and was always at thoſe times very mild and obliging. Theſe Ceremonies *William Rufus* kept up, but *Henry* laid them aſide.

A. D. 1087. Reg. 21.

His Feaſts.

His Religion and Acts of Piety and Mercy.

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES *in the Reign of* William I.

IN the eleventh Year of his Reign, on the 27th of *March*, there was a general Earthquake in *England*, and in the Winter following a Froſt, which continued from the 1ſt of *November* to the middle of *April*. On the 16th of the ſame Month a Comet appear'd about ſix in the Morning, in fine Weather.

In his 15th Year another Earthquake happen'd, the more terrible becauſe it came with a hideous Noiſe; and in his 20th Year there fell ſuch abundance of Rain, that the Floods were univerſal thro' the Kingdom; and the Springs riſing in ſeveral Hills, ſo ſoften'd and decay'd the Foundations of them that they fell down, and ſome Villages were overwhelmed in their Fall. Sir *J. Hayward.*

In the laſt Year of his Reign *Holinſhead* reports, there was a burning Fever among the People, a Murrain among the Cattel, and at the ſame time Fowl, as Cocks, Hens, Geeſe, and Peacocks, fled from their Owners Yards to the Woods, and became wild. On the 7th of *July*, St. *Paul's* Church in *London* was burnt.

In his Reign *William* Biſhop of *Durham* founded the Univerſity College in *Oxford*. The Uſe of the *Long-Bow*, which render'd the *Engliſh* Nation ſo famous afterwards, was brought firſt into *England* by this Prince.

The moſt illuſtrious Perſons in the Reign of William *the* Norman, *were*

Waltheof Son of *Siward*, Earl of *Northumberland*; *Edrick Sylvaticus*: or the Foreſter; *Edwin* Earl of *Mercia*, and Earl *Morchar*, brave *Engliſhmen*, and zealous *Aſſertors* of their *Liberty* againſt the *Normans*; of whom the moſt famous were *Roger de Breteuil* Earl of *Hereford*; *Ralph de Wayir* Earl of *Norfolk*, and *Roger Mowbray* the *Norman* Earl of *Northumberland.*

Of Men of Learning: The moſt Eminent in his Time were

William of *Poictiers* the King's Chaplain; *Hirman* the Arch-deacon; *Ingulph* Abbot of *Croyland* in *Lincolnſhire*; *Osborn* a Monk of *Dover*, who wrote the Life of *Dunſtan*; *Robert* Biſhop of *Hereford*; *Folcard* a Benedictine Monk, he wrote the Life of Sir *John of Beverly*, Archbiſhop *Lanfranc*, who, tho' a *Lombard* by Birth, was an *Engliſhman* by Affection, he wrote this King's Life. In his time alſo flouriſh'd *Marianus Scotus*, born in *Ireland* in the Year 1028. He wrote an *Engliſh* Hiſtory and a general Hiſtory of *Europe* interwoven with it, which he brought down to the Year 1083. He left *Ireland Anno* 1056. and went to *Germany*, where he became a Monk of St. *Martin's* Convent at *Mentz*, and died there, *Anno* 1086.

Sir *James Ware*, *Iriſh* Writers.

[a] In the Year of our Lord 1542. the Biſhop of *Bayeux*, Abbot of St. *Stephens* in *Caen*, order'd King *William* the Firſt's Tomb to be open'd, wherein his Body was found whole, fair and perfect, his Limbs large and big, and his Stature taller, and Bulk bigger than that of ordinary Men.

E. Lutterell delin.

P. Vanderbanck Sculp.

KING WILLIAM THE II.nd

THE LIFE and REIGN OF WILLIAM II.

A. D. 1087. Reg. 1.

William Rufus *made King of* England.

WILLIAM the II[d], Son to the Conqueror, being with his Father at *Rouen* at his Death, had his Desires so fix'd upon the Crown of *England*, that neglecting his Father's Funeral, he hasten'd with all speed thither, and [a] by the Mediation of *Lanfranc*, and his own large Bounty and Promises, obtain'd it [b], according to his Father's Will, whom by his dutiful Behaviour he had much endear'd to himself, especially after the Abdication of his eldest Son *Robert*. He was a Prince more Gallant than Good; and having been bred up to Warlike Actions, in which he was generally on the fortunate Side, was rough and proud by Nature, and grew much more so by the Addition of Sovereignty, which enabled him through the Heat of Youth to do several irregular Acts, to his own eternal Dishonour, as well as the loss of his Subjects Love: Coming to the Crown not by Succession, and Right of Primogeniture, but by his Father's Will only, (for his elder Brother *Robert* wa alive, and the Kingdom by Inheritance belong'd to him) he found it absolutely necessary to hold the Possession of it by the Good-will of his Subjects, which he knew no better way to purchase than by large Promises of Favours and Kindness, and large Gifts to those that were more likely to be wrought upon to disturb it. His Subjects consisted of two sorts of People, *Normans* and *English*: The *Normans* were to be engag'd to him chiefly by Money; and therefore to gain them he went presently after his Coronation to *Wincheſter*, where his Father's Treasure [c] lay, and emptied it out all to them; by which profuse Liberality, tho' he gain'd the Love of many, yet he lost more than he won, his Fund being not large enough to content all, and made himself so poor ever after, that through meer Necessity he was forc'd to be burthensome to his Subjects, and made use of many dishonourable ways of extorting Money from them. The *English* were to be secured by nothing so much as the Grant of their ancient Liberties; wherefore he gave them larger Promises than was suitable to his State and Dignity, which afterward failing in the Performance of, he got himself more Hatred than otherwise he would have had; yet he settled himself for the present, till Time discover'd that.

Robert Duke of *Normandy* being settled in his Dutchy [d], which was the Height of his Ambition in his Father's Life-time, was not contented with that only after his Death, but grudg'd to see himself a small Prince, and his younger Brother a potent King: Whereupon he contriv'd the speediest ways he could to recover his Inheritance, and ruine his Brother's Fortune in the beginning of it. He knew he had a strong Party for him in *England*, and his Uncle *Odo*, *Roger de Montgomery* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and some others of the Nobility, were at hand to encourage him to it: But he wanted Money for so great an Enterprize, which he had no other ways to raise so speedily, as by taking it of his younger Brother *Henry*, to whom his Father and Mother had left a great Treasure. Of him therefore by engaging the Country of *Constantine*, a Province in *Normandy*, he borrow'd such large Sums, as enabled him to levy a good Army for *England*. But *William* newly invested in his Crown, tho' well enough prepar'd for any Invasion, yet chose rather to purchase a present Peace (by the Mediation of the Nobility on both sides) till Time has better settled him in his Government, than to raise such Heats on both sides by a War as could not be easily allay'd; and so an Agreement was made, That *William* should hold the Kingdom of *England* during his Life, paying *Robert* three thousand Marks *per Annum*. *Robert* having thus compounded the Difference with his Brother *William*, turn'd his Forces upon his Brother *Henry*, by whose Help he had rais'd them, and took the Country of *Constantine* from him, without paying the Money for which it was engag'd. This Injustice from *Robert* was very pleasing to *William*, who hearing of it upbraided *Henry* with the Gain of the Usury of that Money which he had lent to deprive him of his Crown. *Henry* being thus deserted by both his Brothers, and having no Place to live in free from Danger from them, he surprized the Castle of *Mount St. Michael*, and fortify'd it; getting Assistance from *Hugh* Earl of *Britain*, who for his Money, supply him with Plenty of Soldiers out of *Britain*, who spoil'd and ravag'd the Countries of *Constantine* and *Bessin*.

A. D. 1087. Reg. 1.

Robert *attempts to get the Crown of* England.

Odo, Bishop of *Bayeux*, being return'd into *England* from his Imprisonment in *Normandy*, and restor'd to his Earldom of *Kent*, was not yet contented in so much an inferiour Station to what he

A. D. 1088. Reg. 2.

[a] The Nobility were more inclin'd to *Robert* than *William*, but by *Lanfranc*'s Piety and Persuasions were gain'd to fix at last upon *William*, and so he was crown'd by *Lanfranc*, *Sep.* 6. 1087.

[b] *William* the Second, surnam'd *Rufus*, or the *Red*, from his yellow Hair, was declar'd King on the 9th of *September*, and Crown'd the 11th of *October* Sir *John Hayward*.

[c] 'Tis said, the Treasure consisted of sixty thousand Pounds in Money, (a prodigious Sum in those Days) besides Jewels, Gold and Plate.

[d] Duke *Robert* was in *Germany* when his Father dy'd, and by his Absence gave his Brother *William* time to settle himself in the Throne of *England*.

A. D 1088. Reg. 2.

had formerly been in, but envy'd *Lanfranc* the Honour he had ſpoil'd him of, to be the only Man at the Helm, by whoſe Counſels all things were manag'd; and to recover it again, thought 'twould be the ſpeedieſt courſe to change the King. To this end he enter'd into a Plot with as many *Norman* Lords as he found inclinable to a Change, to ſet up *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, and ſent for him to come over with ſpeed with all the Power he could bring out of *Normandy*. In the mean time theſe Conſpirators, to diſtract the King's Forces, and ſo leave *Robert* an eaſie entrance into the Kingdom, began in divers parts of the Nation to revolt from their Allegiance. *Geoffrey* Biſhop of *Conſtance*, with his Nephew *Robert de Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberland*, fortify'd *Briſtol*, and took in the Country round about; *Robert de Bigod* made a ſtrong Party in *Norfolk*; *Hugh de Grandemenill* gather'd Forces about *Leiceſter*; *Robert de Mongomery*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, had a conſiderable Body of *Welſhmen*, and others thereabouts, with whom he ſet forward; and being accompanied with *William* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Bernard de Newmarch*, *Roger Lacy* and *Ralph Mortimer*, took *Worceſter*, and ſecured themſelves in it. *Odo* himſelf fortify'd the Caſtle of *Rocheſter*, and made good all the Coaſts of *Kent*. So that had *Robert* come with his Army out of *Normandy*, as they expected, and in the midſt of theſe Diſtractions purſu'd his Claim, he had infallibly got the Crown; but he ſtaying too long, gave the King time to confirm his Friends, undermine his Enemies, and ſtrengthen himſelf by the aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*, to whom having granted a releaſe from their former Tribute, eaſed them of their Grievances, and reſtored them to their ancient Freedom, in hunting in all his Woods and Foreſts; he made them ſo entirely his, and ſo ready to ſerve him, that he ſoon became powerful enough to vanquiſh all the Conſpirators; by which the *Normans* were convinc'd, that the *Engliſh* could eaſily have conquer'd them, had they had an Head to lead them againſt them. *Mongomery* came over to the King, and the reſt were ſoon repreſs'd. *Odo*'s Faction in *Kent* was the ſtrongeſt, and the laſt conquer'd. The King coming with his Army againſt them, firſt attack'd the Caſtle of *Tunbridge*, and took it; then *Pemſey*, where *Odo* was, who was forc'd to yield it to the King, and promiſed that the like ſhould be done at *Rocheſter*, by *Euſtace* Earl of *Bologne*, and the Earl of *Mortaigne*, who held it out againſt him. But when he was brought thither to effect it, the Beſieged taking him in, detain'd him, and held out ſtoutly againſt the King's Forces, upon a falſe Information, that Duke *Robert* was landed at *Southampton*; but at laſt were forced to reſign, and retire into *France*, and *Odo* was compelled to abjure the Kingdom [a]. The danger being thus blown over in *England*, *William*, to keep his Brother employ'd at home, and diſcourage him from all future attempts upon the Kingdom of *England*, tranſports an Army into *Normandy* to waſte and diſturb his Brother's Dominions. At his firſt Entrance he obtain'd *S. Valery* and after *Albemarle*, with the whole Countries of *Eu*, *Feſcamp*, the Abbacy of *Mount S. Michael*, *Cherburge*, and other places. *Robert* in this diſtreſs ſeeks for aid from *Philip* King of *France*, and was promis'd it; but as he was marching towards *Normandy* with his Army, King *William* by Money ſo prevail'd with him to ſtand Neuter in the Quarrel, that he return'd without doing *Robert* any good; by which means he was forced to clap up a diſhonourable Peace upon theſe Articles, concluded between them at *Caen* in *Normandy*, *viz.* (1.) That King *William* ſhould hold the Country of *Eu*, *Feſcamp* and other places which he had bought, and were deliver'd unto him, to *William* Earl of *Eu*, and [illegible] Earl of [illegible] Siſter's Son to *William* the First. (2.) That he ſhould aſſiſt *Robert* to recover all the Places which belong'd to his Father, and were taken away from his Dutchy. (3.) That ſuch *Normans* as had forfeited their Eſtates in *England*, by joyning with *Robert*, ſhould be reſtor'd to them. (4.) That the Survivor of either of them ſhould ſucceed to the Dominions both of *England* and *Normandy*.

A. D. 1089. Reg. 3.

Odo ſtirs up a Rebellion againſt William.

The Peace between the Brothers.

After the Concluſion of this Peace by the Mediation of the King of *France*, and while King *William*'s Army remain'd in the Field, *Robert* deſired his aſſiſtance againſt his Brother *Henry*, who ſtill kept the Fort of *Mount S. Michael*, and defended himſelf in it. The two Brothers beſieg'd it forty Days, with little damage to either ſide. But King *William* himſelf, who walking one day on the Shore by the Caſtle, was ſo violently aſſaulted by three Perſons, who among others ſallied out of it, that his Horſe was kill'd, his Breaſtplate broken, and himſelf caſt on the Ground, being hardly able to defend himſelf, till his Men could come to his reſcue. In the end *Henry* was reduced to extream want of Drink and water, altho' he had ſufficient quantities of other Proviſion in the Fort, and ſends to Duke *Robert*, whom he knew to be of the more mild and compaſſionate Temper, to permit him liberty to ſupply himſelf with them. *Robert* immediately ſends him a Tun of Wine, and grants him a Truce for one Day to furniſh himſelf with Water; which, when *William* underſtood, he was diſpleaſed. But *Robert* reply'd, *That it was very Inhumane to deny a Brother Meat and Drink, who crav'd it; for if he periſh'd they had no other Brother*: Which words wrought ſo upon *William*, that not long after they ſent for *Henry*, and came to an agreement, That he ſhould hold the Country of *Conſtantine* in Mortgage till *Robert* had paid his Money [b]; for which a Day was appointed, when he was to receive it at *Rouen*. This Agreement King *William* farther'd, that he might draw as much Treaſure from *Robert* as he could, whom by this Voyage he had not only impoveriſh'd, but poſſeſs'd himſelf of a ſafe and continual Landing-place in part of his Dutchy, and cauſed him to baniſh out of *Normandy* *Edgar Atheling*, whom *Robert* kept in his Court to awe his Brother. Beſides, he ſo prevail'd with *Robert*, eitheir by Promiſes of Money, or otherways, that he brought him with him into *England*, and carry'd him along with him in his Expedition againſt *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, who had invaded his Dominions in his abſence; but the Difference being adjuſted without Arms [c], they ſoon return'd. And *Robert* not long after went into *Normandy* again, much diſſatisfy'd at his Diſappointment by his Brother; and becauſe he had not Money to diſcharge his Brother's Debt, according to his Promiſe, he was reſolv'd to get a Diſcharge from it without; and meeting *Henry* at *Rouen* upon the day appointed, commited him to Priſon; and to get a Releaſe, forced him to renounce his Claim to

1091. Reg. 4.

Wars with Henry.

1092. Reg. 5.

The three Brothers conclude a Peace together.

A. D. 1089. Reg. 3.

William *carries an Army into* Normandy.

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[a] Duke *Robert*, on his arrival in *Normandy*, made him Governor of that Province.

[b] *William* of *Malmsbury* ſays, *Henry* was forc'd to ſurrender the Caſtle for want of Water, on condition he might go where he pleas'd; after which he retir'd into *Bretagne*, and thence into the *French Vexin*, ſhifting from place to place, with only a Knight, a Chaplain, and three Gentleman attending him.

[c] The Peace was made by the Mediation of *Edgar*, which reſtor'd him to the King's Favour; one Article of the Treaty was, *That King* Malcolm *ſhould do Homage to King* William. Sir. *J. H.* Or, as *Florence* of *Worceſter* writes, *That* Malcolm *ſhould yield the King the ſame Obedience as he had done to his Father, King* William.

A. D. 1093. Reg. 6.

Henry *flies to the King of* France.

the Country of *Conſtantine*, and ſwear to pretend no Title to any thing in *Normandy*. *Henry* having by this means got his Freedom, fled to *Philip* King of *France*, and complain'd of this groſs Injuſtice done him by his Brother; *Philip* gave him kind Entertainment, but he remain'd there not long, before a Knight of *Normandy*, named *Hachard*, undertaking to put him into the ſtrong Fort of *Dampfront* without the Knowledge of his Brother *Robert*, convey'd him in diſguiſe out of that Court, and cauſed the Town and Caſtle to be reſign'd up to him; by which ſoon after he made himſelf Maſter of the Country of *Paſſays*, which lay about it, and a good part of *Conſtantine*, having the private aſſiſtance of his Brother *William*, *Richard de Rivieres*, and *Roger de Mannevile*. Duke *Robert* ſeeing *Henry* again ſet up againſt him, levies an Army to recover *Dampfront*; but finding that he was ſupported by his Brother the King of *England*, he enveighs againſt him, as falſe and perfidious to him, and they became more bitter Enemies than they had ever been before. *William* being incens'd at this, paſs'd over into *Normandy* with a great Army, but rather to terrifie than fight his Brother, (for *William*, tho' he deſir'd to be great with the Sword, yet car'd not how little he made uſe of it, if he could obtain his ends by any other means.) Many ſmall Skirmiſhes paſs'd between them; but in the Concluſion, a Peace was propounded, to which *William* ſeem'd very averſe, that he might obtain what Conditions he pleaſed, and ſent for greater Forces into *England*, as if he reſolv'd to continue the War; but *Robert* being deſerted by the King of *France*, was forced to accept of a Peace at home upon any Terms; which being made up, *William* order'd that his Army which he had ſent for out of *England*, and was come to the Sea-ſide ready to embark [a], ſhould be disbanded, and upon the Payment of ten Shillings a Man diſmiſſed to their homes; which being gladly comply'd with, he was enabled to diſcharge his Expences in *Normandy*, and fee the *French* King.

1094. Reg. 7.

William *Wars againſt the* Welch *and* Scots.

King *William* having by this arbitrary Peace with his Brother ſecur'd himſelf from all Troubles in *Normandy*, reſolv'd to turn his Arms upon two Enemies at home, the *Scots* and *Welch*; intending to reſtrain the former from hurting him, and ſubdue the other. *Malcolm*, King of *Scots*, had ſeveral times in the King's abſence in *Normandy* much depopulated and waſted the Northern Parts of *England*, and was again enter'd into the *Engliſh* Marches as far as *Cheſter*, deſtroying the Country all along. *William* haſted to oppoſe him, and after many Rencounters they were brought to an Interview; both Kings being more willing to have a Peace than ſeek it. The two Kings met at *Gloceſter*, but *William* carrying himſelf at a great diſtance, and expecting to have his Demands granted in every Particular, made *Malcolm* not only leſs yielding, who before was content to have the Confines of both Kingdoms determined by the Primates of them; but being incenſed at the Diſdain which *William* had ſhewed to him, tho' a Sovereign Prince, as well now as before, went home; and raiſing a great Army, enter'd *Northumberland*, reſolving to deſtroy that Country and go farther. *Robert de Mowbray*, Earl of that County, ſeeing his Territories ſo miſerably haraſs'd and depopulated, and being a ſtout and valiant Soldier, raiſed what Force he could to oppoſe him without the King's Order; but not being ſtrong enough to enter a pitch Battel with him, lay in Ambuſh for him where he was to paſs, and fell upon him ſo fiercely and boldly, that he ſlew *Malcolm* himſelf and his eldeſt Son *Edward* [b], the Grief of whoſe Deaths ſoon after brought the good Queen *Margaret* to her End. After the Death of *Malcolm*, the *Scots* choſe *Dufnald* his Brother, King, and drove all the *Engliſh* out of their Nation, which were come thither either to attend the Queen, or ſecure themſelves from the Conqueror, and were preferred by *Malcolm*. But King *William*, to bring the Kingdom into their Legal Succeſſion, and have a King which might be beholding to his Power, aſſiſted *Edgar* the ſecond Son to *Malcolm* (who had ſerved him in his Wars) to obtain the Crown due to him as Heir by Succeſſion to it, and at length expelled *Dufnald*; and the Nation received *Edgar*, but deſtroyed all the Men which he brought with him out of *England*, capitulating with him, that he ſhould never more entertain *Engliſh* or *Normans* in his Service.

A. D. 1094.

Malcolm *King of Scots ſlain and his Brother choſen King.*

A. D. 1095. Reg. 8.

William's *Wars with the* Welch.

The State of *Scotland* being ſettled according to his Mind, he next turned his Arms upon *Wales*; for which he could not want a juſt Occaſion, the *Welch* being ever ſtruggling for their Liberty, and attempting a faint Revenge upon the *Engliſh* and *Normans*. He went himſelf in Perſon upon this Expedition, with a Purpoſe of depopulating that Country, which was ſo troubleſome to him; but the *Welch* flying ſome into Mountains, and others into the Iſle of *Angleſey*, avoided his Fury. The King ſent *Hugh* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and *Hugh* Earl of *Cheſter* againſt the latter, who got the Iſle into their Power by Surprize, but uſed their Victory with horrid Cruelty and Barbarity; putting out the Eyes, and cutting off the Noſes, Hands and Arms of their poor Captives without Mercy, or Diſtinction of Age or Sex. But this Inhumanity was by a juſt Providence revenged upon *Shrewsbury* almoſt in the very Fact: For *Magnus*, Son of *Olanus* Son of *Harold Harfager*, who had lately taken the Iſles of *Orkney*, and was coming to land at *Angleſey* in his Paſſage that way on the Sea, being oppoſed by theſe Earls with that ſmall Force they had, wounded the Earl of *Shrewsbury* in the Eye with a Shot, and beat him into the Sea; ſo that he ſuffer'd a double Death for the uſpeakable Cruelties he had been guilty of to others [c]. This War being hardly finiſh'd, a Conſpiracy broke out in the Heart of the Kingdom, contriv'd by *Robert Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberland*, *William D'Ou*, and many others, whoſe Deſign was to have deſtroy'd the King, and raiſed *Stephen* Earl of *Albemarle*, his Aunt's Son, to the Crown. This Plot was greater Trouble than Danger to the King; for by his ſpeedy advance againſt them, and onſet upon them with the greateſt Strength of the Kingdom, which joyned with him to ſuppreſs them, he quaſh'd their Deſign, and got moſt of the Conſpirators into his Power, which he puniſhed with a Severity equal, if not beyond the Crime. The Earl he committed to the Caſtle of *Windſor*; *William D'Ou*, at a Council at *Salisbury*, being overcome in a Duel (the Tryal then uſed in ſuch Caſes) had his Eyes put out,

A Conſpiracy to depoſe him.

[a] King *William* the Second did not want more Forces than he had; but to raiſe Money, he levy'd twenty thouſand *Engliſhmen*, and commanded them to march to the Sea-ſide to be ſhipp'd for *Normandy*: When they came there, he caus'd *Ralph* his Treaſurer to offer them, that to ſave the Nation ſo many Men, and themſelves the Perils they were to run, as many of them as would pay ten Shillings ſhould be diſcharg'd; upon which, they all paid down their Money and went home. *Mat. Paris.*

[b] This Fight was near *Alnwick* in *Northumberland*. Sir *John Hayward* ſays the *Scots* were ſo encumber'd with Plunder that the *Engliſh* had no difficult Task to defeat them.

[c] Dr. *Powell*'s Chronicle places the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s Invaſion of *Wales*, *Anno* 1098. *Roger Hoveden* does the ſame.

A. D. 1095. Reg. 8. and his privy Members cut off; *William de Averic*, his Sewer, a Man of goodly Perſonage and allied to him, was condemned to be hanged; tho' both in his Confeſſion to *Oſmund* the Biſhop [a], who was preſent, and to all the People as he paſs'd along to his Execution, he gave ſuch Proofs of his Innocency, that he was thought to have ſuffer'd wrongfully from the King, who was ſo anger'd by this Revolt, that he not only puniſhed the Actors with too much Severity, but retained an implacable Temper of Mind ever after.

1096. Reg. 9. *The Holy War began and how.* And certainly this ill Humour would have created him continual Diſturbances at home, had there not happen'd a very fortunate Juncture of Affairs, which not only eaſed him, but moſt of the Kingdoms of *Europe*, which were broken in Pieces with Factions and Schiſms, of their moſt troubleſome Members. Pope *Urban* being ſenſible of the lamentable Diſtraction of *Chriſtendom*, thought it the beſt Expedient to end them, to draw their Thoughts and Deſigns another way; and to that end called a Council at *Clermont* in *Auvergne* [b]; where having propounded to the Princes and Biſhops aſſembled, the miſerable Condition of the Chriſtians at *Jeruſalem* under the *Turks*, he earneſtly exhorted them to joyn their Forces to recover the Holy Land out of the Hands of the Infidels, telling them, 'That it 'was an Action not only juſt, but ſuch as would 'get them an indelible Honour in this World, 'as well as eternal Glory in a future.' This Motion being ſeconded with the earneſt Perſuaſions, and active Zeal of *Peter* the Hermit of *Amiens*; and meeting with a general Inclination to Religion, and ſuch Acts of Goodneſs, prevailed ſo much with all Sorts of the People, that none were accounted to be of any real Worth or Piety, which deſired to be excuſed from the Expedition: Inſomuch, that many great Princes paſſed away their whole Eſtates, and left their Kingdoms to engage in this noble Action; and all ſorts of People flocked ſo faſt to this Service, that in a little time they made up an Army of three hundred thouſand, or, as ſome ſay, ſeven hundred thouſand Men. *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, Nephew and Heir to the Duke of *Lorrain*, a generous Prince, bred in the Wars of the Emperor *Henry* IV. was the firſt that offer'd himſelf to undertake this famous Voyage, whom his Brothers *Euſtace* and *Baldwin* were reſolved to accompany. Their Example invited *Hugh le Grand*, Count *de Vermandois*, Brother to *Philip* King of *France*, *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, *Robert Friſon* Earl of *Flanders*, *Stephen* Earl of *Blois* and *Chartres*, *Aimar* Biſhop of *Puy*, *William* Biſhop of *Orange*, *Raimund* Earl of *Tholouſe*, *Baldwin* Earl of *Hainault*, *Baldwin* Earl of *Rethel*, and *Garnier* Earl of *Gretz*, *Harpin* Earl of *Bourges*, *Yſoard* Earl of *Dy*, *Rambald* Earl of *Orange*, *Guillaum* Count *de Foreſts*, *Stephen* Earl of *Aumaul*, *Hugh* Earl of *S. Poll*, *Rotron* Earl of *Perche*, and ſome others, out of *France*, *Germany*, and the Countries adjoyning. *Italy* ſent *Bohemond* Duke of *Apulia*; and *England*, *Beauchampe*, with many others, whoſe Names are now loſt. *Spain* could afford none, becauſe they were greatly afflicted at that time with the Inroads of the *Saracens*. Moſt of theſe Princes and noble Perſons ſold or engaged their Dominions and Poſſeſſions to furniſh themſelves out for this brave Attempt. *Godfrey* ſold the Dutchy of *Bologne* to *Hubert* Biſhop of *Liege*, and *Metz* to the Citizens *Baldwin* his Brother ſold the Earldom of *Verdun* to *Richard* Biſhop of that Province, and *Euſtace* ſold all his Eſtate to the Church, *Harpin* Earl of *Bourges* ſold his Earldom to *Philip* King of *France*, and *Robert* mortgaged his Dutchy of *Normandy*, Earldom of *Main*, and all he had, to his Brother *William* King of *England* [c]. Thus did the Pope weaken not only the Empire, and eaſed the Church of that long Conteſt about the Inveſtitures of Biſhops; but alſo mightily enriched the Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, who purchaſed moſt of the Temporalities, which the Undertakers left, and ſo became much greater than they had been before; eſpecially in *France*, and afterwards in *England*, when *Richard* the Firſt undertook the ſame Voyage. This War notwithſtanding it was attended with infinite Hazards and Difficulties, Preſſures and Wants, was kept on foot almoſt three hundred Years, and by it were conſumed an infinite Treaſure, and moſt of the braveſt Men of theſe Weſtern Parts of the World, eſpecially in *France*; for in *Italy* and *Germany* the Pope kept many back by Diſpenſation, who were his Friends, and would elſe have gone, merely to maintain his Cauſe againſt the Emperor; who yet ſtruggled with him, but at laſt the Pope prevailed. The Zeal of theſe Chriſtian Princes was admirable, but did little or no good; for inſtead of driving the Enemy out of the Chriſtian Countries, they diſcover'd their own Weakneſs, and encourag'd the Infidels to make their Attempts upon *Europe*, of which ſince they have gained ſome of the faireſt Provinces.

The Undertakers of the Holy War.

1097. Reg. 10.

A. D. 1097. Reg.

By this War *William* was rid of his elder Brother, and a troubleſome Competitor, had the Poſſeſſion of *Normandy* during his Reign, and became an abſolute Prince in both. But [illegible]s want of an outward Enemy made him take liberty to do many irregular and arbitrary things, whereby he loſt the Love of his People in general, and brought upon himſelf the Hatred both of the Clergy and Laity. For to raiſe this great Sum, which he had agreed to furniſh *Robert* with for his Journey into the Holy Land, he made uſe of the moſt rigorous and unjuſt ways of exacting Money of the People, ſeized upon the vacant Livings and Preferments of the Clergy, and kept them in his own Hands to enjoy the Profits of them. After the Death of *Lanfranc*, he kept the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury* vacant four Years, and had held it longer; but that falling ſick of a dangerous Diſtemper at *Gloceſter*, the Clergy in his Sickneſs convinc'd him ſo much of the Sinfulneſs of the Fact, that he vow'd that he would fill up all Vacancies if he recover'd, which indeed he did, but with ſome unwillingneſs. *Anſelm*, an *Italian* born, but bred up in *Normandy*, was preferred to the See of *Canterbury*: But What through his own Stubbornneſs and the King's firm Adherence to his Regal Prerogative, he never enjoyd it quietly. For between them began the Controverſy about Inveſtitures of Biſhops, and other Privileges of the Church, which was ſo hotly maintain'd by his Succeſſors; and *Anſelm* not yielding to the King's Will, or rather Right, was forced to leave the Nation; and the King aſſum'd his Biſhoprick again, and took all the Profits of it, and after this became ſo arbitrary a Poſſeſſor of Church-Livings and Preferments, that he held in his Hands at one time, beſide the See of *Canterbury*, the Biſhopricks of *Wincheſter*

William gets Normandy.

Anſelm *made Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

His Avarice.

[a] *Oſmund* Biſhop of *Salisbury*. Sir *J. H.*

[b] This Pope had been driven out of *Italy* into *France*, expell'd by the Faction of *Clement* III. there being at this time a Schiſm in the Papacy.

[c] For 6666, others ſay 13600 Pounds of Silver. Sir *J. Hayward.*

[d] *Anſelm* was Abbot of *Becchellowin* in *Normandy*, was choſen Biſhop on the 6th of *March*, 1093. *Hol.* Vol. III. 20.

A. D. 1097. Reg. 10. *Wincheſter* and *Sarum*, and eleven Abbies, of which he had all the Incomes. What he diſpoſed of to others, fell uſually to their Shares who would give moſt [a] Money for them, and took Fines of Prieſts for Fornication. He vex'd *Robert Bluet* Biſhop of *Lincoln* with Law-Suits, till he paid him 5000 *l.* And tho' he had much impoveriſh'd his Clergy, yet when he had laid this Tax upon them to pay his Brother, and they complain'd of Want, he anſwer'd them, *That they had Shrines of Gold in their Churches, and for ſo holy a Work as this War againſt the Infidels was, they ſhould not ſpare them* [b], He alſo took Money of the *Jews*, to cauſe ſuch of them as were converted to Chriſtianity to renounce it again, making greater Benefit of their Apoſtacy than Converſion; wherein he diſcover'd ſomething worſe in his Nature than Covetouſneſs, which is Atheiſm. Beſides the Taxes which he impos'd upon the Laity, he ſet Informers to take notice of any ſmall Irregularities committed by them, and inflicted ſevere Penalties upon them. And tho' theſe Actings were very odious and tyrannical, yet he wanted not ſome of great Name and Station to countenance them, as *Ranulph* Biſhop of *Durham*, and ſome other Biſhops, who ſuffer'd themſelves to be corrupted, contrary to their Profeſſion, to oppoſe the Clergy and awe the Laity. By theſe ill means he gather'd great Sums of Money, which he as laviſhly expended, either in his Buildings, (which were the Caſtle upon *Tine*, the City of *Carliſle*, *Weſtminſter*-Hall, and the Walls of the Tower of *London*) or elſe in his Prodigal Gifts to Strangers, as the King of *France*, and others, which brought him to extream want.

His Perſon and Courage.

He was of an indifferent Stature of Body, and well ſet, his Complexion was ruddy, and Hair inclining to yellow, whence he had his Name *Rufus*; he was bountiful to Soldiers, but auſtere to the Churchmen; he was of a rough and violent, but yet very couragious Spirit; of which we

1099. have this convincing Proof: As he was one day a hunting, a Meſſenger came in all haſte out of *Normandy*, and told him how the City of *Mans* was ſurpriz'd and taken by *Heli*, Count *de la Fleſche*, (who by his Wife pretended a Right to it, and was aſſiſted by *Fulke d'Angiers*, the old Enemy of the Dukes of *Normandy*) but the Caſtle held out valiantly for him; yet, if it were not timely relieved, muſt ſurrender. The King immediately bid the Meſſenger return with all ſpeed, and aſſure them in the Caſtle, that he would be with them in eight days, if Fortune hinder'd him not. And preſently having inquir'd which way *Mans* lay of a *Norman* that ſtood by, rid directly towards the Sea-Coaſts. His Attendants, tho' they admir'd his Reſolution, yet advis'd him to ſtay a while to provide things neceſſary for the Journey, and a Force anſwerable to his Deſign: But he reply'd, *They that love me will follow me.* Being arriv'd at *Dartmouth*, and deſirous to go on Board a Ship ready to carry him over, the Maſter told him, That the Weather was ſo bad, and Sea ſo rough, his Paſſage would be very dangerous: But he ſaid, *Tuſh, ſet forward, I never yet heard of a King that was drowned.* Whereupon the Maſter ſetting ſail, he arriv'd at [c] *Harfleu* by break of Day, ſends for his Captains and Men of War to attend him at *Mans*, and accordingly arriv'd there upon the Day appointed. Count *de la Fleſche*, after his coming, was not able to hold out the Siege, but after ſome Skirmiſhes releaſed the City, and was himſelf taken by a Stratagem, and brought a Priſoner to *Rouen*. Here being brought into the King's Preſence, the King jeſted upon him to his Face, as not having Courage or Policy enough to withſtand him; at which being more enrag'd, than caſt down, he ſaid, *That he was made a Priſoner more by Chance than Force; and that, were he at Liberty again, he would leave the King but little Land on that ſide the Sea.* The King hearing theſe Words, inſtantly ſet him at Liberty, and giving him a good Horſe, *bid him go and do his Worſt.* Which brave Act had ſuch an effect upon the Count, that he gave over all Oppoſition, and came ſoon after to a Peace with the King. After this Succeſs, the King return'd home with great Jollity, feaſted his Nobility magnificently in his new Hall [d] at *Weſtminſter*, which was then lately finiſh'd, with which he found fault for being built too little; ſaying, *That it was fitter for a Chamber than a Hall for a King of* England; and took a Platform to build it larger. After theſe Demonſtrations of Joy were over, he ſpent ſome time in ſettling his publick Affairs, and then betook himſelf wholly to the Pleaſure of Peace; and being a hunting with his Brother *Henry* in the *New-Foreſt*, *Walter Tirrell* a *Norman* [e], and his Kinſman, ſhooting at a Deer, (whether miſtaking his Mark, or not, is uncertain) ſhot him to the Heart [f], and ſo he immediately dy'd, in the thirteenth Year of his Reign, and the forty fourth of his Age. A Prince, who for the firſt two Years of his Reign, while either through Fear or Deſign he follow'd the wiſe Counſel of *Lanfranc*, behav'd himſelf as one of the beſt of Princes, and might have had an abſolute Government of all his Subjects, if he had continu'd to ſeek it by endearing Acts; but ſeeking to eſtabliſh it by Force, made both himſelf and People miſerable.

A. D. 1099. Reg. 11.

Weſtminſter-Hall built.

His Death in New-Foreſt.

[a] Yet that he approv'd not the Simonaical Buyers of Church-Promotions, though his Neceſſities put him upon ſuch ſiniſter means and ways of raiſing Money, appears from this Inſtance: That the King having the Preſidency of an Abby in his Hands, which he reſolv'd to diſpoſe of, two Monks came to him, and bid him large Sums for it, ſtriving to outvy each other in purchaſing it; a third ſtood by, as an Attendant of him that ſhould be preferr'd, the King ask'd him, What he would give? To whom the Monk anſwer'd, *Nothing, becauſe I have vowed Poverty.* This anſwer pleas'd the King ſo well, that he preſently gave it him; ſhewing, that tho' he let them have Promotions who bought them, yet he thought thoſe deſerv'd them beſt that would not purchaſe them.

[b] This King was not at all oblig'd to the Monks for the Character they gave of him, neither were they oblig'd to him for his Favour. He hated their Covetouſneſs and Arrogance, and had more Religion or leſs Superſtition than any of them, if what is ſaid of him be true, that he ſhould openly declare, *He believed no Saint could profit any one in the Lord's Sight*; and that *neither he nor any wiſe Man would make Interceſſion either to* Peter, *or any other for help.* Eadmerus, Hol. p. 27.

[c] *Barfleur.*

[d] This Feaſt was kept at *Weſtminſter* the laſt Year, before he went to *Normandy*. *William* of *Malmſ.*

[e] *Walter Tyrrell*, ſays *Ordericus Vitalis* a *Norman*, was a *French* Knight, a Native of *Pontoiſe*, a City in the *Pais Vexin Francois*, of the Province of the Iſle of *France*.

[f] Sir *John Hayward* relates the Circumſtances of it thus: As he was hunting at *Choringham* in the *New Foreſt*, he ſtruck a Deer lightly with an Arrow; and ſtay'd his Horſe to look after the Deer, holding his Hands before his Eyes, becauſe the Sun-Beams dazzled his Sight; another Deer croſſing the way, Sir *Walter Tyrrell* ſhooting at it too careleſly, or too ſteadily at the King, ſhot him full on the Breaſt, and kill'd him, the 2d of *Auguſt*, 1100.

REMARKABLE

Remarkable Occurrences *in the Reign of* William II.

In his ſecond Year there happen'd a dreadful Earthquake through the whole Kingdom, which was follow'd by a great Scarcity of Fruit, and ſo late a Harveſt, that Corn was not full ripe at the end of *November*. Sir *J. Hayw. Hiſt. William* II.

On the 5th of *October*, in the Year 1091. there fell a violent Storm in ſeveral Parts of *England*, eſpecially at *Winchelſcomb* in *Gloceſterſhire*, where the Steeple of the Church was thrown down by Thunder and Lightning, and the Crucifix with the Image of the Virgin *Mary* was broken to Pieces. The Hurricane was follow'd by a noiſome Stink. *Holinſhead.*

Sir *John Hayward* adds, That there was alſo a thick Smoke which darken'd the Sky.

On the 17th of the ſame Month there happen'd a Storm of Wind, which was then S. W. the ſame that blew in the late Tempeſt, ſo dreadful to the whole Nation; and yet this we are about to mention ſeems to have been more fatal in the City of *London*, where it threw down above five hundred Houſes, and blew off the Roof of *Bow*-Church in *Cheapſide*, by the fall of which two Men were kill'd. The top of the Steeple at *Salisbury*, and many Houſes were blown down. *Holinſhead.*

Sir *J. H.* ſays, It threw down ſix hundred and ſix Houſes in *London*; and that ſome Beams of *Bow*-Church, twenty eight Foot long, were driven ſo deep into the Ground by it, that not above four Foot remain'd in ſight. The Tower of *London* was alſo much broken. He adds farther, The next Year *Oſmond* Biſhop of *Salisbury* finiſh'd the Cathedral Church of *Old Sarum*, and the Steeple was fir'd by Lightning the fifth Day after the Conſecration of the Church: Which, perhaps, gave occaſion to *Holinſhead*'s Saying, that the Damage was done to *Salisbury* Church at the ſame time that the Roof of *Bow*-Church was blown off.

The Year 1094. was very remarkable for the Number and Faſhion of gliding Stars, which ſeem'd to daſh together in manner of a Conflict. *Sir* J. H. *Holinſhead*, who is very particular in his Account of the Seaſons, Weather, Plagues and Famine, goes farther, and affirms, That there was this Year ſo great Mortality of Men and Beaſts in *England* and *Normandy*, that the Ground lay untill'd in many Places, which caus'd a ſevere Dearth.

Griſly and hideous Sights were ſeen in *England*, as Hoſts of Men fighting in the Air, Stars falling from Heaven, and other ſuch Wonders. The Ignorance and Superſtition of thoſe Ages have, we ſuppoſe, heighten'd the Terror of the unuſual Accidents in the *Phænomena* of Nature: But we are not of the Opinion of thoſe, who think there is nothing uſeful or entertaining in an Account of ſuch extraordinary Events and Appearances, nor are they below the Dignity of Hiſtory.

In the Year 1095. the eighth of this King's Reign, a Comet appear'd for fifteen Days together, the Tail pointing to the Eaſt. And in this Year *Peter* the Hermit preach'd up the Cruſade againſt the Infidels.

In the laſt Year of his Reign the Sea overflow'd in divers Parts of *England* and *Scotland*; many Villages, Caſtles and Towns, much People, and a vaſt Number of Cattel were overwhelm'd. At the ſame time the Lands that belong'd to *Godwin* Earl of *Kent*, Father to King *Harold*, were overflown and cover'd with Sand; and ever after they were call'd *Godwin*'s Sands, as at this Day *Goodwin* by Corruption. The Heavens often ſeem'd to flame with Fire, and frightful Forms and Apparitions were ſeen in the Air.

In this Reign, the Monaſtery of *Bath* was joyn'd to the See of *Wells*, by *John* Biſhop of that Dioceſs; and the Church of *Coventry* to the Biſhoprick of *Cheſter*, by *Robert* Biſhop of that See.

The moſt famous Warriors in his Reign were

Robert de Mowbray Earl of *Northumberland*, *Roger de Montgomery* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Robert de Bigod*, *Hugh de Grandmeſnil*, *Roger Lacy*, *Ralph Mortimer*.

For Learning there were few or none Eminent in his Time, except,

Turgotus, Prior, Archdeacon, and Vicar-General of the See of *Durham*, who wrote a Chronicle of that Biſhoprick. He was afterwards Biſhop of St. *David*'s.

'Tis obſervable, that the *Engliſh* Names are already loſt in the Liſt of the moſt noted Barons of *England*: All whom we have mention'd, and thoſe we muſt have nam'd, had we inſerted more, being *Normans*.

THE

E Lutterell delin.

P. Vanderbank Sculp.

KING HENRY THE I.st

THE LIFE and REIGN OF HENRY I.

A. D. 1100. Reg. 1.

Henry *the third Son of the Conqueror choſen King of* England.

HENRY the youngeſt Son of *William* the Firſt, being preſent at his Brother's Death, and born in *England* (which contributed much to his Advancement) was elected [a] and crowned King within four days after his Brother's Deceaſe; it being reported, that *Robert*, who ſhould have ſucceeded *William* [b], was choſen King of *Jeruſalem*; and 'twas not probable, that he would leave that Kingdom to govern this. But however, leſt *Robert's* return from the Holy Wars (who was indeed in *Apulia*, and haſting home) ſhould ſhake the preſent Inclination of all People to ſettle him in the Throne, *Henry* uſed all Expedition poſſible to ſettle himſelf in the Poſſeſſion of it, which accordingly he effected; and that he might ſecure himſelf the firm Allegiance of the People, he began his Government with Acts of Kindneſs and Benefit to them, being a Prince not only learned, as thoſe times were, from whence he was called *Beau-Clerk* [c], but alſo of a mild Diſpoſition and crafty Judgment; ſo that he knew how to make them good Subjects, after they had once made him their King. And to effect this, he firſt began with the Clergy, and all Vacancies in the Church, which his Brother through Covetouſneſs had reſerved to himſelf, he filled up with learned and pious Men; *Anſelm* he recalled from his Baniſhment, and reſtored him to the Arch-biſhoprick of *Canterbury*, and in general ſettled the Church in all the Privileges which had been taken from it by his Predeceſſors. The Laity he not only freed from the Oppreſſions and heavy Exactions they had long lain under, but puniſhed thoſe Men who had been forward Inſtruments of promoting them, which mightily pleaſed the People. And becauſe *Ralph* Biſhop of *Durham*, a Man who by his Cunning and fair Tongue had raiſed himſelf from a very mean Condition to great Preferments and higheſt Employments under the late King *William*, being his chief Counſellor, was generally looked upon as the only Perſon who put his Maſter upon theſe intolerable Exactions and Irregularities, and ſo was odious to all; he committed him to a ſtreight and loathſome Priſon. All diſſolute and vicious Perſons were expelled his Court, and the People were allowed to uſe their Lights again after the *Cover-feu* Bell had gone, which *William* had prohibited them to their great Diſcontent. Many other [d] good Laws and Orders he made for the Government of his Kingdom; and to make himſelf the more popular and beloved of the *Engliſh*, he married into the Royal Blood of *England*, by taking to Wife, *Maud* the Daughter of *Margaret*, the late Queen of *Scots*, Niece to *Edward Atheling*, and ſo deſcended from *Edward Ironſide*; a Lady of admirable Virtues and Goodneſs, worthy of ſo good a Mother, yet hardly won from her Vow of Virginity to become a King's Wife [e].

A. D. 1100. Reg. 1.

Henry *married into the* Engliſh *Royal Line.*

Henry having thus ſecured his Intereſts in *England*, as much as poſſible, was ſcarce ſettled in his Regal Honour, but that *Robert* returned from the Holy Wars into *Normandy*, and was received with a general Applauſe by his Subjects there. The News of his Arrival much looſen'd the Affections of many from King *Henry*, eſpecially of the *Norman* Nobility; who either out of Conſcience, or Diſcontent, deſire *Robert* ſhould be their Governour. In the firſt Year *Robert* only threaten'd, but in the ſecond he arriv'd with a ſtrong Army at *Portſmouth* to recover his Right, and to him flock'd great Numbers of *Henry's* Subjects, eſpecially *Normans*; ſo that the Armies on both ſides were very powerful. But when the two Brothers met, and were to encounter each other, Propoſals of Peace by *Henry's* Craft, were made to *Robert* (who was a very tender-hearted Man, and eaſily won to it, though very valiant) to ſave the Expence of Chriſtian Blood; and it was concluded upon theſe Terms 'That ſince *Henry* was born after 'his Father had obtained the Crown of *England*, 'and ſo was the eldeſt Son of *William* as King, 'though he was the youngeſt of him as Duke, 'and was now inveſted in the Regal Dignity by 'the Conſent of the Kingdom, he ſhould enjoy it

Robert's *return from the Holy War.*

1101. Reg. 2.

1102. Reg. 3.

[a] He went to *Wincheſter* and ſeiz'd the late King's Treaſures, from thence he poſted to *London*, where by the Intereſt and wiſe Management of *Henry Newburgh* Earl of *Warwick* he was elected King. *William* of *Malmsbury*.

[b] *Robert* behav'd himſelf with ſuch Courage and Conduct in this Expedition againſt the *Turks*, that when the Chriſtians had taken *Jeruſalem*, and thought it neceſſary to prefer one of the Chriſtian Princes to be King of it; it was with general Conſent tender'd to *Robert*, but he having juſt before heard of his Brother *William's* Death, refus'd that Dignity, and haſten'd homeward to aſſume his Kingdom of *England*. Our Hiſtorians generally think, that *Robert* croſs'd Providence by this Refuſal; for he not only loſt *England* but *Normandy*, and was unfortunate in all his Actions ever after.

[c] He was born, after his Father had been crown'd, at *Selby* in *Lincolnſhire*; he ſtudy'd at *Cambridge*.

[d] He reſtor'd King *Edward's* Laws with ſome Amendments, and added ſeveral others much for the Benefit and Liberty of the Subject, as about the Puniſhments of Theft with Death, falſe Coining and Adultery with Loſs of Eyes and Members, Marriage of Widows, and the Daughters of the Gentry, all which may befound more largely in *Speed's* Lives.

[e] *Maud*, Daughter of *Malcolm* King of the *Scots* by *Margaret* Siſter to *Edgar Atheling*, and Daughter to *Edward* Son to *Edmund Ironſide*, was next in Deſcent from the *Saxon* Kings to the Inheritance of the Crown of *England*. *Edgar* dying without Iſſue; by her Marriage with King *Henry* the *Saxon* and *Norman* Lines were united together both in Blood and Title to the Crown.

A. D. 1102. Reg. 3.

'it during his Life, paying *Robert* three thousand 'Marks *per Annum*. 2. That if *Robert* outlived 'him he should succeed. 3. And that all, whether *English* or *Normans*, that had taken part 'with *Robert*, should have their Pardons, and enjoy their Estates and Liberties. Things being thus amicably composed, *Robert* a Prince of a generous and free Temper, stayed in *England* two Months, enjoying the Delights and Pleasures of his Brother's Court without any sign of Envy or Ill-will, and then returned about *Michaelmas* into *Normandy*.

Henry's Contest with Anselm.

Henry being thus freed from his greatest Fear, and settled in his Throne by Right, began to stand up more stoutly in asserting his Prerogative against the [a] Opposition of Archbishop *Anselm*, who refused to consecrate that Bishop that the King had preferred; alledging it to be a Violation of the sacred Rites and Ceremonies of the Church lately decreed (at *Rome*) concerning this Business. The King not willing to forego his Due, sends an Embassage to Pope *Paschal*, to represent his Right to the Investiture of Bishops and Collation of Ecclesiastical Dignities, which he received from his Predecessors Kings of *England*, who never were molested in this Prerogative, but of late. *Anselm* immediately follows the Ambassadors to *Rome*, there to make good his Cause; which so anger'd the King, that he banished him the Kingdom, and took his Bishoprick immediately into his hands. The Pope boldly vindicated the Power assumed by the Church, but in the end seeing the Resolution of *Henry*, and knowing that it was not in his Power to constrain him (who was engaged with the Emperor and other Princes in a Contest of the same Nature) he resolved to deal with him by Persuasions to draw him to his Will; and to that end, with kind Letters sollicits him to relinquish his Claim, and promises him most solemnly, that he would further him in any Matters concerning his State. The King considering the Proposals, and having some Designs in hand, which he judged might be better effected by the Connivance of the Church, consents to the Pope's Desires, and became an Example to other Princes of yielding to him in in the same case: So *Anselm* was recall'd, and his Ambassadors returned with large Presents from the Pope.

1103. Reg. 4.

A Rebellion against Henry.

While these things were in hand, and transacting at *Rome*, there burst out a Rebellion at home, which as it tended to the Destruction of the Authors of it, so it brought the King more easily to his Ends than otherwise he could have expected. *Robert Belesme*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Son to *Roger Montgomery* (a fiery young Man) presuming upon his great Strength and numerous Friends, fortified his Castles of *Shrewsbury*, *Bridgnorth*, *Tick-hill* and *Arundel*, and combining with the *Welshmen*, deny'd the Obedience and Subjection to the King. *Henry* enraged at their Attempt, gathers a strong Army, and marches towards him; and within thirty Days, partly by Force and partly by Promises, dispersed all his Associates, and took all his Castles, except that of *Arundel*, wherein were *Belesme* himself, with his Brother *Arnulphus* and *Roger de Poytiers*, which held out something longer; but at length was forced to yield upon Condition, that they might retire safely into *Normandy*, which the King readily granted, seeing he lost nothing but two or three troublesome Men, which were better any where than at home. Their Departure made well for the King, for he immediately seized upon the Earl's Estate, which made a considerable Addition to his Revenues; and being come into *Normandy*, he made way for his obtaining that also. For as soon as he came thither, he enter'd into a Familiarity with one of like Condition and desperate Fortunes with himself (an exiled Person) whose Insolency had likewise stripp'd him of all his Estate in *England*, and much wasted that in *Normandy*, viz. *William* Earl of *Mortaigne*, Son of *Robert* half Brother to *William* the First. These two Earls with their Adherents, committed many Outrages, assaulting the King's Castles, unjustly detaining the Estate of *Richard* Earl of *Chester*, a Minor, and the King's Ward, and spoilling several other parts of the Country; and tho' they were complain'd of to Duke *Robert*, yet no Redress was made, the Duke being either past Action, or giving himself up to a Monkish Sluggishness. *Henry* therefore was appealed to by the *Normans*, who sending for his Brother, reproved him sharply for his Sluggishness; which *Robert* took so ill, that giving vent to former Discontents he joined with those mutinous Earls, and resolved upon a fresh Revenge upon his Brother. The King being troubled in Conscience at the Foulness of a Quarrel with his own Brother, was very dubious what to do, till Pope *Paschal* sent him some Letters to persuade him with all the Arguments of Wit and Invention to engage in this War, which he said, would not be a civil Dissention, but a noble and memorable Benefit to his Country. The Countenance and Approbation of the Pope put Resolution and Alacrity into the King, and now he proceeds boldly not as against a Brother, but a most dangerous National Enemy, passes into *Normandy* with his Army; and after many Difficulties and Losses of many worthy Men, in a great Battel near the Castle of *Tenechbray*[b], defeated his Enemies and won *Normandy*, on the same day by Computation (wherein forty Years before) *Normandy* had over-run *England*. *Robert*, who stood in a fair Possibility of two Crowns, was now deprived of his Dutchy, brought a Prisoner into *England* and committed to the Castle of *Cardiffe*; where to add to his Misery, he had the Misfortune of a long Life, living after this Loss twenty six Years not only in Confinement, but most of it in utter Blindness[c], his Eyes being put out soon after his Imprisonment for endeavouring to make an escape. He was a Prince of great Excellency and Valour, of which he gave so many Proofs in his Voyage into the Holy Land, that he had the second Command of the Army, and was very nigh being elected King of *Jerusalem*. But his Disobedience to his Father, and his Profuseness in his Expences, for which he sold; or engaged his whole Dutchy, are great Stains to his Credit, and made him thought so unfit for Government, that his Brother *Henry* had the Commendation of most Men for taking it from him.

A. D. 1103. Reg. 4.

Henry encourag'd by Pope Paschal opposes Robert, and conquering him gets Normandy.

1104. Reg. 5.

Robert raises War a second time against Henry.

1105. Reg. 6.

And now *Henry* being gotten to the highest pitch of Power and Dignity, an absolute King of *England* and *Normandy*, was so formidable, that none dare disturb his Peace; so that he lived many Years in the most flourishing Prosperity, gathered a great Treasure, and held a friendly Correspondence with all neighbouring Princes. *Scotland* was obliged to be quiet, not only upon the

1106. Reg. 7.

Henry's prosperous Condition.

[a] This Opposition was in a Synod call'd by *Anselm* at *London*, wherein he deposed several Bishops who had been invested in their Sees by the King, and decreed, that none so invested ought to be consecrated.

[b] *Tenchebray*.

[c] Some Authors report, that 'twas not his Eyes which were put out, but the Earl of *Mortaigne's*.

A. D. 1106. Reg. 7. the account of his Match with *Maud*, but also because he was a Benefactor to their Kings, and sav'd them from Usurpations. *Wales*, tho' he was titular Lord of it, yet was not subject to him, but now and then gave his Arms a little Exercise; but at length by his Wisdom he found out an effectual way to check their turbulent Humour. For, (1.) He planted within the Body of their Country a Colony of *Flemmings*, who being admitted into the Nation by *William*, who marry'd their Country-woman, and used their assistance in subduing the Kingdom, and after allow'd them to dwell in *Cumberland*, had been routed from their Habitation, by the Sea breaking in upon them, and were become now burthensome Guests to the Kingdom, and much disturb the Natives. These People, who were both numerous and stout, he settled [a] among the *Welsh*, and so not only eased his own People of their Grievance, but also put a curb upon that People to keep them in awe; for they soon made room for themselves, and kept all the adjoyning Countries in fear of them. And then, (2.) He took the chief Men's Sons in the Country for Hostages, and so forced them [b] to be quiet. As for *France*, he had no suspicion of Disturbance from them, because their King *Philip* gave himself up wholly to Ease and Luxury, and minded not Warlike Affairs, though his Son was thought to be of an active Temper, and might alter things when he came to the Crown. With the Earl of *Flanders* he had some difference, but it proceeded no farther than Words, which happen'd upon this occasion: The Conqueror in Recompence of the good Service which *Baldwin* V. Earl of *Flanders* had done him in his Expedition for *England*, gave him three hundred Marks *per Annum*, and continu'd it to his Son after him.

Flemmings settled in Wales.

1107. Reg. 8. This present Earl *Robert* was of a Collateral Line, but yet being grown indigent by the Holy Wars, in which he had engag'd himself, and finding that such a Sum had been paid to his Predecessors, demands it of King *Henry* as his due; but the King, who was very slow at parting with Money, sent him word, That it was not the Custom of the Kings of *England* to pay Tribute; if they had allow'd Pensions to any Persons that had deserv'd well of them, they were temporary, and ended with them. This Answer much displeas'd the Earl; and tho' he liv'd not to shew his hatred, yet his Son did it, by assisting *William* the Son of *Robert* in his attempts to recover the Dutchy of *Normandy* from King *Henry*. In this serene part of his Reign he settled his Affairs so firmly at home, that he never had any Disturbance among his Subjects after.

Henry's Quarrels with the King of France.

But the Changes of the World brought a mutation in *Henry*'s Affairs abroad. For after the Death of *Philip* King of *France*, *Lewis* the Gross his Son succeeded him, and soon after his accession to the Crown began a Contest with him about the City of *Gisors*, which lies on the River *Epre*, and belong'd to his Ducthy of *Normandy*. *Henry* being a Politick Prince, and knowing that he had a powerful Monarch to grapple with, not only provided an Army to oppose his Enemy, but strengthen'd himself by good Alliances, which he had a favourable

1108. Reg. 9. opportunity to do just at that Juncture. For there happen'd at that time a Quarrel between the Pope and the Emperor *Henry* V. whom tho' the Pope had encourag'd in a Rebellion against his Father *Henry* IV. and so had raised him to the Throne; (for he conquer'd his Father, and kept him in such straight Imprisonment, that he dy'd) yet he extorted so many Privileges of the Empire from him; that repenting of what he had done, because he was reproach'd for it by his States, he raised a mighty Army, and marching into *Italy*, constrain'd the Pope and his College to acknowledge the Rights of the Empire in that form as *Adrian* had done to *Charles* the Great, and *Leo* to *Otho* II. according to the Decree of the Council of *Rome*, and made him take an Oath of Fidelity between his Hands, as to the true and lawing Emperor. But the Pope, as soon as *Henry* was gone, call'd a Council, makes void this Acknowledgment, as done by Force, and shortly after deceas'd. *Calixtus* the Son of the Count of *Burgogne* succeeded him in the Papacy; and being a *Frenchman*, call'd another Council at *Reimes*, where, by an Ecclesiastical Decree, *Henry* was declar'd an Enemy of the Church, and degraded of his Imperial Dignity. This made *Henry* the Emperor have a jealous Eye of *Lewis*, as a Favourer of his Enemies, who being most his Subjects, had pronounc'd such a Sentence against him; and to strengthen himself against a growing Party, desired a Marriage with *Maud*, the Daughter of *Henry* King of *England*, who was then an Infant of about five Years old. Besides this Enemy, *Lewis* had in his own Kingdom several of his Nobility about *Paris*, as the Counts of *Crecy*, *Pissaux*, *Dimmartini*, *Champaigne*, and others, who presuming upon their Franchises within their own Seigniories, of which at that time there were many in *France*, would be absolute Lords, and not be under the awe of a Master. These *Henry* took under his Protection; and that *Lewis* might not move against him, but with near as much prejudice to himself, in his own Confines, as he could do to him, lent them assistance against their Sovereign. The Emperor, who being become his Son-in-Law, was easily sway'd by his Interest or Persuasion, he incensed to that degree, that he immediately raised a mighty Army to assault his Dominions, and joyn with *Henry*, who had made as great Preparations. This Storm hanging over the *French* King's Head, and almost unavoidable, much terrify'd him, and finding himself unable to grapple with such Enemies, he first deals with some of the *German* Princes, represents to them the Danger and Mischiefs of a War, undertaken upon a meer Suspicion, and in a Heat, without any just ground, and moves them to induce the Emperor, that they may first treat about it, before they began the War. The Princes prevail'd so far with the Emperor, as to send Ambassadors to signifie his Discontent; to whom the *French* King declar'd, That it was a great grief to him to see the two greatest Pillars of the Church (*viz.* the Pope and Emperor) at variance, because by it the Ruine of the whole would almost inevitably follow: That he was a Friend to them both, and would very gladly be a Mediator for Peace between them for the good of *Christendom*; but would not, nor ever had been any means to increase the Dissentions between them. This Answer so pacify'd the Emperor, who was glad to have a Mediator between the Pope and himself, that he laid aside the Thoughts of a War with him; and not long after, by his intercession, the Pope and Emperor came to an Agreement, which

A. D. 1108. Reg. 9.

The Contest between the Pope and Emperor.

The Emperor and Pope made Friends by the Mediation of the French *King.*

[a] In *Ross*-Hundred in *Pembrokeshire*, where their Posterity still continue, retaining so much of their old Customs and Language, as distinguishes them plainly from the *Welsh* or *Britains*; they were first planted in *Northumberland*, and remov'd to *Wales*, as *Florence* of *Worcester* writes, in the Year 1111.

[b] But it was only for the present; for in the fifteenth Year of his Reign they made several Inroads into *England*, two under *Owen ap Cadogan*, when they invaded the Possessions of *Gilbert Strongbow* Earl of *Strygil*; and two not long after under *Griffith ap Conan*, when they fell upon the Estate of *Hugh* Earl of *Chester*; which turbulent Humour so enrag'd *Henry*, that he vow'd utterly to root them out, yet upon their submission he pardon'd them.

A. D. 1108. Reg. 9. was ſealed at *Wormes*, to the Pope's advantage; for the Emperor yielded up his Right to Inveſtitures of Biſhops, and other Benefices, to him. The King of *England* was very much diſpleaſed at this Diſappointment, but however did not give over his Deſigns againſt *Lewis*, giving the greater ſupport to the Faction in *Lewis*'s Kingdom, eſpecially to *Theobald* Count of *Campaigne*, who being ſtrengthen'd with his great Alliance to *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*, and *Fulke* Earl of *Anjou*, was moſt likely to make the boldeſt Oppoſition to the *French* King. *Lewis* on the other ſide endeavour'd as eagerly to undermine *Henry*'s Power in *Normandy*, and to that end conſpired with *William* Earl of *Flanders* to reſtore *William* the Son of *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* to his Father's Dominions, to whom by Right the Inheritance belong'd. Many great and bloody Battels were fought between theſe two Princes, with the expence of much Blood and Treaſure; till at length, both being tired with the Fatigues of War, willingly came to conclude a Peace by the Mediation of the Earl of *Anjou*, whoſe Daughter *William*, King *Henry*'s Son, was about to marry; and upon the Conſummation of the Peace, was made Duke of *Normandy*, for which he did Homage to *Lewis*, and marry'd the Duke of *Anjou*'s Daughter[a]; and ſo *France* and *Flanders* became his Friends.

Peace made between K. Henry and the French King.

1116. Reg. 17. But theſe Troubles were ſcarcely blown over, and this happy Concluſion made, but there follow'd ſuch a ſad Accident, as turn'd all the proſperous Succeſſes and Joys into Mourning. *William*, the only Son of *Henry*, who was but juſt ſettled in his Dukedom, a Prince of ſeventeen Years of Age, going into *England* a little time after his Father's departure, accompany'd by *Richard* his baſe Brother, *Mary* Counteſs of *Perch* his natural Siſter, *Richard* Earl of *Cheſter*, and his Wife, who was the King's Niece, and many other Perſons of Quality, and their Attendants, to the number of an hundred and forty, beſides fifty Mariners, ſetting out at *Barbfleet*, were all caſt away at Sea, only a Butcher eſcap'd. The Prince had recover'd a Cockboat, and was in poſſibility of being ſav'd; but being mov'd with the lamentable Cries of his Siſter, he went back to the ſinking Ship to take her in, where ſo many crowded with her into the Boat to ſave themſelves, that it ſank with its Load, and ſo all periſh'd in the Waters. What Reflection this heavy Judgment might cauſe in the King's Conſcience, is hard to know; but certainly it made ſuch Impreſſions of Grief upon his Mind, that he was never ſeen to laugh after: And tho' he made all the haſte he could to repair the Breach made in the Succeſſion, by marrying *Adalicia*[b], a young beautiful Lady, Daughter of the Duke of *Lovain*, and of the Houſe of *Lorrain*, yet the Loſs prov'd irreparable, for he never could have a Child by her.

Prince William and many others drowned.

Troubles caus'd to the King by the Prince's Death.

But the Death of Prince *William* created the King not only inward, but outward Troubles, by breaking his Alliances, and unſettling his Affairs in *France* and *Flanders*. *Normandy* it ſelf waver'd much in their Allegiance, many adhering to *William* his Nephew, to whom many more were in Conſcience inclin'd, than dare ſhew it. His great Confederates went over to the King of *France*. *Fulke* Earl of *Anjou* quarrel'd with him for his Daughter's Dower. *Robert de Mallent* his chief Counſellor, and a Man of great Truſt under him, fell from him, and conſpiring with *Hugh* Earl of *Monfort*, invaded and ſeized upon his Dutchy. But ſuch was his great diligence and working Head, that he ſoon reduced things into a quiet frame. The two Earls he took by ſurprize, and made them his Priſoners; and Death reſcu'd him from the Claims of the Duke of *Anjou*, who was a conſiderable Prince, as we may judge by the King's matching firſt his Son, and after his only Daughter, then an Empreſs, into his Family, as we ſhall preſently come to relate. The King of *France* continu'd his Oppoſition, and entertain'd *William*, Son of *Robert Courtois*, wherein all the danger lay; and firſt aids him in Perſon with great power to obtain the Earldom of *Flanders*, to which he had a fair Title by the defect of Iſſue in Earl *Baldwin*, who was ſlain in a Battel in *France* againſt King *Henry*. But *William*, as if he had been not only Heir of his Father's Dominions, but Misfortunes, being admitted to the Government, miſcarry'd in his management of it, was depoſed by his People, and at length ſlain in a Battel by them. And ſo ended the Family of *Robert Curtoiſe*.

A. D. 1116. Reg. 17. 1123. Reg. 25. 1126. Reg. 27.

While theſe things were tranſacting, News came to the King, that his Son-in-law *Henry* the Emperor was dead; whereupon he preſently ſent for his Daughter the Empreſs home, with intention to ſettle the Succeſſion of his Kingdom upon her; and forthat purpoſe ſummon'd a Parliament[c], which met at *Windſor*, wherein an Oath was adminiſter'd to all the Lords of the Land, to be true to Her and her Heirs, and to acknowledge and obey them as the right Heirs to the Crown. This Oath was firſt taken by *David* King of *Scots*, Uncle to *Maud*, and *Stephen* Earl of *Bollogne*, and *Mortain*, the King's Nephew, on whom he had beſtow'd great Poſſeſſion in *England*, and advanced his Brother to the Biſhoprick of *Winchester*. And to make all ſecure, he had the ſame Oath impoſed in another Parliament[d] at *Northampton*. His next Care was to provide Heirs, and thereupon marry'd her to *Jeffrey Plantagenet* Earl of *Anjou*[e], by whom he liv'd to ſee her have two Sons. So that all things now ſeem'd ſettled and quiet, but only the King's own Dreams, which were ſaid to be very terrifying, and in which he would riſe, take his Sword, and act as if he were to defend himſelf from ſome Enemy; which ſhew'd, that his Conſcience was very uneaſie and fearful.

Henry *the Emperor's Death. and* Maud's *Marriage.*

1133. Reg. 34.

His Government in Peace was always of the beſt ſort; for he kept his Kingdom in ſuch order, that whatever Troubles he had from abroad, he had

Henry's *Government in Peace.*

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[a] He marry'd her at *Liſieux* in the Year 1119. *Ord Vit.*

[b] She was Crown'd at *Weſtminſter* by *Roger* Biſhop of *Salisbury*; *Ralph* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, by reaſon of his Palſie, being not able to perform the Ceremony: And yet becauſe *Roger* was not appointed by him to do it, the Archbiſhop was ſo angry and inſolent, that he offer'd to ſtrike the King's Crown (who was crown'd again with her) from his Head. Sir *John Hayward*'s *Hiſt. of* Hen. I. *Eadmerus*, lib. 6. p. 106. writes, that ſhe was crown'd at *Windſor* by *Ralph* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *Henry Huntingdon* relates, that he brought her over with him from *Normandy* into *England* about *Michaelmas*, 1126.

[c] In this Parliment *Robert* Earl of *Glocester*, King *Henry*'s natural Son, and *Stephen* Earl of *Bulloigne*, his Nephew, had a warm diſpute who ſhould ſwear firſt. *David* King of the *Scots* alſo ſwore Fealty at this time to *Maud* the Expreſs, and her Heirs.

[d] Dr. *Brady* and ſome other Authors pretend, that the Convention of the three Eſtates, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, which we now call a Parliament, was not a part of our Conſtitution till the latter end of the Reign of *Henry* the Third: But *Polydore Virgil*, *Stow*, *Speed*, and Sir *John Hayward* particularly aſſert, That the firſt Council of the Nobility, the Clergy, and the common People, was held on the 19th of *March*, in the 16th Year of this King's Reign, *Anno Dom.* 1116. And there are others who trace the Origin of theſe Aſſemblies as high as the beginning of the *Saxon* Monarchy.

[e] *William* of *Malmsbury* writes, that the King went over in *Auguſt*, 1127. to be preſent at the Conſummation of the Empreſs *Maud*'s Marriage to *Geoffrey* Earl of *Anjou*, Son to *Fulke* Earl of *Anjou*, whom 'tis ſaid the Empreſs had no great inclination to marry.

A.D. 1133. Reg. 34.

had none at home. His Entrance upon the Kingdom, which was with fears of a Competitor, taught him to take all the best Courses to gratifie and pleaſe his People with all things to their Advantage; that Juſtice ſhould be adminiſtred duly and impartially to all; that no Corruption or Oppreſſion ſhould burthen his People; by which means things were carried with Evenneſs between the Nobility and Commons to their Satisfaction.

The Original of Royal Progreſſes.

He made ſeveral Progreſſes into the moſt remote Parts of his Kingdom, to ſee how his Realm was ordered; and therefore, when he was in *England*, he kept no certain Reſidence, but celebrated the ſolemn Feſtivals in ſeveral Parts of his Kingdom, that all might enjoy his Company and ſhare in his good Cheer. He never would extort any Sums of Money arbitrarily from his People, but always raiſed ſuch Taxes as his Neceſſity required by the Conſent of his People; which he aſſembled [a] in Parliament firſt at *Salisbury*, *Anno Regni* 15. conſiſting of three Eſtates, according to the Cuſtom of *Normandy*, as it continues to this day.

The beginning of Parliaments.

His Reformations.

He was a very ſober Prince himſelf, and carefully repreſſed the Exceſſes of his Subjects, as long Hair, and other looſe Faſhions. He was very frugal and ſparing in his Expences, chuſing rather to pinch himſelf than his People; and tho' he had many great Charges of War, he never had but two Taxes in his long Reign, one for his War in *France*, and the other of three Shillings upon every Hide of Land for the Marriage of his Daughter to the Emperor. He kept indeed ſome Biſhopricks and Abbies void in his hand, as that of *Canterbury* five Years together.

His ways to raiſe Money.

By an Act of Parliament, *Anno Regni* 30. he was permitted to puniſh the Marriage and Incontinency of Prieſts; but for a certain Fine he allowed them to enjoy their Wives, which much diſpleaſed the Clergy, and hinder'd the Reformation intended. He changed the Puniſhments of Malefactors by diſmembring, into Pecuniary Mulcts. The Proviſions of his Houſe, which uſed to be paid in kind, he had rated and received that Money to ſupport his Charge, to the great Content of his People, and with the Conſent of his States.

His Orders for his Foreſts, and Original of Parks.

He aſſumed to himſelf the Liberties of hunting in his Foreſts, and beſides renewing the former Penalties, made a Law, 'That if any Man in his own private Woods 'killed the King's Deers, he ſhould forfeit his 'Woods to the King. But he permitted the richer ſort to incloſe Parks, and gave them an Example firſt himſelf, in making one at *Woodſtock*, which was the Original of that Grievance.

His Expences were chiefly in Wars, and upon ſeveral great Fortifications in *Normandy*. His Buildings were the Abby of *Reading*, and the Manour of *Woodſtock*, with the Park belonging to it, which he incloſed with a Stone Wall of ſeven Miles in Circumference.

His chief Counſellors. Roger *Biſhop of* Sarum.

His moſt eminent Counſellors were *Roger* Biſhop of *Sarum* and the Earl of *Mallent*, both Men of great Experience in the Affairs of the World. *Roger* was entruſted always as Viceroy, to govern the Kingdom in his abſence: He had managed his Money and other Houſhold Affairs, when he was a private Man and a poor Prince with that Fidelity, that he put him into the greateſt Truſt when he was a King; which he diſcharged with Policy, Honeſty and Judgment. He had the Title of *Juſtitiarius Angliæ Totius*: Of his magnificent and noble Mind we have ſome Marks in the Remainders of Buildings erected by him, eſpecialy in the *Deviſes* in *Wiltſhire*, where is the Ruines of a moſt noble Fabrick, built after the manner of the *Romans*. He built alſo the Caſtles of *Malmſbury* and *Sherburn*, two ſtrong and ſumptuous Fabricks; he repaired the Caſtle of *Salisbury*, and new-wall'd it about, all which he lived to ſee taken from him and ſeized into the next King's hand, as things unfit for him either to raiſe or poſſeſs, and are now deformed Heaps of Rubbiſh. Beſides this, he walled in *Old Saliſbury*, and repaired the Church there.

A.D. 1134. Reg. 35.

Robert *Earl of* Mallent.

Robert Earl of *Mallent* was the Son of *Roger Beaumout*, who of all the great Men that followed *William* the Firſt in his Civil Wars in *Normandy*, refuſed to attend him in his Expedition into *England*, though he was invited to it with large Promiſes, ſaying, 'The Inheritance left 'him by his Fathers was ſufficient to maintain 'his State at home; and he deſired not to thruſt 'himſelf into other Mens Poſſeſſions abroad. But his Son *Robert* was of another Mind, and had a mighty Eſtate in *England* and *Normandy*. He was a Man of good Judgment, and his Direction in moſt weighty Affairs of State was always uſed as moſt profitable. His Frugality, both in Apparel and Diet, was very exemplary, and much influenced others, being a Man of ſo great Note: But in the end he fell into Diſgrace (the uſual Fate of Grandure) being engaged in a Rebellion againſt his King, and died ſtripp'd of his Eſtate.

Beſides theſe, he was ſerved with a Potent and Warlike Nobility, who by his Example were led to further his Deſigns in *France* for the Preſervation of his Dutchy of *Normandy*, whither he made his laſt Voyage in the thirty ſecond Year of his Reign. In his Paſſage there happened an exceeding great Eclipſe of the Sun, which was after interpreted as a Forerunner of his Death, which happened [b] ſhortly after in the thirty fifth Year of his Reign, and the ſixty ſeventh of his Age.

His Perſonage.

He was of a graceful Perſonage, quick-ſighted, brown Hair, and a cloſe-ſet Body, wherein was ſeated a Mind of ſolid Judgment and well-order'd Affections. He had a Taſte of Learning in his Youth, yet not much; but the very Reputation of it made Books in Faſhion, and many Learned Men flouriſhed in his time.

His Iſſue.

He had by his Wife *Maud* the Daughter of *Malcolm* the third King of *Scotland*, no other Children but *Maud* and *William*; but he is ſaid to have had ſeven Natural Sons, and as many Daughters, which ſhews his Incontinency [c]. Two of theſe Sons was afterward Men of Note, *viz. Reynold* Earl of *Cornwall* and *Caſtlecomb*, and *Robert* Earl of *Gloceſter*, a great Champion and Defender of his Siſter *Maud* the Empreſs. His Daughters were all married to Princes and Noblemen of *France* and *England*; and of them, as Writers ſay, came many Worthy Families.

[a] Before this time the *Engliſh* Kings order'd National Affairs by their own Edicts, and by the Officers and Governours of Countries, and had ſeldom any General Aſſemblies of the People, unleſs at a Coronation, or in Times of War. Their Parliaments were only Meetings of the Nobility, and Clergy uſually.

[b] He dy'd of a Surfeit of Lampreys at the Caſtle of *Lyons*; near *Roan* in *Normandy*. His Body was courſely Embalm'd, being ſtuff'd with Salt, and wrapp'd up in Ox-Hides; after which 'twas tranſported to *England*, and bury'd at *Reading*. In him the Male-Line of *William* the *Norman* was extinct.

[c] Sir *John Hayward* ſays he had twelve Illegitimate Children, who were of *no great Note or Continuance*.

Remarkable Occurrences *in the Reign of* Henry I.

In his 2d Year 1102. *Glouceſter* and *Wincheſter* were burnt. In his 4th a Comet appear'd, and four Circles were ſeen about the Sun. In his 7th another Comet was ſeen, and on *Thurſday* Night before, two full Moons appear'd, one in the Eaſt and the other in the Weſt. In his 10th a third Comet was ſeen, and an Earthquake happen'd in *Shropſhire*.

Sir *John Hayward*, Hiſt. *Hen.* I.

In his 11th Year the River *Trent*, near *Nottingham*, ceas'd to run its Courſe for four and twenty Hours, and ſo long the Channel was dry'd up. *Hol.* There was this Year a great Mortality of Men, a Murrain among Cattle, both Domeſtick and of the Field; the Fowls alſo periſh'd in Abundance. In his thirteenth Year *Worceſter* City, the Church, Caſtle, and many Citizens were burnt. A Pig was farrow'd with a Face like a Child; and the Water of the River *Medway* fail'd ſo much for many Miles in the midſt of the Channel, that the ſmalleſt Boats could not float, and the *Thames* was ſo low between the Tower and the Bridge, that many Men, Women and Children, waded it over a foot; which was occaſion'd, ſays our Author Sir *John Hayward*, by reaſon of a great Ebb in the Ocean, that laid the Sands bare ſeveral Miles from the Shoar, which continu'd ſo a whole Day. The City and chief Monaſtery of *Chicheſter* were burnt, and there was much Rage and Violence of Weather with a Comet. *Holinſhead* adds, that the Comet appear'd in a ſtrange manner; it roſe in the Eaſt, and when it was advanc'd near the Mid-Heavens it kept not its Courſe forward, but ſeem'd to go backwards, as if it had been retrograde; in *December* the Air appear'd red, as tho' it had burn'd. Moſt of theſe Accidents he places under the next Year, during which, almoſt all the Bridges in *England* being then built with Timber, were broken down by the Ice when it thaw'd after a ſevere Froſt. In his 16th Year, on the 1ſt of *November*, there fell a prodigious Storm of Hail, accompany'd with unuſual Claps of Thunder and Blaſts of Lightning. In *December* a great Earthquake happen'd, and the Colour of the Moon was chang'd into that of Blood. *Holinſhead.*

In his 17th Year the Cities of *Bath* and *Peterborough* were burnt. In his 20th Year there was an Earthquake in *September*. In his 22d the City of *Glouceſter* was burnt, and *Lincoln* the Year following. In his 30th Year *Rocheſter* was almoſt deſtroy'd by Fire, and *London* in his thirty ſecond. In the Year before he dy'd, being the 34th of his Reign, on the 2d of *Auguſt*, juſt as he was about to take Ship and ſail to *Normandy*, an Eclipſe of the Sun and Moon appear'd, at which time *William* of *Malmſbury*, who was then living, writes that he ſaw the Stars plainly about the Sun. This Eclipſe was follow'd by a terrible Earthquake: In which the ſame Author relates, the Houſe wherein he ſat was lifted up with a double Remove, and at the third time ſettled again in the proper Place. Sir *John Hayward.*

Holinſhead tells us, 'twas the Houſe in which the King ſat; he adds, that Flames of Fire burſt out of certain Rifs of the Earth with ſuch Violence, that they could not be quench'd by Water or otherwiſe.

In this Reign, *Anno* 1109. the Biſhoprick of *Ely* was founded. The firſt Biſhop of the Dioceſs being *Harvey*, Biſhop of *Bangor*. About this time the Marriage of Prieſts was ſtrictly forbidden in *England*, by a Synod at *Weſtminſter*, in which *Anſelm* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* preſided; it had been diſallowed in a former Synod, *Anno* 1102. The Pope's Power was very low in *England* in the Reign of *Henry* I. In whoſe time

The moſt Illuſtrious Captains were

Robert de Belleſme Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *William* Earl of *Mortaigne* the King's Nephew, and *Reginald* Earl of *Cornwall*. The moſt able Miniſters of State were *Robert* Earl of *Mellent*, *Roger* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and *Richard de Ridvers*. And the moſt Eminent Men of Learning

Eadmerus, who wrote the Hiſtory of the three *Norman* Kings to the Year 1122. Mr. *Selden* publiſh'd it. He was a Monk of *Canterbury*, *Anſelm's* Diſciple, and Archbiſhop elect of St. *Andrews's*

Ordericus Vitalis, an *Engliſhman*, but a Monk of the Abby of St. *Evroul* in *Normandy*, *William Gemitenſis* Abbot of *Jumiegne* in that Dutchy, *Alfred* of *Beverly*, and *Florence* a Monk of *Worceſter*, who dy'd about the eighteenth Year of the Reign of *Hen.* I. He epitomiz'd, or as the Learned Biſhop of *Carliſle* is of Opinion, rather tranſcrib'd, *Marianus Scotus*. *Eng. Hiſt. Libr. P.* 1. p. 149.

THE

KING · STEPHEN.

THE LIFE and REIGN OF King STEPHEN.

A. D. 1035. Reg. 1.

Stephen *Earl of* Bologne *made King of* England, *and upon what Reaſons and Conditions.*

THE Male-Iſſue of the *Norman* Line being extinct, and only a Daughter remaining, who was marry'd to a *Frenchman*, *Stephen* Earl of *Bologne* and *Mortagne*, Son of *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*, and *Adela* the Daughter of *William* I. was elected by the general Conſent of the Kingdom, and within thirty days [a] after *Henry*'s death crown'd King at *Weſtminſter* by *William Corbell* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. The chief of the Peers and Biſhops had engaged themſelves by Oath to accept *Maud* for their Queen after *Henry*'s deceaſe; but when he was dead, and the Awe of his Power and Greatneſs removed, they found out many [b] ſhifts to evade their Oath, tho' none ſtrong enough to ſave them from Perjury. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* boldly alledg'd, (tho' he had firſt ſworn to the Succeſſion of *Maud*) That it was not fit that ſo many and great Peers ſhould be ſubject to a Woman; which others of his Party form'd into a Reaſon, That it not being a Cuſtom in any Chriſtian Kingdom, whoſe Kings are anointed, to admit Women to inherit the Crown, it was an unlawful Oath, and therefore had no Obligation. *Roger* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, one of the principal Men then in Council, gave this Reaſon why they were diſcharg'd from their Oath, That the King had marry'd his Daughter out of the Realm, without their conſent, and therefore they were not bound to receive her. His Right of Succeſſion was not pretended: Becauſe indeed he had no Right that way, having an Elder Brother, *Theobald* Earl of *Blois*, and there being others whoſe Claim by Deſcent was before him, particularly *Maud*'s two Sons, if ſhe herſelf were rejected for their ſlight Reaſons. But the main thing that prevail'd at that time to make *Stephen* King, was this: That he was a Man, and had very great Poſſeſſions both in *England* and *France*; his elder Brother was a Prince of great Power, being Earl of *Blois*; and his younger Brother Biſhop of *Winchester*, the Pope's Legate in *England*, and of very great Intereſt with the Nobility, who at that time were chiefly guided by the Clergy. Beſides, *Stephen* himſelf was of a very comely and graceful Perſonage, very affable and courteous, of admirable Courage and Activity, which recommended him much to the Nobility. Theſe Reaſons drawn from Intereſt abroad and at home, being back'd partly with the Biſhop of *Winchester*'s Perſuaſions and Friendſhip, and partly with the Conſideration, that by preferring one to the Crown whoſe Title was weak, they might better ſecure their ancient Liberties, than by any Perſon that ſhould come to it by a lineal Succeſſion, made them elect *Stephen* to be their King: And to ſecure themſelves of him, they cauſed him to take a private Oath before the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, to confirm the ancient Liberties of the Church, and obliged his Brother to undertake for the performance of his ſolemn Promiſe made thus to them in the Preſence of God [c].

A. D. 1035. Reg. 1.

His firſt Parliament, and Actions in it.

Stephen being thus got into the poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* Government, and ſo made Maſter of all the Treaſure which his Uncle had gather'd in many Years, which was the Sum of 100000 *l.* [d] of ready Caſh, beſides Plate and Jewels of ineſtimable value, after the Interment of *Henry* at *Reading*, call'd a Parliament, which aſſembled at *Oxford*, and therein reſtor'd the Clergy to all their former Liberties, and freed the Laity of all their Tributes, and other Grievances of which they complain'd; and confirming theſe Grants by his Charter, he took an Oath in the preſence of the whole Aſſembly to obſerve them. Whereupon the Biſhops and Peers ſwore Fealty to him, on this Condition, That he obſerved the Tenure of this Charter.

He prepares for his defence, and gives a liberty to build Caſtles.

And firſt after his Settlement in his Kingdom, he prepares for his own defence; being ſenſible, that what he had gotten could not be held long but by the Sword. And for this end he firſt gives a liberty to all Perſons that would to build Caſtles upon their own Land, to ſecure themſelves and the Nation from any Invaſion, which in a peaceable and unanimous Reign had been a good piece of Policy, but in a factious time, as it happen'd, was indeed dangerous to the Kingly Power, as he after found: Then, becauſe he knew nothing would be a greater Security to him than firm Friends, he made all he could by creating new Lords, giving ſeveral Perſons large Eſtates, and ſparing no Coſt to make his Subjects of greateſt Intereſts faithful to him. Two ways he expected Diſturbance

[a] He was in *Normandy* when King *Henry* dy'd, and taking a light Ship at *Whitſand* made haſte to *England*; He arriv'd at *London*, and was elected King the 2d of *December*, by the Management and Intereſt of his Brother *Henry*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Abbot of *Glaſſenbury*, who had brought over the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to his Party, together with other Biſhops

[b] Theſe Evaſions and Shifts were ridiculous to the more conſidering Part of the Nation, tho' they ſerv'd the Turn of the Politicians themſelves: Wherefore there was another more plauſible Reaſon given. *Hugh Bygod*, who came with *Stephen*, and had been Steward to the late King *Henry*, depos'd before the Nobility and States, That King *Henry* upon his Death-Bed did give the Kingdom of *England* to his Nephew *Stephen*, becauſe his Daughter *Maud* had by her undutiful Behaviour alienated the Affections of the King from her. And this is ſaid to have generally prevail'd for *Stephen*'s Eſtabliſhment.

[c] *Malmsbury* writes, that he kept few or none of his Promiſes.

[d] The ſame Author calls the Sum 100000 Marks.

A. D. 1136. *Several Disturbances to his Government.*

Disturbance to his Government, *viz.* from *Scotland* and *France*. *David* King of *Scots* began the Quarel: He took himself oblig'd to restore his Niece the Empress *Maud* to her Right, not only upon the account of his near Relation to her, but the Oath he had taken in *Henry*'s Days, and therefore first invades *Stephen*'s Dominions. But *Stephen*, as if he had been prepared against all Opposition, was presently with him with a strong Army; which so deterr'd the *Scots*, that they came to a Composition with him to return home upon the Restitution of *Cumberland* to their King, and the Earldoms of *Northumberland* and *Huntingdon* to Prince *Henry*, the King of *Scots* Son, to whom in Right of his Mother *Maud*, the Daughter of *Waltheof* Earl of both, they belonged; which *Stephen* granting, a Peace was patch'd up for the present. *Henry* did Fealty to the King of *England* for his two Earldoms, and so they departed. At the King's return home, he met with a Revolt from some of his Nobility, of whom *Baldwin de Redvers*[a] was the Head, and the *Welsh* were very troublesome on the Borders. These Motions cost the King some time to allay, and were scarcely well appeased, but a new Occasion reviv'd them again: For King *Stephen*, with the violent Toils of War, fell very dangerously sick; so that it was reported he was dead, by which means his Friends began to fly from him and provide another Master, and his Enemies both at home and abroad to seize upon his Dominions. *Hugh Bigott* fortified himself in the Castles of *Norwich*, the *Welsh* plunder'd the Neighbouring *English*, the Earl of *Anjou* did also take this Opportunity to seize on his Wife's Right, and took certain Parts of *Normandy*, and made his Kingdom waver. Thus was his first Year spent in nothing but Battels, Invasions and Revolts, a sad Presage of the distracted and troublesome Reign he should have over an ill-gotten Kingdom, and a faithless People.

1137. Reg. 2. *Stephen conquer'd the Earl of Anjou, and subdued his home Enemies.*

The King after some time recover'd, and to make the World know he was alive, passed immediately with his Forces into *Normandy*, and in a pitch'd Battel overcame the Earl of *Anjou*; but yet that he might secure himself from future Pretensions, he came to an Agreement with him, That upon his renouncing *Maud*'s Claim to his Kingdom he would pay him five thousand Marks *per Annum*, and then made his Son *Eustace* Duke of *Normandy*, causing him to do Homage to the *French* King *Lewis* VII. for it, that thereby he might secure his Friendship. *Theobald* Earl of *Blois*, the King's eldest Brother, envying *Stephen*'s Greatness, began to put in his Claim for his Possessions; which tho' *Stephen* little valued, yet to pacifie him, he agreed to allow him two thousand Marks *per Annum*. When the King had settled Affairs thus in *Normandy*, he returned again into *England*, and found the *Scots* at work again to disturb his Dominions; which while he was busied to defend, a strong Conspiracy against him broke out in the Body of his Realm. *Robert* Earl of *Gloucester*, base Son to *Henry* the First, a Man of great Spirit, indefatigable Industry, and great Judgment, surpriz'd the Castle of *Bristol*, and held it out against the King; and so in other Parts of the Kingdom did *William Talbot* the Castle of *Hereford*, *Paynel* the Castle of *Ludlow*, *Lovel* that of *Cary*, *Moon* that of *Dunster*, and many others[b]. The King counting an inward Enemy most dangerous, left the Prosecution of the War with the *Scots* to *Thurstan* Arch-bishop of *York*, as his Lieutenant; *Walter* Earl of *Albemarle*, *William Peverell* Earl of *Nottingham*, *Walter* and *Gilbert Lacy* brave and valiant Commanders, and goes himself well attended to repress the Conspirators, which he did in one Expedition, and forced the Earl of *Gloucester* to fly to his Sister in *Anjou*. Nor had his Forces in the North less Success against the *Scots*, whom they routed and put to flight; and so *Stephen*, as Fortune's Favourite, was become victorious over all his apparent Enemies.

1138. Reg. 3.

A. D. 1138. Reg. 3.

He demolishes the Castles he lately permitted to be built, and prohibits Building more.

Stephen having now gotten a little respite from his Enemies, began to consult with himself how he might ease himself of such troublesome Contests with his Subjects; and because he now found, that the Castles he had permitted his Nobility to build, were the greatest Impediments of his Peace at home, and the readiest Harbour of Rebels, he resolved to forbid that any should be built hereafter, and demolish some of the most dangerous lately erected; and to this end, call'd a great Council at *Oxford*. Here some of his Lords, who much envy'd the magnificent and stately Castles erected by the Clergy (whose Buildings both in Number and Strength much excelled those of the Nobility) but especially by the Bishop of *Salisbury* who had built several great Castles at *Salisbury*, the *Devises*, *Shurburn*, *Malmsbury* and *Newarke*; whisper'd into the King's Ear, who was very jealous and suspicious of such Designs, That these Fortresses were intended for the Reception of the Empress *Maud* and her Party; and by their Surmises so wrought upon the King's Fears, that he sent for the Bishop of *Salisbury* to *Oxford*. The Bishop foreseeing the Danger impending, would have excused himself from his Attendance upon the King, by reason of his great Age; but that Plea would not be allow'd, he must go. The Bishop therefore taking with him his Nephews *Alexander* Bishop of *Lincoln*, and *Nigell* Bishop of *Ely*, with a Retinue of well arm'd Men, went to *Oxford*; where at his first coming his Servants going to take them up Lodgings, happen'd into a Quarrel with the Servants of the Earl of *Britain* and kill'd one of them in the Fray, the Nephew of the Earl being dangerously wounded. This being brought to the King's Ears he calls for the Bishop, and demands Satisfaction for the Breach of Peace made by his Servants in his Court, which was this, That he should immediately yield up the Keys of all his Castles to him, as Pledges of his Fidelity. The Bishop refused to do it; whereupon he commanded the Bishops of *Salisbury* and *Lincoln* to be seiz'd upon, and kept under a Guard. The Bishop of *Ely* had made his escape, and got into the Castle of the *Devises*. The King presently took into his hands by force the Castles of *Salisbury*, *Shyrburn*, and *Malmsbury*; and after three days assault, that of the *Devises* was surrender'd to him, whither he sent the two Bishops Prisoners, and seiz'd the Bishop of *Salisbury*'s Treasure, which amounted to forty thousand Marks.

His Dealinge with the Bishop of Salisbury, *and taking his Castles from him.*

1139. Reg. 5.

This Action of the King's being something arbitrary, and very unusual, was censur'd variously by the People of that time; some justified it, and pleaded, 'That the King had done very 'well in seizing upon those Castles: For 'tis 'very unfit, yea it is against the Canons of the 'Church

[a] Earl of *Devonshire* and Lord of the *Isle of Wight*.

[b] *William* of *Malmsbury* relates, That when King *Stephen* heard of the Revolt of these Lords, he said, *Since they have chosen me their King, Why do they now forsake me? By the Birth of God* (his usual Oath) *I'll never be call'd an* Abdicated *King*; his words are *Rex Ejectus*.

A. D. 1139. Reg. 5.

The Biſhop of Winchester oppoſes the King's Proceedings againſt the Biſhop of Salisbury, and calls a Council at Winchester about it, to examine the Matter

'Church, that the Clergy who are Men of Religion, and ſhould make it their whole buſineſs to promote Peace, ſhould build Caſtles for War, eſpecially with Prejudice to the King and his Realm. But the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, the Pope's Legate, being more zealous for his Function than his Brother, made a reſolute Oppoſition to it; ſaying, That if the Biſhops had done amiſs, they ought to have been judged not by the King, but by the Canons of the Church; and that they could not lawfully be depriv'd of their Eſtates and Poſſeſſions, but by a General Council: That the King had not done this out of any Zeal for Juſtice, but for his own private Ends, taking away thoſe Caſtles which were built upon the Lands, and at the Charge of the Church, to put them into the hands of Laymen who were not well affected to Religion. And therefore, that this Controverſie might be examin'd by the Canons, he appointed a Council to be ſummon'd to ſit at *Wincheſter*, and gave the King himſelf a Citation to appear at it. When the Biſhops and Clergy were met, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* read firſt the Commiſſion of his Legatine Power given him by Pope *Innocent*, and then in a Speech to the Aſſembly, ſhewed the great Indignity offer'd to the Church by impriſoning thoſe Biſhops, calling it an unjuſt and ſhameful Action in the King; who ſuffer'd himſelf to be led by ill Miniſters to do ſo great a piece of Injuſtice, a Violence againſt God, to deſpoil the Church of its Revenues and Poſſeſſions: And tells them, That ſince the King would yield to no Admonition, he had called them together in Council, to conſult what was to be done; and that for his part, neither the Love of the King, though he was his Brother, nor the Loſs of his Preferments, nor Danger of his Life, ſhould diſcourage him from putting in Execution what they ſhould decree. As ſoon as the Counſel was thus ſettled, the King ſtanding upon the Defence of the Fact, ſent certain Earls to them to know why he was ſummon'd thither. The Legate in mild Terms told them, 'That 'the King being ſubject to the Faith of Chriſt, 'ought not to take it ill if he were called to 'give an account by Chriſt's Miniſters of ſuch 'an Action, as none but Infidels would be guilty of, to impriſon Biſhops and deprive them 'of their Poſſeſſions; and that he ought to give 'an Account of his Action, and undergo a Canonical Judgment in reſpect to the Church, 'who had advanc'd him to the Crown; which 'if he would do, their Determination, by the 'Help of God, ſhould be ſuch, as neither the *Roman* Church, King of *France*, nor Earl *Theobald* 'their Brother ſhould diſlike. This Anſwer the Earls, who were attended by one *Alberic de Ver*, an experienc'd Lawyer[a], brought to the King, and were again diſpatch'd back with this Reply from the King, which *Alberic* deliver'd to them in theſe Words; 'That *Roger* Biſhop of *Saliſbury* had done many Injuries to the King; That 'he ſeldom came to Court; That his Servants, 'preſuming upon his Power, had affronted the 'Nephew, and miſuſed the Servants of the Earl 'of *Britain*, and *Hervi de Lyons*, a great Nobleman, both Strangers, to the Diſgrace of the 'King and Diſcredit of the Realm; That the 'Biſhop of *Lincoln*, out of Hatred to the Earl 'of *Britain*, had encourag'd this Sedition; That 'the Biſhop of *Salisbury* privately favoured the 'King's Enemies, as the King found by many 'Circumſtances, particularly becauſe he deny'd 'Quarters to the King's Forces in *Malmsbury*, and was generally looked upon as ſuch a Friend 'to the Empreſs, that if ſhe came he would re- 'ſign his Caſtles to her; That the King did not 'arreſt the Biſhop as a Clergy-man, but as his 'Servant and Receiver of his Revenues; That 'the King took not his Caſtles from him by force, 'but the Biſhop reſign'd them to avoid the 'Calumny of a Tumult raiſed in his Court; 'That if the King found any Treaſure in the 'Caſtles, he looked upon it as deliver'd to him 'with them, through Fear for his Offences; 'That the Covenants between the King and Biſhop were ratified in the Preſence of ſeveral 'Witneſſes. To this *Roger* anſwer'd, That he 'was never any Servant to the King, nor ever 'receiv'd any of his Moneys, and threaten'd 'that if he could not have Juſtice done him by 'this Council, he would bring it to an higher 'Court. The Legate kept to his Moderation, and replied. 'That theſe Allegations againſt the 'Biſhops ought firſt to be examin'd in a Coun'cil, whether they were true or no, before Sen'tence had been given againſt them; and there'fore the King ought (as is neceſſary in all judi'cial Tryals) to reveſt the Biſhops in their for'mer Eſtates, otherwiſe by the Law of Nations 'being diſſeiſed, they are not oblig'd to hold 'Plea. After a long Debate in the Council concerning this Cauſe, it was (upon a Motion) put off till the next day, that the Arch-biſhop of *Roan*, who was to act on the King's Part, might be preſent, who deliver'd his Oppinion thus; 'That if the Biſhop could prove by the Canons, 'that they ought to have Caſtles, they ſhould 'hold them; but if not, they did ill to contend 'ſo eagerly for them. And were it ſo, yet in 'ſuſpicious Times they ought according to the 'manner of other Nations, to deliver up the 'Keys of all Fortreſſes to the King's Pleaſure, 'who is to protect all. But if it belongs not to 'the Clergy to have Caſtles, and if it were by 'the King's Indulgence permitted, they ought 'to deliver him the Keys. *Alberic* the Lawyer 'added, That the King had been informed, that 'the Biſhops were ſending ſome Perſons to *Rome* 'againſt him: But he ſaid, that he charg'd them 'not to preſume to do ſo, leſt he prevented their 'return. Theſe Speeches put a ſtop to the Councils Proceedings, and cauſed the Biſhops to break up within a few days without bringing the Matter to any Concluſion. The Biſhops dare not excommunicate the King without the Pope's Conſent, which if they had gotten they feared the Sword: Wherefore the Legate and Arch-biſhop took another way of dealing with the King, *viz.* by Entreaties and Prayers, falling at his Feet in his Chamber, and begging of him, That he would in Commiſeration to the Church and his own Soul, as well as his Reputation, compoſe this Diſſention between the Kingdom and the Church. The King gave them a mild Anſwer, but would not part with any thing he had gotten. Shortly after theſe things, the Biſhop of *Salisbury* died through Grief, unpitied; for he was a Man (in his latter Times) guilty of much Corruption, and of inſatiable Avarice; and though the King had been ſo kind and bountiful to him, as not only to prefer two of his Nephews, the one to be his Chancellor, and the other his Treaſurer; but to ſay, *The Biſhop ſhould be weary of asking before he would be of granting, though he gave him half his Kingdom*, yet he was deſervedly ſuſpected of favouring *Maud*, and had brought over all the Clergy; yea, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*

A. D. 1139. Reg. 9.

The Archbiſhop of Roan's Plea for the King.

The Biſhop of Saliſbury's Crimes declared in the Council.

The Biſhop of Saliſbury dies.

[a] A Baron learn'd in the Laws.

A. D. 1139. Reg. 5.

Maud *brought into the Kingdom upon this Quarrel.*

chester himself to a favourable Opinion of her, and to uphold her Title.

This Contest between the King and the Church, tho' the King seem'd prefectly Master, yet in the end prov'd fatal to him: For it open'd a Gap to let *Maud* the Empress into the Kingdom, who by the conduct of the Earl of *Glocester* was convey'd into the [a] Castle of *Arundel*, with a Train of no more then 150 Men, and had a Party raised by the said Earl through all the Country, as far as *Glocester*, without any opposition; so great a Disaffection was then among all sorts to the King by this Quarrel with the Bishops. The King indeed wanted not his wonted Activity in pursuing his Enemies, and to that end advanced towards the Empress upon the first News; but she swearing to him, that she came with no ill design into his Kingdom, but that all that belong'd to her should behave themselves orderly, and pay their due Allegiance to him; the King, too credulous, was so satisfy'd, that he caused her to be convey'd by the Legate [b] himself in an honourable manner to *Bristol*, where she was received with great respect; and continu'd so long, till by her Friends and her own courteous Visits and Behaviour, she had gotten an huge Party for her in the Nation; and from thence, when things were ripe for her Design, convey'd her self into *Wallingford*-Castle, and began to put forth her Claim to *Stephen*'s Kingdom. *Stephen* delay'd not to retrieve his sinking Fortunes, by laying Siege to it; but seeing so many Enemies start up on every side, he thought all Opposition would be in vain, and therefore sent his Brother the Legate, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to *Bath* to treat about and agreement with her, but nothing was effected, and so both sides return'd to make good their Parties. The King seeks to recover what he had lost, and the Empress to get more. The King immediately takes his way into the North, to keep the *Scots* from entring in to assist her, and secure those parts. The Earl of *Chester*, who had marry'd one of *Glocester*'s Daughters, was in Possession of the Castle of *Lincoln*; and tho' he had not declared himself against the King, yet the King not thinking it safe in his hands, besieg'd it. The Earl finding himself over-power'd, made his escape out of the Castle, and went to his Father-in-Law for assistance The Earl of *Glocester* undertakes to raise the Siege, and marches towards the King with a great Army of *Welshmen* and others, under his own, and *Hugh Bygod*, and *Robert de Morley*'s command. The King at their approach was ready to engage them; and after their Armies were put in order, and the Captains had encourag'd their Men on both sides, there began a sore Battel, which held long dubious, till at length *Stephen*'s gave back, and he himself being deserted of all, and after long fighting left without Weapon to defend himself, was [c] taken, presented to the Empress [d], and by her put into the Castle of *Bristol*; but kept in an honourable manner, till his attempts to escape laid Fetters upon him.

1140. Maud *besieg'd by* Stephen; *who after coming to a Battel with the Earl of* Glocester, *was taken.*

1141.

Maud *accepted as Queen by the Bishop of* Winchest *and crown'd.*

Maud the Empress having the King in her power, and the Kingdom (as she imagin'd) at her command, takes upon her the Majesty of Queen of *England*, and by all winning methods endeavours to bring the Legate to admit her to the Kingdom, as Daughter and Heir of the late King, to whom the Realm had taken an Oath to accept her for their Sovereign in the Succession; and so prevail'd, that a Parley was granted upon a Plain near *Winchester*, where, after the Empress had sworn to the Legate, That all the grand Affairs of the Nation, and especially the Donation of all Bishopricks and Abbies, should be wholly in his disposal, if he (with the Church) would receive her as Queen of *England*, and pay her faithful Allegiance, as her Brother *Robert* Earl of *Glocester*, and *Brian* his Son, Marquis of *Willingford*, *Milo* of *Glocester* (after Earl of *Hereford*) with many others, on her part had sworn to do. The Bishop with some few others received her readily as Queen [e] (tho' she never came in general so to be acknowledged) and took an Oath of Fidelity to her, promising to keep his Oath so long as she broke not her Covenant; and the next day was led with solemn Procession into the Bishop's Church at *Winchester*, by the Legate on the right hand, and *Bernard* Bishop of St. *David*'s on the left, and in the presence of many other Bishops, as *Alexander* Bishop of *Lincoln*, *Nigel* Bishop of *Ely*, *Robert* Bishop of *Bath*, and *Robert* Bishop of *Worchester*, and many Abbots, had the Crown deliver'd to her. Within a few days after came down [f] the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Theobald*, to the Empress, being united by the Legate, but would not do Fealty to her, as being a thing unworthy of his Person and Place, until he had conferr'd first with the King; which being obtain'd, he with several Bishops and Laymen went to the King to *Bristol*. In the mean time the Council broke up, and the Empress went to *Oxford*, her own City, to keep her *Easter*. Soon after *Easter* a Council of the Clergy was summon'd to meet at *Winchester*, where the first day the Legate had a private Conference with every Bishop severally, and afterward with every Abbot, and other Persons that were to sit in the Council. At the opening of the Council the Legate made a Speech, shewing them, 'That the end of their Meeting, 'was to consult for the Peace of their Country, 'which through the struggling of two Parties was 'in apparent danger of Ruine. How flourishing 'the Kingdom was under the Reign of his Uncle '*Henry*, who, to secure the Peace and Happiness 'of the Kingdom, had sworn both *England* and '*Normandy* to continue his Daughter *Maud* in the 'Succession: That after his decease, his Daughter 'being in *Normandy*, and delaying to come over, 'it was thought necessary for the preservation 'of the Peace of the Country to make his Brother King, upon his own becoming Surety, 'that he should defend the Church, and settle 'good Laws. That his Brother having abused 'his Trust, and ill managed his Government, '(which it griev'd him to think of, and repeat) 'in imprisoning the Bishops, seizing on their Possessions, and by many other publick Misdemeanours; God had shew'd his Judgments upon him, 'and let him fall into the hands of his Enemies; 'and tho' he could not but love his Brother, yet 'he must espouse the Cause of the Immortal God. 'That therefore the Nation at this Juncture might 'not be without a Governour, he had called them 'together, by the Virtue of his Legantine Power, 'to elect and ordain a Prince, because this Privilege belongs of right to the Clergy. And 'therefore, having invoked the divine Aid, we 'do

A. D. 1141. Reg. 7.

A Council at Winchester *to settle* Maud.

[a] *Hollingshead* says, She landed at *Portsmouth*, and went strait to *Arundel* in *Sussex*, then the Castle of *William de Albany*, who had marry'd *Adeliza* the Queen Dowager, by whom the Empress was kindly receiv'd.

[b] He order'd *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Walleran* Earl of *Mellent*, to wait on her whither she pleas'd to go; and she chose *Bristol* for the Place of her Residence.

[c] He was knock'd down before he was taken, and refus'd to surrender himself to any one but the Earl of *Glocester*.

[d] At *Glocester*.

[e] *William* of *Malmsbury*'s word is, *Domina*, Lady of *England*.

[f] She was remov'd to *Wilton*.

A. D. 1141. Reg. 7.

'do elect for Queen of *England*[a], *Maud*, the 'Daughter of the peaceable, glorious, and incomparable King *Henry*, and to her we promise our 'Faith and Allegiance. When all that were present had either openly given their Voice for her, or by their silence not contradicted it, the Legate added, 'That the *Londoners*, who in respect of the 'greatness of their City, were to be accounted 'among the chief Men of the Nation, were summon'd, and he hoped would be present in the 'Council to morrow. The *Londoners* according 'to their Summons came, and being brought into 'the Council, said, 'That they were sent from the 'Commonalty of *London*[b], not to foment this 'civil Quarrel now on foot, but to beg that their 'King might be freed from Captivity. And with them did all the Barons in their Liberties joyn, earnestly petitioning the same of my Lord Legate, and all the Clergy there assembled. The Legate answer'd them at large, and verily loftily, as he did the day before, 'That the *Londoners* 'ought not to side with them who had deserted 'their King in the Battel, by which advice the 'Church had been dishonour'd, and who favour'd 'the *Londoners* only for their own gain. As soon as this Answer was given, one of Queen *Maud*'s (King *Stephen*'s Consort) Chaplains stood up, and deliver'd a Letter to the Legate, who having read it to himself, said aloud, 'That it was not fit it 'should be read publickly in an Assembly of so 'many Reverend and Religious Persons, because 'it contain'd Matters very blame-worthy. The Chaplain hearing this, and seeing the disappointment of the Queen's design, like a faithful and zealous Servant, stood up and boldly read the Letter himself, which was to this effect: 'That the 'Queen earnestly entreated the Clergy there assembled, and particularly the Bishop of *Winchester*, the Brother of her Lord, to restore him 'to his Kingdom, whom wicked Men, who were 'his Subjects, detain'd in Prison. To this the Legate answer'd as he had done to the *Londoners*; and the Council was so far from yielding to her Request, that many of the King's Party were excommunicated by them, and particularly *William Martell*, a chief Man with the King, who had displeased the Legate; and then the Council brake up. This Election had such an influence upon the Nation, that the greatest part submitted to the Empress *Maud*, and she seem'd in a fair way to become Mistress of the whole; her Brother *Robert* employing all his diligence and care in reforming Justice, restoring the Laws of *England*, promising a release of Taxes, and doing whatsoever he knew would please, and win the People to Obedience; and the Legate seconded him.

The Londoners *come to the Council, and petition the King's Release.*

Maud's *Pride destroys her Interest with the* English.

But *Maud*'s Interest was not so much promoted by her Friends among the People, as it was weaken'd by her own haughty and proud Carriage to her Subjects. The *Londoners*, who hoped to obtain whatever they begg'd of their new Queen, petition'd that the rigorous Laws of her Father might be abrogated, and King *Edward*'s restored, but were deny'd with some sharpness: Whereupon they fell immediately to the King's side, (which in their Hearts they most affected) inveigh'd openly against her, and conspir'd to surprize her in their City; but she having had timely notice of it, made her escape (with *David* King of *Scots*, who came to visit her, and her Brother *Robert*) and got to *Oxford*, which was always true to her. The Legate himself also being deny'd his Request for his Nephew *Eustace*, that he might enjoy his Earldoms of *Bolloigne* and *Mortaigne* in *Normandy*, began to slacken his Affections to her, in which disgust Queen *Maud*, finding an opportunity to address her self to him, wrought so upon him by her Tears and Intreaties, with Promises of the King's Reformation, that she brought him to pity his Condition, and act like a Brother, and to absolve those of the King's Party, which he had lately excommunitated. The Earl of *Glocester* observing this sudden Change in the Empress's Affairs, bestirs himself all he could to recover the Legate's Affections to her; and to that end settles her in the Castle of *Winchester* with her Guards, from whence she sends for the Legate to come to her, but he first delay'd, and then openly deny'd. The Empress, much amaz'd at this Answer, call'd a Council of her best Friends about her, to advise what to do; but in the mean time, by the Legate's Information and Order, who was fled to her, Queen *Maud*, and the Lords of her Party, encompass the Town, and shut up all Conveyances of Provision to it: So that at last, after six Weeks Siege, the Earl of *Glocester* was forced to remove the Empress to the Castle of the *Devises*; in which dangerous attempt, tho' she got safe away, yet the Earl himself was taken, and brought to Queen *Maud*, who rejoyced in nothing so much, as that she had now a Prisoner, who might, in the Empress's opinion, balance an Exchange for her Lord; which according she caused immediately to be propounded, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Legate being to be Prisoners till *Robert* was released. The Earl himself would not consent to the King's Release to gain his own Freedom; but at length, being persuaded by his Sister, he yielded to it: And *Stephen* being dismiss'd from his Imprisonment, left his Queen and Son *Eustace* Pledges, till *Robert* was also releas'd; which was done upon the King's coming to *Winchester*, where he was sollicited by the King with all promises of Preferment and Honour to forsake the Empress's Party; but when nothing would prevail, he was safely sent back to her; and so both Parties began afresh to renew their Quarrel with their restor'd Captains.

The Earl of Glocester *taken Prisoner, and exchang'd for the King.*

Soon after this great Change of Affairs, the Legate calls a Council at *London*, where the Pope's Letters, written to him in answer to the Briefs of both Parties sent to him a little before, were read openly; in which the Pope reproved him (tho' mildly) for his neglect in procuring his Brother's Release, and exhorts him to obtain his Liberty by all means Civil and Ecclesiastical. The King himself came to this Council, and complain'd, 'That his Sub-'jects, to whom he had never deny'd Justice, and 'taken him, and by their reproachful and cruel 'usage almost destroy'd him. The Legate with great Eloquence labour'd to excuse his own Actions, alledging, 'That he did not voluntarily ac-'cept the Empress, but through meer Compulsion 'and Fear; because upon the King's overthrow, 'while the Lords were either fled, or waited in 'suspence for the Event, she and her Party came 'upon the City of *Winchester*, and besieged it: 'That whatever Agreements he had made for 'the benefit of the Church, she had broken: That 'he was certainly inform'd, that she and her Party had conspir'd against his Life and Dignity. 'But God in his Mercy had so order'd Affairs, 'contrary to her Desires and Intentions, that he 'had escaped her Attempts, and his Brother was 'deliver'd out of her hands. And therefore he, 'in the Name of God and the Pope, requir'd them 'with all their Powers to assist the King, who was 'anointed by the consent of the People and Apostolick See, and to excommunicate all such as 'disturb'd the Peace, and were found Favourers 'of the Countess of *Anjou*. To this Speech of the

A Council call'd at London.

[a] The Words in *William* of *Malmsbury* are, *Lady of England and Normandy*.

[b] *De Communione*.

A. D. 1141. Reg. 7. Legate's, the Empreſs's Agent, who was preſent in the Council, made a bold Reply, charging the Legate to his Face, 'That he had given his Faith to 'the Empreſs: That he would paſs no Act there 'prejudicial to her Honour: That he had ſworn 'to her, that he would never aid his Brother with 'above twenty Soldiers: That her coming into '*England* was occaſion'd by his Letters, by which 'he often ſollicited her to it: That he was the 'chief Cauſe, that the King was taken and kept 'Priſoner. Theſe, and many more Reflections upon the Legate, did the Agent make; but the Legate ſeem'd not at all concern'd, nor would make any reply to them.

1142. Some few Months after the Enlargement of the King, both ſides remain'd without Action, but yet employ'd in contriving how to bring about their Deſigns moſt effectually and ſpeedily. The Empreſs remaining at the Caſtle of the *Deviſes*, reſolves by the advice of her Council to ſend over her Brother into *Normandy* to ſollicit her Husband the Earl of *Anjou* to aſſiſt her with what Forces he was able: And the Earl, the better to ſecure her in his abſence, ſettled her in the Caſtle of *Oxford*, which was well fortify'd againſt all Aſſaults, and takes with him the Sons of the chief Noblemen that were about her, as Pledges of their Fidelity to her. *Stephen* having notice of this deſign, endeavours to ſtop his Paſſage; but not being able to do that, laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Oxford* as ſoon as he was gone, which held him employ'd till the Earl return'd. *Jeffery* Earl of *Anjou*, being deſirous rather to have *Normandy* (of which he had gotten the greateſt part, and was in great hopes of the reſt) than to adventure for *England*, refuſed to go over in Perſon, but ſends a ſmall Army under his Son *Henry*'s command, who was then but eleven Years old, that he might be acquainted with *England*, and be ſhew'd to the People, to try whether his Perſonal Preſence would move them to the Conſideration of his Right, which prov'd more ſerviceable than an Army. The Earl of *Gloceſter* being ſafely arriv'd with the young Prince, went towards *Oxford*; but the Empreſs had made her eſcape from thence in diſguiſe, and was got to *Wallingford*, where ſhe met her Son and Brother with great ſatisfaction.

The Empreſs ſollicites her Husband for Aid, and Henry her Son ſent into England.

1143. King *Stephen* in the mean time takes *Oxford* Caſtle, and hearing that his Enemy had received freſh Supplies from *Anjou*, endeavours to make all the Friends he could to increaſe his Power; but Money failing him, his Intereſt ſunk, eſpecially with his mercinary Lords, and others, which he had in great numbers out of *Flanders*, who fell to riſling Abbies, to the great diſhonour of the King. But the King's Party did not only fail him, but alſo the Empreſs's: The Earl of *Gloceſter*, the chief

1146. ſupport of her Title, dy'd within [a] two Years after his return to *England*, and ſhortly after *Milo* Earl of *Hereford*; which ſo diſcourag'd the Empreſs, that ſhe ſent her Son away into *Anjou*, and

1147. not long after follow'd her ſelf, being tired with the Bickerings and Conteſts of Parties, and leaving her Friends to defend what ſhe had gotten in *England*. But *Henry* being advanced now a little in Years, (*viz.* ſixteen Years old) and able to undergo the Fatigues of War, was impatient of a ſtay in his Father's Court, when he had ſome hopes of one of his own in *England*; and therefore went into

1149. *England* again with an Army of choice Soldiers, got into the North, where *David* King of *Scots* his Uncle, who had been put into Poſſeſſion of *Northumberland* by the Empreſs, was ready to joyn him. *Stephen*, hearing of his arrival, follows him with an Army to *York*, to ſecure that City, and hinder his Return; but tho' the firſt Motions of both ſides ſeem'd brave and adventurous, yet *French*-like, their Courage cool'd, and nothing was done by either ſide; *Stephen* returning home, and *Henry* not long after into *Flanders*, where he met that Fortune which ſet him on the *Engliſh* Throne.

A. D. 1150.

Henry was ſcarce arriv'd in *Flanders*, but his Father-in-Law [b] *Jeffery* Duke of *Anjou* and *Normandy* dies, and leaves him Heir of both thoſe Dukedoms: Of which Dignity he had not been long poſſeſſed, but that he marry'd *Eleanor*, the only Daughter and Heir of *William* Duke of *Guien*, by whom he had the Poſſeſſion of thoſe large and rich Countries belonging to the Dutchy of *Guien*, and Earldom of *Poictou*. She had been the Wife of *Lewis* VII. King of *France*, and was with him in the Holy Wars; but being there accuſed to him of wanton and laſcivious Behaviour [c], he divorced her upon his return, and ſent her to her Friends with her whole Portion. But *Henry* conſidering how great an Addition her Patrimony would be to his Power, and how much her Treaſure would help forward his Deſigns, overlook'd the *French* King's Suſpicions, and marry'd her. This Match 1151. enraged *Lewis*, becauſe he had made himſelf a formidable Enemy; and therefore to cruſh him in time, joyns with *Stephen*, and aſſiſts his Son *Euſtace* (to whom he marry'd his Daughter *Conſtance*) to recover *Normandy*, of which he had been poſſeſſed before his Father's Troubles; *Stephen* in the mean time recovering what he could from *Maud*'s Party in *England*. *Henry* being furniſh'd now with a ſufficient Power for his own defence, left his Friends in *England* to ſhift for themſelves awhile, and defends *Normandy*; which he did ſo well, that the King of *France* was forced to leave him; and *Euſtace* returning into *England*, dy'd 1152. ſhortly after [d], being about eighteen Years of Age, and was bury'd at *Feverſham*; a Youth, tho' born to a Kingdom, yet he never lived to ſee any thing but the Calamities of it. In the time that *Henry* was buſied thus in *Normandy*, *Stephen* had gotten ground, and ſet down before *Wallingford*, a place of great importance, and almoſt impregnable, which yet he reduced to ſuch Extremities, that the Defendants were forced to ſend for Duke *Henry* to relieve them, who immediately, tho' in the midſt of Winter, came over to them with 1153. 3000 Foot, and 140 Horſe; and to draw the King from *Wallingford*, lays Siege to *Malmsbury*, and had moſt of the great Men of the *Weſt*, and other parts, come in to him. *Stephen* much overmatching his Enemy with Numbers, reſolved to put his Fortune upon the Tryal of a Battel; but the Armies being kept aſunder by the great Floods which then happen'd for ſome time: The Biſhops, fearful of the ſucceſs, as knowing that it would be very prejudicial for the whole State, and eſpecially for them, to have a young Prince come in to rule with the Sword, mediated with them, and obtained a Peace, which was concluded at *Winchester* upon theſe Conditions.

Henry's *great Fortunes and Dominions.*

Henry and Stephen *come to an Agreement through the Mediation of the Biſhops.*

1. That King *Stephen* ſhould remain King of *England* for his Life, and *Henry* enjoy his Dukedom of *Normandy*, as deſcended to him from his Mother, and be proclaim'd Heir apparent of the Kingdom of *England*, as *Stephen*'s adopted Son.

The Articles of it.

2. That their Adherents on both ſides ſhould receive no damage, but enjoy their Eſtates, according to their ancient Rights and Title.

3. That the King ſhould reſume into his own Poſſeſſions

[a] It muſt be three Years afterwards; for according to all authentick Hiſtorians, he dy'd of a Feaver at *Briſtol*, *Anno* 1146. And *Miles* Earl of *Hereford* was, as the *Welſh Chronicle* reports, unfortunately kill'd three Years before, by the Shot of an Arrow, in the ſame manner as *William Rufus* was. [b] He was his Father. [c] With a Young *Saracen*.

[d] He liv'd till a few Weeks before the Peace was concluded in the following Year between Duke *Henry* and King *Stephen*.

A. D. 1153. Reg. 17. Poſſeſſions all Eſtates belonging to the Crown, which had been either alienated by himſelf, or were uſurped by others in his time; and that ſuch Inheritance as had been unjuſtly taken from the right Owners ſince King *Henry*'s time, ſhould be reſtored to them.

4. That all the Caſtles which had been built by *Stephen*'s Permiſſion (which were 1117) ſhould be demoliſhed.

There is a Charter of this Agreement in our Annals, which hath other Articles of Reſervation for the Eſtates of particular Perſons; as, for *William*, King *Stephen*'s ſecond Son, that he ſhould enjoy all that his Father was poſſeſſed of before he was King of *England*: and for many other Perſons of Note.

A Peace being thus ſettled in *England*, *Henry* returns into *Normandy*, and there concludes a Peace with the King of *France*, at the Expence of twenty thouſand Marks. *Stephen* alſo betook himſelf wholly to repair the Ruins of the State, made a Progreſs into moſt parts of his Kingdom, to reform ſuch Irregularities as had ariſen by long War; and after his return call'd a Parliament at 1154. Reg. 18. *London*, to conſult about the Good of the Nation and proper methods for eſtabliſhing of it. After the Parliament broke up, he went to *Dover* to meet the Earl of *Flanders*, who deſired a Conference with him; and immediately after his return fell ſick, and dy'd [a] within a few days, and was bury'd in the Abby he founded at *Feverſham*, with the unfortunate Prince his Son, when he had reign'd eighteen Years and ten Months. A. D. 1154. Reg. 18.

He was a Perſon ſo continually engag'd in War-like Affairs, that it is not poſſible to give his full Character, whom the World never knew in Peace. He was certainly a very valiant Prince, and excellent Soldier, and wanted nothing but a clear Title to have made him one of the beſt of Princes. What his Government would have been in Peace, may be conjectured by a few Inſtances: He kept his Promiſe made to the States at his Admiſſion to the Throne, concerning the Releaſe of their Taxes, and never had one Tax (ſo far as can be found) in his Reign. He was ſo mild and merciful to his Subjects, that tho' there were many Revolts and Rebellions againſt him, yet he never put any great Man to Death. And it is very obſervable, that tho' his Reign was full of Wars, yet there were more Abbies built in his time, than had been in an hundred Years before; which ſhews, that tho' his Times were troubleſome, they were not Irreligious and Atheiſtical.

He had by *Maud* his Wife, the Daughter of *Euſtace* Earl of *Bolloigne*, three Sons and two Daughters: Only one Son, *viz. William* Earl of *Bolloigne*, *Surrey*, and *Mortaine*; and one Daughter, *viz. Mary*, a Nun and Abbeſs of the Nunnery of *Rumſey* in *Hampſhire* [b], ſurviv'd the King. He had two Natural Sons, *William*, and *Gervaſe* made by the King Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, which Place he enjoy'd twenty Years [c].

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES *in the Reign of King* Stephen.

ON the very Day that he landed in *England* to put in for the Crown, as an Omen of his troubleſome Reign, there happen'd a mighty Tempeſt of Thunder, (horrible to hear) and terrible Blaſts of Lightning, which falling out in the Winter-Seaſon was the more taken notice of.

In the 12th Year of his Reign the *Jews* at *Norwich* crucify'd a Chriſtian Child.

In his 14th Year there fell ſo much Rain in the Summer-ſeaſon, that it ſpoil'd the Corn; and a Famine follow'd it. On the 9th of *December* it began to freeze, and the Froſt held till the 9th of *February*; in which time the Paſſage over the *Thames* for Man and Horſe was on the Ice. In this Reign there were built no fewer than 1115 Caſtles, which were to be demoliſh'd by the Articles of King *Stephen*'s Treaty with Duke *Henry*, Son to *Maud* the Empreſs. *Hol.*

William of *Malmsbury* writes, that about the Year 1140. the Money of the Nation was ſo bad, that ſcarce one Shilling in ten was good. In the ſame Year, on the 21ſt of *March* early in the Morning, there was ſo great an Eclipſe of the Sun, that Men were forced to light Candles to eat their Meat by. And the above mention'd Author adds, Thoſe who ſat at the Table where he was fear'd the return of the ancient Chaos, for ſeveral Stars were perceiv'd near the Sun.

The moſt famous Warriors in his Time were

Hugh Bigod Earl of *Norfolk*, *Baldwin Ridvers*, *Walter* and *Gilbert Lacy*, *Ralph* Earl of *Cheſter*, *William Mandevil* Earl of *Eſſex*, *William Martell* *Roger* and *Miles* Earls of *Hereford*, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Simon* Earl of *Northampton*, the *brave* Earl of *Gloceſter*, Natural Brother to the Empreſs *Maud*, and Prince *Euſtace*, King *Stephen*'s eldeſt Son.

Of Men of Learning the moſt Eminent were

William a Monk and Library-keeper of *Malmſbury*, *Simeon* a Monk and Precentor of *Durham*, *Ealred* Abbot of *Rievaulx* in *Yorkſhire*, *Henry* Arch-deacon of *Huntington*, *Geoffrey* Arch-deacon of *Monmouth*, *Robert* of *Shrewsbury*, *Caradoc* of *Lancarvon*, *Gilbert Foliot* Biſhop of *Hereford*, and *Thurſtan* Archbiſhop of *York*; all Hiſtorians.

[a] At *Canterbury* on the 25th of *October*, 1154.

[b] On the Death of Earl *William* her Brother, ſhe was taken clandeſtinely from *Rumſey*, and marry'd to *Matthew* Earl of *Bolloigne* and *Alſace*.

[c] He was at laſt depriv'd of it, for prodigally imbezling the Revenues of that Monaſtery.

THE LIFE and REIGN OF HENRY II. Surnamed *PLANTAGENET.*

A. D. 1155. Henry *Son of the Empress made King.*

HENRY *PLANTAGENET*, (tho' at the Death of *Stephen* he was beyond the Seas and a *Frenchman* by Birth, yet) was admitted to the Crown of *England* without any Oppoſition or Capitulation other than the uſual Oath. He was detain'd by contrary Winds from coming into *England* for ſix Weeks together [a], after *Stephen*'s Death; but the Nation was ſo tired out with Civil Wars, and all Places ſo miſerably haraſs'd, that they choſe to wait for his coming rather than provoke ſo powerful a Prince by the Election of another. So he was crown'd by *Theobald* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Dec.* 20. 1154. in the twenty third Year of his Age. He was a Prince young, active, and powerful, and had all things that might have made him high and aſſuming; but he underſtood the Neceſſity of his own preſent Affairs, and the Intereſts of Princes ſo well, that he began his Reign with all ſuch publick Actions, as he knew would get and increaſe the Love of his Subjects, being ſenſible, that the King of *France* was ſo highly offended by his Match, that he would not overlook any Advantage he could get againſt him through the Diſaffection of his Subjects. And the firſt thing he did, was to chuſe himſelf a Council, which he did out of the graveſt and moſt experienc'd Men of his Kingdom, who could beſt inform him in the State and Condition of the Nation. Then he call'd call'd a Parliament at *Wallingford*, where he paſſed an Act, which was not more for his own Profit than for the Satisfaction of all his People; which was, *To expel all Strangers out of the Land*: For the People were greatly peſter'd with them at that time, by reaſon of the Wars, which drew Multitudes of them hither, eſpecially *Flemings* and *Picards*; whom King *Stephen*, after he found the *Engliſh* falſe and unfaithful to him, entertain'd and chiefly truſted, making *William de Ypres* Earl of *Kent* their Commander, who by Virtue of this Act was baniſh'd with the reſt of his Countrymen, and his Lands ſeiz'd into the King's hand. After the Diſſolution of this Aſſembly, that he might be able to maintain his Royal Dignity without being burthenſome to his People (whoſe voluntary Contributions would afford him greater Supplies, if Neceſſity required, than ſevere Exactions) he look'd into the State and Condition of his Revenues, reform'd the Exchequer, and reſum'd thoſe Lands which had been alienated, or detain'd from the Crown; and though ſome of his great Lords reſolutely kept Poſſeſſion of what they had in their Hands, as *Hugh de Mortimer* of his Caſtles of *Cleburg*, *Wigmore* and *Bridge-North*, and *Roger Fitz-Milo* Earl of *Hereford* of the City and Lands of *Gloceſter*, yet the King took them by from from them, as belonging to the Crown. As he did alſo the Caſtle of *Scarborough* force *William* Earl of *Albemarle*, and divers other Lands and Caſtles in *Yorkſhire* poſſeſs'd by private Men. *Hugh Bigod* reſign'd his Caſtles into the King's hands: But that which look'd worſt in theſe Actions, was his taking the Caſtle of *Pemſey*, City of *Norwich*, with other Towns and Caſtles from *William* Earl of *Mortaine* and *Warren*, the ſecond Son of King *Stephen*, contrary to his own poſitive Agreement with the ſaid King; alledging, that they were the Demeſns of the Crown, and could not be alienated from it, yet he ſuffer'd him to enjoy the Lands his Father held in *England* in the Reign of *Henry* I. Theſe things being diſpatch'd he went into the North, and [b] ſeiz'd upon *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*, with the Cities of *Carliſle*, Town of *Newcaſtle*, and Caſtle of *Bamberge*, which his Mother *Maud* had given to *David* King of *Scots*, or had anciently belong'd to the Crown of *Scotland* by the Donation of his Predeceſſors; ſaying, 'Twas not in the Power 'of any King to give away any part of his King-'dom." Yet he ſuffer'd *Malcolm*, the preſent King to enjoy the Earldom of *Huntington*, which *Stephen* had given to *Henry* his Father, becauſe it could be of no Benefit to him, but at his Pleaſure; and he had a mind to keep him his Homager, to do him Services for that Earldom. The ſame Courſe he took to recover all Alienations from the Demeſns of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, forcing *Theobald* Duke of *Blois* to reſign two Caſtles, and *Petroch* Earl of *Perch*, the like Number to him. Theſe Revocations, which were done with Loſs to many Perſons, and contrary to the Grants of himſelf and Predeceſſors, might ſeem unjuſt, and in the beginning of his Government not ſafe: But becauſe the Kingdom reciv'd a great Advantage by it, and only ſome particular Perſons endamag'd, it was generally approved as a neceſſary and prudent Action; for if theſe Revenues had been ſtill kept from the Crown, he muſt have depended upon Taxes for

His firſt Parliament.

A. D. 1155. *His Reſumption of the Lands belonging to the Crown.*

[a] He arriv'd in *England* the 7th of *December*.

[b] *Roger Hovedon* and the Chronicle of *Mailroſs* put this Northern Expedition under the Year 1157. at which time *Malcom* did Homage to King *Henry* at *Cheſter*.

E. Lutterell delin.
P. Vanderbanck Sculp.
KING HENRY THE IInd.

A. D. 1155. Reg. 2.

the Maintenance of his Royal Dignity, and ſo been a continual Burthen and Grievance to the Nation.

But tho' his arbitrary Actings with his Subjects might be excuſed, yet his taking the Earldom of *Anjou* from his Brother *Jeffrey*, contrary to his Father's Will and his own Oath, cannot be deny'd to be not only unjuſt, but againſt Nature and Conſcience. For his Father *Jeffrey*, Duke of *Anjou*, deſirous to leave ſome Eſtate to his youngeſt Son *Jeffrey*, order'd by his Will, That when *Henry* had recover'd and was ſettled in the Kingdom of *England*, his Son *Jeffrey* ſhould have the County of *Anjou*; and in the mean time put him in Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle and Towns of *Chinou*, *Lodun*, and *Mirabel*, that he might have a preſent Maintenance according to his Quality, and be in a caſe to recover the reſt when it ſhould become his. And leſt his Son *Henry* ſhould not perform this his Will, he cauſed certain Biſhops and others of his Nobility to ſwear, That they would not ſuffer his Body to be interr'd, till Henry who was then abſent, had ſworn to fulfill his Will. *Henry*, rather than his Father's Body ſhould not be bury'd, took the Oath, but very unwillingly; but after he was poſſeſs'd of the Kingdom of *England*, and *Jeffrey* had thereupon enter'd upon the Earldom of *Anjou*, he went over into *France*, and not only took away from him the Earldom, but the other three Towns which were given him in his Father's Life, ſaying, That 'twas unreaſonable that a forced Oath upon ſuch an Occaſion, ſhould oblige him to part with his Birthright, being all the Patrimony he had from his Father; for tho' indeed he had recover'd the Kingdom of *England*, that was neither by his Father's Labour or Right, and tho' his Brother was, and ought to be dear unto him, yet having Children of his own, he was to take care that all that was really his ſhould deſcend to them: But yet he was contented to allow his Brother an honourable Penſion for the Maintenance of his Honour, (*viz.* a 1000 *l.* of *Engliſh* Money, and 2000 *l.* of *Anjovin* Yearly) and he obtain'd of Pope *Adrian* IVth. (an *Engliſhman* by Birth) a Diſpenſation for the Oath he had made in that Caſe.

He takes Anjou *from his Brother* Jeffrey.

1156.

The firſt that gave Diſturbance to his Peace, after his Acceſſion to the Crown, were the *Welſh*, under their valiant Captain *Owen*; who, according to their uſual manner, always attempted ſomething towards their Country's Liberty in the beginning of every Prince's Reign, to try their Spirits and their own Fortune. *Henry* gather'd ſuch a powerful Army to go againſt them, as if he meant to conquer all; but was in paſſing the narrow Streights between certain Mountains, ſo furiouſly aſſaulted by the *Welch*, that he loſt many of his Men, and among them ſome of his Chief Captains, *Euſtace Fitz-John* and *Robert Curcy* and himſelf was thought to be kill'd; which being reported to the Army that follow'd, ſo diſcourag'd them, that *Henry* Earl of *Eſſex* cowardly forſook the King's Standard and fled: But the King ſoon made it appear that he was alive, by vanquiſhing the Army of his Enemies, and bringing them to ſubmit to his Pleaſure. After the Battel, *Robert de Montfort* accuſed the Earl of *Eſſex* of Cowardice and Treachery, in leaving the Royal Standard, and in ſingle Combat (which was the way of Tryal) overcame him [a], yet was the Earl pardon'd as to his Life; and being condemn'd to be a ſhorn Monk, was put into the Abbey of *Reading*, and had his Lands ſeiz'd to the King's Uſe. After the Reduction of the *Welſh* all things continu'd peaceable for two or three Years, the Kingdom flouriſhing, and Affairs every where proſperous; the Queen alſo in that time, brought forth three Sons, *Henry*, *Richard*, and *Jeffrey*; *William* his eldeſt Son (to whom he had cauſed the Nation to take an Oath of Fidelity) dy'd ſhortly after his Acceſſion to the Crown; and ſo the ſame Oath was again repeated to *Henry*, and all things ſeem'd ſecure on this ſide the Sea. The King of *France*, who would have gladly put a ſtop to the King's Fortune, was kept from his Deſires by Neceſſity, his Treaſure being exhauſted partly by his Journey into the Holy Land, and partly by the Pope's Exactions, who wrung great Sums from him, for his ſecond Marriage with *Conſtantia*, King *Alphonſo*'s Daughter, which requiring a Diſpenſation, was dearly bought at *Rome*. So that all things concurr'd to enlarge the Power and Dominions of *Henry*, which he had a freſh Occaſion to do at this time.

A. D. 1157. Reg. 3.

King of France *quiet.*

1157. Reg. 3. *The* Welſh *firſt rebelled againſt him.*

Henry had gotten Dominions almoſt round *France*, having in his Poſſeſſion all *Normandy*, a great part of *Britain* by the Reſignation of *Nantz* to him by *Conan* Duke of it; the Earldom of *Main*, *Poictou*, *Tourane*, *Anjou*, and Dutchy of *Guien*, and now he lays his Claim to the rich Earldom of *Thoulouſe* upon this Title. *William* Duke of *Acquitain* (Grandfather of Queen *Eleanor*) married the only Daughter and Heir of the Earl of *Thoulouſe*, and going to the Holy Wars engag'd that Earldom to *Raymond* Earl of S. *Gyles*, and never return'd again to redeem it; and *William* his Son, Father of Queen *Eleanor*, either through want of Ability or Neglect, took no Care of the Redemption of it: So that the Earl of S. *Gyles* continuing in Poſſeſſion of it while he liv'd, left it to his Son *Raymond*. *Lewis* the *French* King, while he had *Eleanor* for his Queen, demanded the Reſtitution of the ſaid Earldom, tendring him the Sum for which it was engaged. *Raymond* refuſes to accept the Money, and reſolves to keep his Poſſeſſion of it, as either bought or forfeited; but being ſenſible, that he was not able to contend with the King of *France*, he obtain'd a Peace with, him and marry'd his Siſter *Conſtance*, the Widow of Prince *Euſtace*, King *Stephen*'s Son, and ſo confirm'd himſelf in the Poſſeſſion. But King *Henry* after marrying *Eleanor*, came to be entitled to her Rights, and tendring the Sum diſburſed, as the King of *France* had done before him, requires the Earldom, but receiv'd the like Anſwer. Wherefore the King prepares to recover it, entring into a League with *Raymond* Earl of *Barcelona*, a Man of great Eſtate in thoſe Parts, (to whoſe Daughter he covenanted to marry his ſecond Son *Richard*, on condition that he ſhould have the Inheritance of the Dukedom of *Aquitain* and Earldom of *Poictou*) and taking *William* Lord of *Tanchrevill*, who poſſeſs'd many Seigniories, into his Protection, from the Injuries of the Earl of *Tholouſe*; and having levied a great Army, went in Perſon againſt the City of *Tholouſe*, being attended with *Malcolm* King of *Scots*; who coming to do him Homage for the Earldom of *Huntingdon*, and to claim other Places taken from his Crown, was perſuaded by *Henry*'s fair Words and Promiſes to attend him in that Expedition. The Earl of *Tholouſe* having notice of the King of *England*'s Deſign, begg'd Aſſiſtance of his Brother-in-Law the *French* King, who came in Perſon with a ſtrong Army to *Tholouſe*, and was here before the King of *England* was arriv'd; ſo that he was prevented in his Aim, which ſo vex'd

His Dominions in France.

He endeavours to get Tholouſe.

1158. Reg. 4.

1159.

[a] This Combat was not fought till about the 9th Year of King *Henry*'s Reign, *Hol.*

A. D. 1159. Reg. 4.

vex'd him, that he fell to ſpoiling all the adjoining Country, and took *Cahors* in *Quercy* [a], where he plac'd a ſtrong Garriſon to annoy the *Toloſians*; then returning into *Normandy*, to augment his Army (where he conferr'd the Order of Knighthood upon King *Malcolm* at *Tours*) he enter'd into the Country of *Beavoſin*, where he deſtroy'd many Caſtles, and committed much Spoil; and having obtain'd the two ſtrong Caſtles of *Rochfort* and *Monfort*, of the Earl of *Auranches*, made the Way between *Paris* and *Orleance* impaſſable. Theſe annoyances had certainly raiſed hot Contentions between the two potent Kings of *England* and *France*, and cauſed the Effuſion of much Blood, had there not been ſet on foot a Propoſition of Peace; which was at length concluded with a Match between the Young Prince *Henry*, then not ſeven Years of Age, and *Margaret* the eldeſt Daughter of the King of *France*, ſcarce three Years old, who was deliver'd to *Robert* Duke of *Newburgh*, to be kept till ſhe was come to an Age fit to dwell with her Husband [b]: Which Conjunction tho' it cemented the preſent Difference, yet many Ruptures happen'd between the Parents before they came together. The firſt of which was about the Caſtle of *Giſors*, and two other Caſtles ſtanding upon the River *Eata* in the Confines of *Normandy*, which was betray'd to *Henry* by the Knights Templars, to whom they were entruſted till the Marriage was conſummated. This coſt ſome Blood, and the *French* King perſecuted the Knights Templars for it, but King *Henry* receiv'd them.

His Peace with France, *and Marriage of his Son* Henry.

1160. Reg. 6.

The King being now free from all Employments abroad, began to turn his Thoughts upon his own Affairs at home; for being inform'd, that the Clergy of late Years had much incroach'd upon the Royal Prerogative, and enlarg'd their Juriſdiction beyond what was convenient for their Vocation and Function; he was ſoon awaken'd into a Suſpicion of it, and ſet himſelf to a ſtrict Examination of that Affair. He took notice of their Dealings with King *Stephen* and his Mother, how they excluded the one and admitted the other to the Crown as they pleaſed, and made ſuch Conditions with him as were moſt advantageous to themſelves; and tho' indeed they ratified his own Succeſſion, yet he might thank his Sword, the Juſtice of his Cauſe, and the ſtrong Party he had in the Kingdom rather than them, who ſhewed their Power indeed in doing of it, not their Affection; who had acted againſt him as long as they dar'd, and there was any hopes of Succeſs on the other ſide. He obſerv'd them to be always ready to lay hold of all Advantages to advance their own Intereſts, and ſaw little reaſon to depend upon them for the Preſervation of the Succeſſion of his Poſterity; and therefore thought it neceſſary to abate their Power as much as he could. This Reſolution was much confirm'd by the Accuſations which the Nobility brought againſt the Clergy, who alledg'd, That the Privileges of the Clergy had hinder'd the Royal Power from executing Juſtice in the Kingdom; for the Clergy holding their Dominion apart, and being free from any Authority but their own, many enormous Acts were committed by Clergymen without any Redreſs to be had; and particularly the King was inform'd, that ſince the beginning of his Reign, which was but about ſix Years, there had been above an hundred Murthers committed within the Kingdom of *England* by Prieſts and Men in Holy Orders, and very few of them puniſh'd for the Facts (as by the Canons they ought to have been.) This Information haſten'd the King in this Affair, and he proceeded with all Speed to rectifie theſe Irregularities, which tended ſo much to his Diſhonour, as well as the Detriment of the Kingdom. Now the King had not long before (upon the Death of *Theobald* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*) preferr'd *Thomas Becket*, a Creature and Servant of his own, to that See [c]. He had before made him of Arch-Deacon of *Canterbury*, his Chancellor, and finding him faithful, diligent and wiſe, he employ'd him in all great Buſineſſes of State, and left the Education of his eldeſt Son *Henry* to him, and at laſt raiſed him to be the Head of the Church; all which Favours might be juſtly an Obligation upon him to be very complying with the reaſonable Deſires of the King, and very diligent to advance his Affairs. In the begininning of this Man's Promotion did the King venture upon this Reformation of the Clergy's Manners, and to retrench their Juriſdiction, which tho' it would neceſſarily prove of much Difficulty and Trouble, the Biſhop having from the firſt preaching of Chriſtianity in this Realm born a principal Sway in the State, and enjoy'd many great Privileges and Immunities by Law ſeparate from the Laity; yet he was not at all deterr'd, but as if it were the fitter for him, becauſe ſo hard, enters upon it, and to that end call'd a Parliament at *Weſtminſter* [d], and there propounded this Law to be enacted, 'That every Clergy-man, 'that ſhall be convicted of any heinous Crime, 'ſhall loſe the Privilege of the Church, and be 'deliver'd up to the Civil Magiſtrate to be pu-'niſh'd for their Offences, as all others of the 'King's Subjects were." For if after Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, no civil Puniſhment ſhould be uſed, they would not have a ſufficient Reſtraint upon them to keep them from doing Miſchief; ſince 'tis not probable, that ſuch Men would much value degrading and Loſs of Orders, whom the Conſcience of their Duty, or Dignity of their Office would not keep from ſuch Actions: The Arch-biſhop and his Suffragans, with the reſt of the Biſhops anſwer'd, 'That they could not con-'ſent to any ſuch Act, being againſt the Liber-'ties of the Church, which himſelf had ſworn to 'defend and maintain; and therefore they beſought him not to urge or inſiſt upon a Law, which was ſo much to the Prejudice of their Juriſdiction, and thoſe immunities which they had enjoyed both under him and his Noble Progenitors. The King diſliking this Reply, asked them, 'Whether they would ſubmit to [e] the 'Laws and Cuſtoms which the Archbiſhops and Biſhops,

A. D. 1160. Reg. 6.

The Clergy's Prerogatives very prejudicial to the Nation.

1161. Reg. 7. Thomas Becket *made Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

1162.

A Parliament call'd about the Clergy.

1163. Reg. 9.

[a] Of this Place he made *Thomas Becket*, then Chancellor of *England* Governor. *Hol.*

[b] The ſame Author reports that the Marriage was celebrated at *Newburgh*, on the 2d of *Nov.* 1160. in the Preſence of the Biſhops of *Piſa* and *Pavia*, two Cardinals, and the Pope's Legates.

[c] *Gilbert Foliot*, the Learned Biſhop of *Hereford*, oppos'd the Election of *Becket* to the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, ſaying, *'Twas not fit to make a meer Soldier and a ſecular Man an Archbiſhop.*

[d] *William Fitz-Stephens*, in his Life of *Becket*, ſays, 'twas a great Council of Biſhops.

[e] The Laws King *Henry* ſought to eſtabliſh by the Name of *Avita Leges*, or his Grandfather's Laws, but met with ſo ſtrong Oppoſition from Archbiſhop *Becket* in the ſettling of, were theſe, *viz.* 1. *That all Controverſies between the Clergy and Laity ſhould be try'd in the King's Courts.* 2. *That no Biſhop or Clerk ſhould go out of the Kingdom without the King's Licenſe, and at their going ſhould ſwear to procure no Damage to the King or the Realm.* 3. *That no Appeals be made to the Pope, but all Pleas in the Conſiſtory ſhall be remov'd*, 1ſt, *To the Archdeacon's Court*; 2d, *From thence to the Biſhop's*, 3d, *Thence to the Archbiſhop's*; and Laſtly, *To the King's.* 4. *That* Peter-pence *be paid to the King.* 5. *That Clerks guilty of Felony be hang'd, and of Treaſon be drawn and quarter'd.* 6. *That all Perſons who are found bringing any Excommunications or Interdicts from* Rome *into* England, *be dealt with as Traitors*, with others of like Nature, which our Author in the Sequel of this Hiſtory has ſet down.

A. D. 1163. Reg. 9.

Biſhops, in the time of his Grandfather *Henry* I. did obſerve. They anſwer'd, They would; their Order, the Honour of God, and Right of the Church, in all things being kept harmleſs[a]. This Reſervation diſpleaſed the King more, who hereupon diſmiſſed the Parliament, and did nothing at that time: But gave not over his Endeavours to recover his Prerogative out of the Church's hands: And finding the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, of whom he had reaſon to expect a ready ſubmiſſion to his Deſires, becauſe of the many Favours he had received from him, was the chief Stickler againſt him; he was very much enraged at his Ingratitude, and reſolved to ſhew him, that he could pull down as well as advance.

The King's dealings with Becket *for oppoſing him.*

And therefore he firſt forbids him his Preſence, and takes from him all that he poſſibly could; then he countenances all his Enemies, and cauſes that things be carry'd againg him in all Courts of the King's. The Earl of *Clare* was ſupported in the Controverſie he had with him, about doing Homage for the Caſtle of *Tunbridge*, and prevail'd. In fine, nothing was left undone that could be thought moſt effectual to humble him. Beſides the King by politick Artifices breaks the Confederacy of the Biſhops with him, and gains firſt by his Obligingneſs the Archbiſhop of *York* (the ancient Competitor with *Canterbury* for Preeminence) and afterwards the Biſhops of *Lincoln*, *Hereford*, and others of the Prelates, who were the moſt leading Men, and ſeparates them from the Council and Company of Archbiſhop *Becket*.

The Pope's Meſſage to Becket.

This Controverſie between the Church and State, or rather between the King and Archbiſhop, made a great Noiſe in the World, and was ſoon brought to the Pope's Ear, who being deſirous to keep the King's Love, ſent *Philip* his Almoner, by the advice of the whole Conclave of Cardinals, to compoſe the Difference, and to charge the Archbiſhop to make Peace with his Maſter the King, by promiſing to obſerve his Laws, without Reſervations or Exceptions. The Archbiſhop ſeeing his Cauſe thus diſcountenanced at *Rome*, and being preſſed to a Compliance by many of his Friends of the Nobility, he went immediately to *Woodſtock*, and there promiſes the King, without any reſerves, to obſerve his Laws, as he required[b]. The King ſuppoſing, that by Archbiſhop *Becket's* promiſe all Oppoſition to his Deſign was laid aſide, calls a Parliament of the Biſhops and Nobility at *Clarendon* in *Wiltſhire*, where *John* of *Oxford* the King's Clerk was Preſident, who gave them a Charge from the King his Maſter, That they ſhould call to remembrance the Laws of his Grandfather *Henry* I. and commit them to Writing; which being done, he required the Archbiſhop and Biſhops to ſet their Hands and Seals to them, which they all did, but Archbiſhop *Becket* refuſed. The other Biſhops earneſtly preſuaded him to ſatisfie the King's deſires, not only in reſpect of the Danger which he would fall into through the King's Anger, but in regard to his Oath, which he had again taken there to obſerve the King's Laws without Reſervation. He thereupon deſires a Copy of the Writing, as if he would conſider better upon the ſeveral Heads of it; but taking it into his Hands, he turned to the Clergy, and ſaid, *Brethen, ſtand faſt, you ſee the Malice of the King, and of whom we are to beware*; but would not ſubſcribe it. And ſo this Aſſembly was diſmiſſed without doing any thing of Moment, as the King intended. Theſe Diſappointments, and this Perverſeneſs in the Archbiſhop, incenſed the King much the more againſt him, becauſe now he found that all the other Biſhops yielded to his pleaſure, and only *Becket* ſtood out. And therefore he proceeds by all means to vex and diſgrace him, and to advance his Rival, the Archbiſhop of *York*; and to that end ſent his Agents, *John* of *Oxford* and *Jeffery Riddle*, his Clerks[c], to ſollicit the Pope to make him Legate over all *England*. But the Pope being before acquainted with the buſineſs, refuſed to do it; yet at the Petition of the Agents he granted a Legation to the King himſelf, with a Proviſo, That he ſhould do nothing to grieve the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; which the King reſented ſo highly, that he ſent them back again with his Grant. The Archbiſhop *Becket* afterwards ſo repented of the Oath that he had taken at *Clarendon*, that he ſuſpended himſelf from the Service of the Altar, and did ſevere Penance for it, till he had obtained Abſolution from the Pope; which upon his own Information of his Caſe, was ſoon ſent him. Not long after this, as ſome write, he attempted to go out of the Kingdom, contrary to a Law made at *Clarendon*, whereby it was forbidden to the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, or any other Perſons, to depart out of the Realm without the King's Licenſe; which, altho' they obtain'd, yet they were notwithſtanding obliged to ſecure the King, and neither in their going, returning, or ſtaying there, to practiſe any thing prejudicial to his State or Perſon. But being by contrary Winds driven home again, he more exaſperated the King againſt him by this attempt.

A. D. 1164. Reg. 10.

Becket repents of the Oath.

A Parliament at Northampton *againſt* Becket.

The King, by the former Actions of the Archbiſhop, growing more ſevere againſt him, called a Parliament at *Northampton* to ratifie the Acts made at *Clarendon*. And here, to thwart him, the King's Horſes were placed in his Inn. At this Aſſembly he had a Caſe given againſt him, concerning a Manour which *John* the King's Marſhal contended at Law with him for; whereby he not only loſt the ſaid Manour, but was ſentenced to pay five hundred Marks, as Arrears, and was forced to pay it. He was alſo called to an account for all the Sums which he had received in the time of his Chancellorſhip upon the King's account, which amounted to thirty thouſand Pounds. The Archbiſhop refuſed to plead to this Charge, becauſe, he ſaid, he was diſcharged of thoſe Receipts by the Prince, Barons of the Exchequer, and *Robert Lucy* Chief Juſtice of *England*, in behalf of the King, before he was made Archbiſhop. But this Anſwer did not ſatisfie: The King was ſtill very urgent to have Judgment paſs againſt him for this, with other his late attempts, and diſobedience; and ſo he was commanded to attend his Cenſure the next day. The Morning before he was to appear, he celebrated early in the Morning with great Devotion the Maſs of St. *Stephen* the Protomartyr, which had in it theſe Words: *Princes ſate and ſpake againſt me.* From this Office he ſet forward (committing his Cauſe to God) to the Court, in his Stole, his black Canonical Hood, carrying the Croſs in his right Hand, and guiding his Horſe with his left. The People ſeeing him come in ſuch an unuſual manner, flock all about him, and he entring the great Chamber, ſat down amongſt them; the King being in his Privy-Chamber with his Council. The Biſhop of *London* was the firſt that came out to him, and he much blamed him for coming in that Garb to the Court, and offered to pull the Croſs out of his Hand; but the Archbiſhop held it ſo faſt, that he could not. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* ſeeing it, ſaid to *London*: *Brother, let him alone; he ought to bear the Croſs.* *London* reply'd, *You ſpeak. Brother, againſt the King, and it will be ill for you.* After this came forth the Archbiſhop of *York*, (whoſe

A Parliament call'd at Clarendon.

1164. Reg. 10.

[a] *Salvo Ordine ſuo.* [b] *Bonâ fide.* [c] His Chaplains.

A. D. 1164. Reg. 10.

(whose ancient hatred, says *Hoveden*, would not suffer him to speak mildly and friendly to him) and chid him very sharply for coming in that fashion, as if he were to appear before a Tyrant, or an Heathen Prince, and told him, *That the King's Sword was sharper than his Crosier; and if he would be advised by him, he should take it from him. Canterbury* reply'd, *The King's Sword wounds the Body only, mine sends the Soul to Hell.* After much debate, the Archbishop *Becket* sharply inveighed against the King's Proceedings with him, and said, 'That it was never known in any former 'Age, that an Archbishop of *Canterbury* was try'd 'in any of the King's Courts, for any Cause what-'soever, not only because of his Place and Dig-'nity, but because he is the Spiritual Father of 'the King himself, and all his Subjects. Then, turning his Speech to the Bishops, who sate as his Judges, he said: 'You see how the World rageth 'against me, and the Enemy assails me; but that 'which grieves me most, is, That the Sons of my 'Mother combine against me: If I should not 'resent it, the Ages to come would record it to 'your disgrace, that you left me alone in the 'Battel, and gave Sentence upon me, who am 'your Father, tho' never so great a Sinner. But 'I charge you, by Virtue of your Obedience, and 'under pain of Degrading, that you be not pre-'sent in any Court of Judicature, where either 'my Cause or Person shall be judged; and that 'if any Layman shall lay Hands on me, you im-'mediately excommunicate him or them, as your 'Duty to your Father the Archbishop obliges 'you, who, whatever he suffers, will not desert 'the Church's Cause, nor forsake the Flock com-'mitted to him. Then were many great Accu-sations of his Contempt and Disobedience to the King brought again him, and Perjury proved upon him; which were so aggravated by the King's Council, that all present cry'd out unanimously, 'That he was one of the worst of Traytors, who 'having been loaded so much with the King's 'Favours, had refused to pay him the Civil Ho-'nour of a Subject, and to observe his Laws, as he 'had sworn to do. The Archbishop hearing these things, appeal'd to the Pope. But the Bishops complying with the Secular Power, renounced their Ecclesiastical Obedience to him, cited him to *Rome*, and condemned him as a Traytor and Perjured Person. Then the Earl of *Leicester*, being accompany'd with *Reginald* Earl of *Cornwall*, came to the Archbishop, and charged him in the King's Name to answer the Crimes objected against him, or else to hear his Sentence pronounced. 'Nay but Son Earl, said he, hear thou me first: 'It is not unknown to your self how faithfully 'I have served the King, and that for my Fide-'lity he preferred me to this Dignity I now en-'joy (God knows) against my Will. For I was 'conscious of my own Infirmities, and was con-'tented to take it upon me rather to please the 'King than God; and therefore doth God with-'draw himself from me, and turns the King's heart 'against me. At my Election he freed me from 'all Court-Attendance and Slavery; and upon 'that account I am not bound to answer any de-'fects in that kind, neither will I. As much as the 'Soul is more excellent than the Body, so much 'are ye bound to obey God and me before any 'Earthly Creature. Neither Law or Reason can 'justifie the Sons in the condemning of the Fa-'thers. Wherefore I refuse to stand either to the 'Judgment of the King, or any other Person, Ap-'pealing to the Audience of the Pope, by whom 'alone I can be judged upon Earth, committing 'all I have to God's protection and his, and as 'under his Authority only I depart out of this 'place. And so he went out, and took his Horse, yet not without some difficulties in passing, and many affronts from the King's Servants. But being gotten out of the Court, a great multitude of the common People (rejoycing to see him deliver'd) and divers of the Clergy conveyed him honourably to the Abby of St. *Andrew's* at *Northampton*, from whence he made his escape in disguise, and under the Name of *Derman*, into *Flanders*, and so got into *France*; where being out of the King's reach, and under the Pope's protection, he cooled the Kingdom and King much trouble.

Archbishop Becket try'd before the King and his Council.

A. D. 1164. Reg. 10.

Immediately after the departure of the Archbishop, the King sends over his Ambassadors, *Gillebert* Bishop of *London*, and *William* Earl of *Arundel*, to the King of *France*, to intreat him not only to forbid the Archbishop his Kingdom, but to be a means to the Pope, that his Cause might not be favour'd by the Church, being so contumacious a Rebel against his Natural Prince. But the *French* King was so far from Complyance with his Request, that he dispatched Fryer *Francis* his Almoner privately to the Pope to beseech him, as he tender'd the Honour of Holy Church, and the Safety of his Kingdom, to support the Archbishop of *Canterbury* against the Tyrant of *England*. King *Henry* also sent with all speed *Roger* Archbishop of *York*, the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, *Chichester*, and *Exeter*; *Guido Rufus*, *Richard Ivechester*[a], and *John* of *Oxford*, Clerks, *William* Earl of *Arundel*, *Hugh de Gundevill*, *Bernard de S. Welleric*, and *Henry Fitz-Gerrard*, to inform the Pope of the whole Affair, and prevent the ill effects of the Archbishop's Complaints. The Multitude, and the greatness of the Ambassadors, shewed the Importance of the Embassage, and the King's desire to prevail. They found the Pope at the City of *Sens*, and [b] represented to him, how obstinate and disobedient the Archbishop had been to his Sovereign Lord the King of *England*; and that tho' he had sworn to obey his Laws, yet he had wilfully opposed and broke them, and by his peevishness and obstinacy was about to embroil the Church and Kingdom: And therefore they besought him, as he tender'd the Peace of the Church of *England*, and desir'd the Love of their Master, not to favour or credit a Man of that turbulent and obstinate Disposition. This Relation of the Difference little moved the Pope; which when the Ambassadors perceived, they pray'd him to send two Legates into *England* to examine the business more fully, and in the mean time to admit no other relation of the matter but what they should bring. But the Pope would not yield to their desire, and so they departed much dissatisfied. Within four Days after their departure came the Archbishop, and prostrates himself at the Pope's Feet, presents him with a Copy of the Laws, which the King call'd *Leges Avitæ*, i. e. his Grandfather's Laws; which being read before a Body of Cardinals, Clergy, and many others, the Pope condemned them for ever, and anathematized all such as should either obey or favour them. The Laws, which being among the Statutes of *Clarendon*, were so furiously opposed by the Archbishop, and so much offended the Clergy, were these, (as we find them set down in his own Letter to the Bishop of *London*) 'That there 'should

The King's Embassage to the King of France against Becket, and to the Pope concerning him.

The Laws which the Archbishop refused to subscribe.

[a] *Ivelchester*, or *Ilchester* in *Somersetshire*.

[b] *Gilbert Foliot*, lately translated to the See of *London*, was their Orator, and clos'd his Speech with these Words: *The Wicked flees when no Man pursues him.*

A. D. 1164. Reg. 10.

'ſhould be no Appeals made to the Apoſtolick 'See without the King's Leave; That no Arch-'biſhop or Biſhop ſhould go out of the Realm 'without the King's Permiſſion; That no Bi-'ſhop ſhall excommunicate any Perſon, that 'holds of the King *in Capite*, or interdict any 'Officer of his without a Licence had from the 'King; That Clergy-men ſhould be try'd be-'fore Secular Judges; That Lay-men (ſuch as 'the King and his Judges) ſhould examine and 'judge the Cauſes of the Church about Tythes, 'and Matters of like Nature, which were look-'ed upon by the Pope and Clergy as dangerous 'Encroachments upon their Eccleſiaſtical Li-'berties.

1165. Reg. 11.

The King, at the return of his Embaſſadors from the Pope, finding that they had obtain'd no Favour with him, but that he was rather ſlighted and contemn'd by him, was highly diſpleaſed[a]; and that he might ſhew how much he reſented the Affront, and ſcorn'd his Authority, he put out a ſevere Edict both againſt the Pope and the Arch-biſhop, oppoſing his Secular to their Eccleſiaſtical Authority; and ordering, 'that if any Perſon were apprehended, carry-'ing a Letter or other Inſtrument from the Pope 'or Arch-biſhop, containing any Interdict of the 'Chriſtian Religion in *England*, he ſhould be with-'out delay executed as a Traytor both to the King 'and Kingdom. That whatſoever Biſhop, Prieſt, 'Monk, or other Perſon in Holy Orders, Clerk 'or Lay-man, ſhould have or conceal any ſuch 'Letters; ſhall forfeit all their Lands, Goods 'and Chattels, to the King, and be immediately 'baniſh'd the Nation, with all their Kindred. 'That no Clergy-man; Monk, or Lay-man, 'ſhould be permitted to paſs from *Normandy* 'to *England* without a Paſs-port from the Juſti-'ces there; nor from *England* to *Normandy*, or 'other Places beyond-ſea without the King's, 'upon Pain of Impriſonment if diſcover'd. That 'no Appeals to the Pope ſhould be allowed. 'That all Clergy-men, who had any Eſtates in '*England*, ſhould return into the Kingdom with-'in three Months, under the Penalty of forfeit-'ing their Lands to the King. That *Peter-pence* 'ſhould be collected and ſequeſtred, till the King's 'Pleaſure was farther known. He alſo baniſh'd all the Archbiſhop's Kindred, without any Exception of Sex or Age, and openly renounc'd the Pope's Authority, declaring his Adherence to the Emperor's Party, who then was at Enmity with the preſent Pope *Alexander* the III. and vindicated the Election of *Victor* the V. who tho' elected by the far leſs Number of Cardinals, *viz.* (but four to twenty two) yet was thought a ſufficient Pretence of oppoſing the Pope, who was a declared Enemy to the Empire. *Henry* before this Quarrel between himſelf and the Arch-biſhop, had favour'd the Election of *Alexander*, with the King of *France*, and the other Chriſtian Princes of *Europe*, and had at *Cocy* upon the *Loir* ſhew'd him an extraordinary Reverence and Reſpect; but finding him ſo averſe to him in this Difference, he fell from him, renounc'd his Authority, declar'd for the Emperor; and to ſtrengthen himſelf by a firm Alliance with the *German* Princes, conſented to marry his Daughter *Maud* to the Duke of *Saxony*, at the Motion of *Reginald* Archbiſhop of *Collen*, who was ſent on purpoſe by the Emperor *Frederick Barbaroſſa* to ſolicit it, and entertain'd another Motion for a Marriage between another of his Daughters and the Emperor's Son: But all theſe things did the King little Service. The Emperor's Party was weak, the Pope's grew ſtronger and ſtronger every day; and the Pope being exaſperated by the King's Actions, was more earneſt in the Defence of the Arch-biſhop, whom he encourages to ſollicit and adjure the Clergy of *England* not to forſake their hold, but reſolutely maintain their Liberties and Privileges againſt the Invader of them, who ſought to confound the Prieſthood and Kingdom; and if they gave ground in the leaſt, would utterly ruine themſelves and the Church. Then he excommunicated all the King's principal Miniſters that adhered to the *German* Faction, or held Correſpondence with the Arch-biſhop of *Collen*; as *John* of *Oxford*, *Richard Ivelheſter*, *Richard de Lucy*, *Jaſcelin Baliol*, *Alan de Nevil*, and with them all thoſe who had ſeized upon the Revenues and Goods of the See of *Canterbury*, which he call'd the Partrimony of the Crucifix, and Food of the Poor, *viz.* *Ralph de Brock*, *Hugh S. Clare*, and *Thomas Fitz-Bernard*. Thus was this unbloody War managed on both ſides; in which, tho' there were no Swords drawn, yet it created much Vexation and Trouble to both Parties.

The King's Edict againſt the Pope and all his Agents.

Two Popes together.

A. D. 1165. Reg. 11.

Arch-biſhop Becket's Actions againſt the King and his Miniſters.

1166. Reg. 12.

While this Diſſention was on foot between the King and Pope, other publick Buſineſs happen'd, which kept the King employ'd. The *Welſh*[b] revolted, and could hardly be reduc'd to their Obedience: In the War with them he loſt many brave Men, and had himſelf been killed, had not *Hubert S. Clare* receiv'd the Arrow into his own Body, which he ſaw would prove mortal to his Maſter; yet was the King ſo ſenſible of his Danger, that he reveng'd his own ſuppos'd Death with a very cruel Treatment of his Enemies. From this Expedition he paſs'd into *Normandy*, where now his Buſineſs lay more than in *England*: And here, that he might ſhew he had not loſt his Chriſtian Diſpoſition by quarrelling with the Pope, he obtain'd of his Subjects in a publick Aſſembly call'd for that purpoſe, two pence in the Pound of every Man's Lands and Goods for the Year 1167[c], and a Penny in the Pound for four Years after, for the Relief of the poor Chriſtians in the Holy War; and carefully collecting it Yearly, ſent it to them. Then he gathered ſome Forces, and takes certain Caſtles in the County of *Maine*, and Marches of *Britain* from ſeveral factious Barons. In his abſence *Matthew* the Son of the Earl of *Flanders* (who had married the Lady *Mary*, Abbeſs of *Ramſey*, the Daughter of King *Stephen*) attempted an Invaſion, and moleſted the Coaſts of *England*, but to no purpoſe, the King being too powerful for ſo weak an Opponent. While he was in *Normandy*, *Conan* King of *Brittaigne* died[d], and left one only Daughter (which he had by his Wife *Conſtance* the King of *Scots* Daughter) to ſucceed him in his Earldom. The King of *England* being then upon the Confines of that Country, thought this a good Opportunity of enlarging his own Dominions; and therefore treating with the Guardians of the young Lady, and having gained the Nobility to conſent to a Marriage with his third Son *Jeffrey*, he in the end obtain'd his Deſires to his great Content. This happen'd in the thirteenth Year of his Reign; wherein, as ſome

King Henry reduces the Welſh, and after goes into Normandy.

[a] The Pope iſſu'd out an Anathema againſt all that for the future ſhould obſerve the *Leges Avitæ*.

[b] This Revolt was in the Year 1165.

[c] This Tax, ſays *Holinſhead*, was to be paid this Year 1166.

[d] *Nicholas Trivet* in his Chronicle writes, That *Conan* was alive when Prince *Geoffry* was betroth'd to his Daughter *Conſtance*, and that he dy'd the Year following.

A. D. 1167. Reg. 13.

The Death of the King's Mother the Empress Maud.

write, *Maud* the Empress, the King's Mother, died; a Lady of an high and active Spirit, illustrious by her Birth, more by her first Match, but most of all for her Son, whom she lived to see establish'd in his Throne, and flourishing in Honour, Grandure and Peace; blessed with a numerous Off-spring of four Sons and three Daughters, and left in his best Time, before any great Troubles had befall'n him. After her Death *Henry* remained three Years in *France*, which he spent in Wars, partly to clear the Bounds of his own Dominions from the Usurpation and Encroachments of his Neighbouring Lords, whom at length he brought into the Limits of his own Will, and partly to settle and reform the State of *Brittaigne*, which was much out of order, and all in a Mutiny at the late Match with his Son: But he soon appeased them, and kept his *Christmas* at *Nantz*, where he feasted all the Nobility of the Country, and by Favours, obliged them to retain their Fidelity to his Son in his absence[a].

1169. Reg. 15. Henry *returns into* England.

Having settled things beyond Seas, he returns into *England*, and the first thing he did was to observe whether his absence and a long Peace had not corrupted his Government; and to that end he appointed certain Commissioners to examine into any Abuses and Excesses, which might be committed by his Officers in the Administration of Justice; and having found many of the Sheriffs of the Nation guilty of Extortion and Bribery, he punish'd them severely for it. He kept his *Easter* at *Windsor*, whither *William* King of *Scots*, who lately succeeded his Brother *Malcolm* in that Government, came with his younger Brother *David* to congratulate the King's happy Return into *England*, and put in his Claim for some Countries in the North, which he pretended were unjustly detain'd from him. *Henry* entertain'd him very civilly, and gave him a fair Answer to his Demands: But told him, 'He 'could do nothing in it without the Consent of 'the Parliament, which if he would attend, he 'should have Satisfaction. Which words raised the Expectations of that King, and made him often come into *England*, and once to attend *Henry* into *France* as his Brother had done, but without a proportionable Return to his Desires.

The Contest between the King and Archbishop Becket *revives.*

Not long after the King's return home, his Controversie with the Church again reviv'd, and a greater Storm than ever threaten'd him. The Pope himself was not very forward to proceed to any rigorous Course, but labour'd to pacifie the angry Arch-bishop, by telling him, 'That it 'was an ill time to contend, the King being po-'tent and the Church already in Troubles; and therefore to heal the Sore, he writes to the Bishop of *London* and *Hereford*, 'Requiring them

The Pope's Letters, and the Answer to them.

'to treat with the King, and earnestly persuade 'him to desist from meddling with the Liberties 'of the Church, and to restore the Arch-bishop 'to his See and Dignity. The Bishops answer'd the Pope's Letter wisely and gravely thus, 'We 'have (say they) deliver'd your Holiness's Mes-'sage to our King, and earnestly pressed him to 'yield to your Desires so far as was convenient 'for us to do to the Majesty of a King; begging 'of him, that if he had done any thing contrary 'to Truth and Justice, that he would not persist 'in his Errour; That he would not prohibit 'Men from visiting the Churches at *Rome*, hin-'der Appeals, oppress the Church or Clergy, 'or suffer others to do it; That he would recal 'our Father the Arch-bishop, &c. and persist in 'all Acts of Piety, that so the God, by whom 'Kings reign, might preserve him in his Tem-'poral Kingdom, and give him an Eternal one 'in Heaven; That unless he would now hearken 'to your Holy Admonitions, you would wait 'no longer; adding this of ourselves, That un-'less he amended his Errours, his Kingdom 'would not prosper or long flourish. The King received your Advice with many Thanks, great Comeliness and Modesty, and gave these Answers to every Point. '(1.) He protested, That he had 'not any Aversion to your Counsels, nor purpo-'sed to maintain any Opposition against you; 'but so long as he could enjoy your Fatherly 'Kindness, he would reverence you as a Father, 'and honour and protect the Church as a Mo-'ther: Nor would disobey any of your Decrees, 'so long as his own Dignity and the Kingdom's 'Happiness might be preserved. And if of late 'he had not paid that Respect to you, which he 'was wont, 'twas because his Ambassadors had 'met with such unkind Denials of his Petitions, 'which he had reason to obtain, because he had 'stood by you with so much Zeal and Power in 'your Necessity. (2.) That he neither had, nor 'would ever hinder any from visiting your Ho-'liness. But as for Appeals he challenges that 'Prerogative to himself by the ancient Custom 'of *England*; That no Clergy-man, for any ci-'vil Cause, shall go out of the Realm till he 'had tried whether he can't obtain his Right by 'his Royal Authority and Justice at home, which 'if he can't do, he will not hinder him from ma-'king his Appeal to your Holiness; and if in this 'he doth any way prejudice you, he is willing to 'amend it, as it shall be order'd by a General 'Council of the Kingdom; That as for the Empe-'ror, tho' he knew he was a Schismatick, yet he 'never understood that he was excommunicated, 'which if he be rightly inform'd of, or have 'made an unlawful League with him, he pro-'mises to rectifie it at the Direction of the said 'Assembly: That he never banish'd our Father the 'Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and that he was 'at his Liberty to return to his Church, provided 'his Majesty be satisfied concerning his Com-'plaints, and that he will live in Obedience to his 'Laws: That if it can be proved, that any Church 'or Churchmen have been oppressed by himself or 'Officers, he will make Satisfaction, as shall be 'thought fit by the Ecclesiastical Council of the 'Kingdom. This (say they) is the Answer we 'have received from our Lord the King, and wish 'it had been more fully according to your Desire; 'but those things we thought fit to make known 'to your Holiness, that you may see what is 'like to be the Event of this Difference. The 'King stands up in Defence of his own Cause, 'ready to obey the Council and Judgment of the 'Church of *England*. Wherefore we have judg-'ed it convenient to beseech your Highness to, 'moderate your Zeal for God's Church for a time 'and forbear to interdict or excommunicate our 'Churches, lest both the King and his Subjects 'be irrevocably (which God forbid) deterr'd 'from their Obedience to the Holy See. And 'lastly, they add, as a Dissuasive from rigorous 'Dealings with the King, That the skilful Chi-'rurgeon doth not immediately cut off the Mem-'ber that is unsound and diseased, but uses all 'means to heal it, and recover it to its proper 'Use; and so it is better for his Holiness to la-'bour to pacifie the King, than by cutting off so 'noble a part of the Church of God to bring 'more Disturbance into the fame, which hath 'too much a ready: That tho' the King were 'stiff and resolute, yet they doubted not but through

A. D. 1170. Reg. 15.

[a] *William* King of *Scots* follow'd the King into *Normandy*, did him Homage, and waited on him while he was there.

A. D. 1169. Reg. 15.

'through God's Grace he might be won by Patience and Meekneſs. What tho' the Lord of *Canterbury* loſe his Goods, and remain in Eile, 'yet 'tis better it ſhould be ſo, than that all *England* fall from their Obedience through your Severity? And tho' perhaps a Perſecution may 'not ſeparate us from you, yet there will not 'want Knees to bow to *Baal*, there will be enough 'to receive the Pall of *Canterbury* from the King's 'hands, and ſupply our Seats with all aſſurances 'of Obedience; and ſome there are that hope 'this Schiſm between you and the King will 'make way for their Preferments. By theſe Letters, which are the beſt pieces of Hiſtory in the World, we ſee the full ſtate of this Controverſie, and what it was that kept theſe two mighty Potentates from getting their Wills, and tho' they threaten'd loud, were really afraid one of another.

Henry aſſumes his Son into the Regal Dignity, and had him crown'd.

Hitherto the King ſtood ſafe, and might have continued ſo, had he not been ſuſpicious of more danger than he was really in; and ſo endeavouring to ſecure himſelf more than was neceſſary, he undermined his own Peace, leſſen'd his Authority, and embroyl'd his People. And this he did by aſſuming his eldeſt Son *Henry* into a Copartnerſhip in his Royal Dignity and Power. An Act without Precedent in this Kingdom, which 'tis hardly credible, that the Parliament, in ſuch diſcerning Times, would have conſented to, if the King would have been contented with a denial. In compliance with which the young Prince was crown'd *June* 14. 1170. by *Roger* Archbiſhop of *York*, and received Homage from *William* King of *Scots*, *David* his Brother, and moſt of the Nobility of *England*. For what Reaſons the King did thus, whether out of meer kindneſs to his Son, or whether he feared the Clergy, with whom he then was at difference, might deprive his Poſterity of the Succeſſion, as they did his Mother *Maud*, (as is moſt probable by reaſon of this Juncture) yet certain it is, he got himſelf two Enemies by it, *viz.* the *French* King, and his own Son. The *French* King threaten'd him with War, becauſe his Daughter was not crown'd with her Husband, unleſs it were immediately done. *Henry* hereupon haſts into *Normandy* to ſecure his Dominions there, and leaves his Son in *England*, thinking thus to prevent or pacifie his angry Father-in-Law. His own Son, not content with a bare Title without Power, or a participation only in Government with his Father, who by being his Superiour, clouded his Glory, and null'd all his Authority [a], created him much Grief and Trouble, contriving all ways to make him no King, who had ſhew'd too much indulgence in creating him one; and forgetting the Duty of a Son, by being raiſed to an equal Power with his Father, who by his Actions found too late, That Crowns are not to be made over in truſt to any Perſons.

1170. Reg. 16.

A Conference of the King and Archbiſhop.

While the King remain'd in *Normandy*, it was effected by the mediation of the *French* King, *Theobald* Earl of *Blois*, and other great Biſhops, that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (who had then been ſix Years in Baniſhment) ſhould be admitted to a Conference with the King; who did not unwillingly embrace the Propoſition, becauſe he found that a Quarrel with the Church in thoſe zealous Times, would much prejudice his other temporal Affairs, and create him daily more potent Enemies, through the Pope's and Biſhops means. Their Meeting was at *Montmirial*, in the preſence of the King of *France*. And the Archbiſhop, at his entrance into the King's preſence, fell on his Knees at his Feet, and ſaid, 'He would 'leave the whole Matter in Controverſie to his 'Majeſty's Deciſion, *Salvo honore Dei*, i. e. God's 'Honour being ſav'd harmleſs. The King, who had been tired with this Reſervation, and ſeen the ill tendency of it, began to be in a Paſſion, and ſaid to the King of *France*, and others preſent, 'Whatever diſpleaſes this Man, he makes to be againſt 'God's Honour, and under that ſhew claims all 'that belongs to me. But that you may not think 'that I will be againſt any thing that is really for God's Honour or his Right, I declare, that 'whatever the greateſt and moſt holy of his Predeceſſors have done to the meaneſt of mine, I 'will condeſcend to undergo from him. This Anſwer, which was ſo much beyond the Expectation of all the Company, begat ſuch a good Opinion in them all to the King's Cauſe, that the King of *France* told the Archbiſhop plainly, 'That 'he could not ſtand upon any thing now reaſonably, unleſs he would be greater than the Saints, 'or St. *Peter* himſelf; and that if Peace were not 'now made, 'twas his fault only. The Archbiſhop reply'd to this effect, 'That as the Authority of Kings had grown up by degrees, ſo had 'that of the Church; which being by the Providence of God come to that pitch of Grandeur, 'he was not to follow the Example of any that 'had been faint-hearted, or too yielding in their 'places. The Church had riſen and increaſed 'by many Perſecutions, and he was to hold what 'it had ſo hardly gotten. Our Fathers (ſaid he) 'ſuffer'd all manner of Afflictions, becauſe they 'would not forſake the Name of Chriſt; and 'ſhall I, to gain the Favour of any Man living, 'loſe any thing that is for his Honour. This proud and obſtinate Anſwer to ſo yielding a Proffer made by the King, ſo much diſtaſted the Hearers, that they look'd upon his Cauſe as nothing elſe but the effect of Pride and Arrogancy, not of true Zeal; and ſo the Meeting at that time concluded. Divers Meetings they had after this, to debate about the ſame matters; one of the moſt concluſive, was upon the Confines of *Normandy*, in the preſence of the ſame King of *France*, (who entertain'd the Archbiſhop all the while) where the King took the Archbiſhop apart, and talk'd with him a long time; twice they lighted from their Horſes, and twice remounted again; and twice the King held the Archbiſhop's Bridle, and then parted, both prepar'd for a Peace, but not concluding any. At laſt, by the mediation of the Archbiſhop of *Roven*, the Controverſie was fully compoſed, and decided before the Earl of *Blois* at *Amboys* [b]. And thereupon the King ſent to *Henry* his Son in *England* in this manner: 'Know 'ye, that *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* hath 'made Peace with me, according to my Will; 'and therefore I charge you, that he and all his 'Relations be no more diſturbed; but that the 'Eſtates and Goods of him, and all ſuch as went 'out of *England* for his ſake, be reſtored to them 'in as full and ample manner as they enjoy'd 'them three Months before their going, &c. (Which ſhews that the ſupreme Command was lodg'd in the Father, and not in the Son.) Soon after this the Archbiſhop return'd into *England*, (yet not as one that had fought, but forced a Peace)

A. D. 1170. Reg. 16.

The King and Archbiſhop fully agreed.

[a] 'Tis reported, that King *Henry* himſelf carry'd up the firſt Diſh to his Son's Table at the Coronation-Feaſt; and when the Archbiſhop of *York* repreſented to him, how much he was oblig'd to his Father for that Favour, the young Prince haughtily reply'd, *That it was not ſuch great Condeſcenſion in his Father, who was only the Son of an Earl, to perform that Service to him, who was the Son of a King.*

[b] *William Fitz-Stephens*, who was *Becket*'s Chaplain, and wrote his Life, writes, That this Peace was concluded on the 22d of *July*, 1170. at *Freteville*, between *Chartrin* and *Maine*.

A. D. 1170. Reg. 16.

The Archbiſhop's return into England, and his Suſpenſion of the Biſhops.

Peace) and therefore, as if he had gain'd Power to ſtrengthen his Reſolution by his Agreement with the King, he ſuſpends by the Pope's Bull the Archbiſhop of *York* from his Epiſcopal Function, for crowning the young King within the Province of *Canterbury*, without his Leave, and againſt the Pope's Order, and without taking (according to the Cuſtom) the Cautionary Oath for the preſervation of the Liberties of the Church. He alſo ſuſpended in like manner by other Letters, which he brought with him, the Biſhops of *London*, *Salisbury*, *Oxford*, *Cheſter*, *Rocheſter*, *S. Alaph*, and *Landaff*, for aſſiſting at the Coronation, and defending the King's Cauſe againſt him, and by their Suſpenſion they were to remain depriv'd of their Office till they had given the Archbiſhop ſuch ſatisfaction as he required. The Biſhops, amazed at this terrible aſſault, had no other Refuge but the King, to whom they immediately fled into *Normandy*, and gave him an account of the Archbiſhop's Severity, and implacable Fury and Imperiouſneſs. The King hearing their Relation, was mov'd with extream Paſſion, and is ſaid with great Grief to have utter'd theſe words: 'In what a miſerable Condition am I, who can't 'be quiet in my own Kingdom for one only 'Prieſt! What is there no Man will rid me of 'this trouble? Some[a] ſay, that there were four Knights attending the King when he ſpake theſe words, *viz.* Sir *Hugh Morvill*, Sir *William Tracy*, Sir *Richard Britton*, and Sir *Reginald Fitz-Urſe*[b], who gueſſing at his Deſire, departed inſtantly into *England* to be the unfortunate Executioners of it; but others relate, that theſe four Gentlemen were ſent with a Commiſſion by the King, to treat with the Archbiſhop in this Affair. (1.) To require him to take his Oath of Fidelity to the young King. (2.) To reſtore the Biſhops he had deprived to the Execution of their Office. (3.) To adviſe and command him to carry himſelf with much more Lenity and Moderation in his Place, that ſo the Church may have comfort, and the Kingdom peace, by his return. Theſe Men, zealous for their Prince, and arm'd with Authority, went to the Archbiſhop, and finding him peremptory and untractable, not anſwering their Humour, nor regarding their Maſter's Meſſage, were highly enrag'd, and threaten'd to commit him. The Archbiſhop, to ſecure himſelf, withdrew into the Cathedral Church, but to no purpoſe; for they arming themſelves entred in the Church, when he was at Divine Service with the Monks, and furiouſly reviling him as a Traytor, fell upon him with their Swords, gave him many Wounds, and at length ſtruck out his Brains, ſo that the Altar was ſprinkled with his Blood. The Archbiſhop in this Aſſault behav'd himſelf with great Courage, and paſſionately committed his own Soul[c], and the Church's Cauſe to God and his Saints; which, together with the Manner, Time, and Place of his Suffering, begat great Compaſſion towards him, and Abhorrence of the Fact. The unfortunate Gentlemen, tho' they effected a great piece of Service, yet dare not return to the King, either becauſe they had exceeded the Bounds of their Commiſſion, and ſo might juſtly fear his Diſpleaſure; or becauſe they knew he would not acknowledge it a Kindneſs, tho' he thought it a great one; but (after they had rifled the Archbiſhop's Palace) fled into ſeveral Countries[d] in the North, and dy'd all within four Years (as it is reported) miſerable Fugitives.

The Archbiſhop ſlain in the Cathedral of Canterbury.

A. D. 1170. Reg. 16.

The Death of Archbiſhop Becket much aggravated, and laid to the King's Charge.

The Fame of the Archbiſhop *Becket*'s Death ſoon ſpread into all parts of the Chriſtian World, and both Tongues and Pens fell all to work to aggravate and condemn it. The King of *France* himſelf informs the Pope of the whole matter, aggravating the Foulneſs of the Fact, and inciting him to Severity in puniſhing it. 'To *unſheath St.* Peter's *Sword to revenge the Death of the Martyr of Canterbury, whoſe Blood cries out to all the Church, and whoſe Divine Glory was manifeſted already by Miracles.* Theobald Earl of *Blois*, a great and grave Prince (elder Brother to King *Stephen*) repreſented to the Pope, 'That he was preſent 'when the Peace was made between the King of '*England* and the bleſſed Martyr; That the King 'cheerfully confirm'd the Agreement, and grant-'ed the Archbiſhop power to uſe his Authority, 'as it pleaſed the Pope and him, againſt thoſe 'Biſhops, who had contrary to the Right and 'Dignity of the Church of *Canterbury*, preſum'd 'to ſet the new King upon the Throne. And this he would juſtifie upon his Oath, or otherwiſe. 'By this Peace (ſays he) was the Man of God 'brought under the King's Sword, the innocent 'Lamb ſlain upon the morrow after St. *Innocent's* 'Day, the juſt Blood ſhed at the Altar, where 'Chriſt's Blood is offer'd, by Court-Dogs, the 'King's domeſtick Servants, ſet on work to do 'this horrible Act; and then concludes with Admonitions of Revenge. But *William* Archbiſhop of *Sens* came with a loud Cry, as if he fear'd the Pope would overlook the Fact, and tells him, 'That all Power was given to his Apoſtleſhip 'both in Heaven and Earth, and God had ap-'pointed him to bind Kings in Chains, and No-'bles in Links of Iron. He bids him obſerve 'how the Boar of the Wood had rooted up the 'Lord's Vineyard. And after he hath bitterly 'inveigh'd againſt the King, ſtirs him up to re-'venge that which is paſt, that he may provide 'for the future: What place ſhall be ſafe, if the 'Rage of Tyrants be ſuffer'd to fill the *Sanctum* '*Sanctorum* with Blood, and Chriſt's Vicegerents 'be torn in pieces without puniſhment? Arm 'therefore, ſays he, all the Eccleſiaſtical Power 'you can, *&c.* The King of *England*, on the other ſide, proteſted his own Innocency, and ſolemnly avow'd, That he was as far from ordering or deſiring any ſuch deed to be done, as he was from doing it himſelf; and that he was heartily ſorry for it when he heard of it. He alſo employ'd the chief Men of his Kingdom, for Reputation, Learning and Judgment, to defend his Innocency to the Pope; but his Holineſs was ſo prepoſſeſſed by the ſiniſter Reports of others, that he deny'd his Ambaſſadors Audience, and the Cardinals refus'd all Conference with them; yet they were not ſo much diſcourag'd by this unkind uſage, but that they clear'd their Maſter's Honour by Apologies, Remonſtrances, and whatſoever

The King clears himſelf of Becket's Murther.

[a] *William Fitz-Stephens* ſays, he was exaſperated againſt him by the ſuſpended Biſhops, and particularly the Archbiſhop of *York*, who told him, *That ſo long as* Thomas Becket *was alive he wou'd never enjoy happy Days, nor a quiet Kingdom.*

[b] *Fitz-Stephens* calls them Barons and Servants of the King's Bed-Chamber, *Cubicularii*. They ſtole away from Court. *F. S.*

[c] His laſt Words were, *Lord, into thy hands I commend my ſelf, and the Cauſe of the Church of God, St.* Mary, *St.* Denis, *and all the Saints Patrons of his Church.*

[d] They remain'd a Year in *Knaresborough*-Caſtle in *Yorkſhire*, and might have eaſily been brought to Juſtice for their Crime, but there was no Law to puniſh with Death any Perſons that had kill'd a Clergyman, becauſe the Clergy had exempted themſelves from the King's Juriſdiction; and ſo the Archbiſhop himſelf, who ſo violently oppos'd the ſecular Power over the Clergy, and was by that means the Cauſe that the Blood of many Perſons was unreveng'd, prevented the deſerv'd Puniſhment of his own Blood from the Sword of Juſtice; tho' God ſeem'd to puniſh it by the miſerable Lives and unfortunate Deaths of the Actors of it: Who, according to *Ro. Hoveden*'s account, being excommunicated by the Pope, went to *Rome* for Abſolution; and were enjoin'd to go to *Jeruſalem*, and to do Penance afterwards on the *Black Mountain* for Life.

A. D. 1170. Reg. 16.

soever Wit could deviſe; ſo that they kept off the higheſt Cenſure, tho' it was every day expected, and by gravely urging the Miſchief that might fall upon the Church by too great Severity, ſo allay'd the firſt Heat, that they gave the King ſome hopes of a Pacification, till the Pope ſent two Cardinals *à Latere*, *Gratianus* and *Vivianus*, into *Normandy* to interdict him and his Dominions, which exceedingly diſturb'd him; but the King having gotten ſome notice of their coming and intention, appeals to the preſence of the Pope upon their entrance, and ſo put off that trouble. And when he came into *England* again, to prevent the like, forbids all Brief-Carriers, of what Condition or Order ſoever, to paſs the Seas, without giving good Security for their Behaviour to the King and Kingdom.

The King's Expedition into Ireland, *and Conqueſt of it.*

But tho' the Controverſie which the King had with the Church cauſed him much trouble, yet he omitted nothing which tended to the Advancement of his Kingdom, and Enlargement of his Dominions, which at this time he undertook by an Expedition into *Ireland* for the Conqueſt of it; and ſo much the rather, that at this time he might make himſelf formidable. He had had a like deſign at the beginning of his Reign; and to prepare his way to it without oppoſition, had obtain'd leave of Pope *Adrian* IV. to go on with it, under the pretence of reducing a Rude and Barbarous People from their Vicious Cuſtoms to the Faith and Truth of Chriſt, and upon promiſe of paying *Peter-Pence* to the *Roman* See. The Pope (who is always willing to give away what is not his own, to get ſomething by it) readily granted the King's Petition, and ſent his Ambaſſadors back with an Inſtrument of Conceſſion in Writing to this effect: 'That it was a laudable and glori-
'ous thing for ſo magnificent a Prince to enlarge
'his Dominions for the Converſion of Souls, and
'Good of the Church. And then gives him power
'to invade the ſame, and to execute whatever
'ſhould be to the Honour of God, and Good of
'the Country; with a Reſervation of the Rights
'of the Church, and *Peter-Pence* promiſed; and
'concludes with an Exhortation to ſettle an holy
'and exemplary Clergy among them, *&c.* But the King at that time having other important Matters in hand, laid theſe Thoughts for the preſent aſide, and did not reſume them till a fair occaſion offer'd it ſelf of proſecuting it with ſucceſs, which was thus given him: *Dermot Macmurgh*, one of the five Kings that then ruled *Ireland*, came to him into *Aquitain* to crave his Aid againſt *Rodoricke* the Great, call'd *O-Conar Dun*, King of *Connaught*, who aiming at the Dominion of the whole Country, had expell'd him out of his Dominions of *Lemſter*. The King of *England*, glad of this opportunity of introducing his Forces into the Country, promiſed him aſſiſtance; and tho' he was a little detained by other Affairs of Importance, yet he gave him liberty to get as many of his Subjects as he would, to try their Fortunes with him. The occaſion of the Quarrel between the two *Iriſh* Princes was very foul on *Dermot*'s part, who had corrupted and ſtolen away the Wife of *Rodoricke*; and for that reaſon, with his Injuſtices to his People, (the common Cauſes of ruining and transferring Kingdom) was by force of Arms driven out of his Dominions of *Lemſter*; and being expell'd, he ſeeks to the King of *England* for help to recover his Right; and having obtained the former Grant of him, went into *Wales*, where he firſt prevail'd with *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, a Man of a diſperate Fortune, but good Intereſt among the *Welſh*, by promiſes of great Riches and Reward; and afterwards with *Richard* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Chepſtow*, and *Strigil*, ſurnamed *Strongbow*, a Lord of great Courage and Worth, of large Poſſeſſions both in *England* and *Normandy*, and well followed, whom he won by a Contract of giving him his only Daughter in Marriage, and the Succeſſion of the Kingdom of *Lemſter* after him. *Fitz-Stephens*, with his half Brother *Maurice Fitz-Gerard*, paſſed over firſt with a ſmall Force, and landed at a place call'd by the Iriſh *Bagg-Bun*, which in *Engliſh* ſignifies *Holy*; and therefore look'd upon as an Omen of good Succeſs: Whereof it retains the Memory to this day in this Rythm:

A. D. 1170. Reg. 16.

Fitz-Stephens *firſt Conquers* Ireland.

> *At the head of* Bagg *and* Bunn,
> Ireland *was loſt and wun.*

The next day arrived *Maurice Prindergaſt* with two Ships full of armed Men, and Archers, to joyn with *Fitz-Stephens*, who made up together about four hundred Men. With this ſmall Army they marched with Banners diſplay'd to the City of *Weiſhford*, in ſo ſtrange a form and order, that the *Iriſh*, unacquainted with ſuch an unuſual form of War, and ſuppoſing them by their Front to be far more numerous than they were, were overcome with fear, and render'd up themſelves to them, with their City of *Weiſhford*, which *Dermot* gave to *Robert Fitz-Stephens* with the Country adjoyning, to encourage him, and raiſe the hopes of others. And here was the firſt Colony of the *Engliſh* ſettled in *Ireland*, which hath continu'd there ever ſince, retaining ſtill our ancients Garb, and much of our Language, which is proper to that City, and the Country about it, call'd the *Weiſhford-Speech*. The next Year[a] they had a new Supply out of *Wales*, and after, upon news of their ſucceſs, the Earl of *Pembroke* went over with two hundred armed Men, and a thouſand other Soldiers, and landing at *Warterford*, takes the Town, which was then call'd *Porthlarge*, and puts all the Inhabitants to the Sword, not only to terrifie others, but to make room for his own People. And here *Dermot* gave the Earl his Daughter *Eva* to Wife, with the Dowry of his Country, which after he had liv'd to undo by his Wickedneſs, he liv'd not long to ſee, but dy'd miſerably, leaving nothing memorable but the infamous Name of *Ningal*, which ſignifies *a Friend to Strangers*, as a Brand of his unnatural Treachery to his own Country. The Earl, after he had gotten his Inheritance convey'd, and ſecured the places he had won, marches with his ſmall Forces thro' the whole Iſland without reſiſtance, *Rodoricke* the Great not daring to make good his Name, nor appear in oppoſition to him, but kept in the Wilds and ſtrong Holds of *Connaught*, and never met the Enemy. So that he took Pledges of the Inhabitants to ſecure their Obedience as he pleaſed; and with very little labour poſſeſſed himſelf of *Dublin*, the head City of the Iſland. Thus did the *Welſh* firſt win the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and (which is moſt ſtrange) without Battel; a thing ſcarce credible, that ſo populous a Country as *Ireland* was, and a Nation of that diſpoſition, ſhould not lift up any hands in their own defence; but it ſeems, tho' they had continual Wars almoſt among themſelves, yet they had ſo little Armour and Diſcipline, that they were terrify'd with the Warlike Appearances of the *Engliſh*.

1171. Reg. 17.

The Earl of Pembroke's *ſucceſs in* Ireland.

The King of *England* being inform'd of the great Succeſs of the former Adventures, began to be jealous of them, leſt they ſhould think them-

[a] *Roger Hovedon* places the King's Expedition into *Ireland* under the Year 1171.

A. D. 1171. Reg. 17.

themſelves ſomething greater than Subjects; and therefore to ſtop their farther Proceedings, and gain the Glory of the Conqueſt of *Ireland*, he immediately declares, that they had gone beyond their Commiſſion, and puts out his Proclamatoin, 'That no Veſſel ſhould carry any thing out 'of his Dominions into *Ireland*; That all his Sub-'jects there ſhould deſiſt from farther Attempts, 'and return home immediately, or elſe ſhould 'forfeit their Eſtates in *England*. And withal, ſends over *William Fitz-Adelm* and *Robert Fitz-Bernard*, with ſome Forces, to prepare the way for him; while he himſelf provided a Navy of four hundred Ships well furniſh'd with Men, and all Neceſſaries for the Expedition at *Milford-Haven*; from whence he ſailed into *Ireland*, and arriv'd there eight Miles from *Waterford* on S. *Luke's* Eve, *Anno* 1172. being the third Year after *Fitz-Stephen's* Invaſion. At his firſt landing his Soldiers caught a White Hart, and preſented it to him as a Sign of his Victory. The next day he marched to *Waterford*, and ſtaid there fifteen days. While he remain'd here, the Kings of *Corke*, *Limerick*, *Offery*, *Meth*, and all of any Power in *Ireland* (except *Roderick* King of *Connaught*, who kept himſelf in the ſtrong Holds of his own Country) came and ſubmitted themſelves with all their Clergy to him, taking an Oath of Fidelity to him and his Succeſſors for ever; thus chuſing rather to unite with a Stranger in a common Subjection, than with one another to deliver themſelves from Slavery, becauſe they had lived long in Enmity. The King went from *Waterford* to *Dublin*, where he held a great Aſſembly of all the Kings, Lords Spiritual and Temporal of *Ireland*, to aſſure himſelf more fully of their Allegiance, and to reform and order all things in the State; which when he had done, he ſummon'd a Convocation of the Biſhops and Clergy at *Caſſel* (to whom he appointed a Chaplain of his own, and the Archdeacon of *Landaffe* to be Aſſiſtants) to reform the Affairs of the Church; for tho' the *Iriſh* had been Chriſtians long before, yet they were but a confuſed and diſorderly Church: And therefore it was ordain'd and decreed, 'That all Church-Lands 'ſhould be freed from the Exactions of Secular 'Men, and that for the future all Divine Things 'ſhould be order'd and us'd in every part of *Ire-'land*, according to the manner of the Church of 'England, it being fit (as the Canon ſaith) that 'as *Ireland* had by God's merciful Providence ob-'tain'd a Lord and King out of *England*, ſo alſo 'they ſhould receive from thence a better man-'ner of living than they had uſed before. The King having thus ſettled the Kingdom, kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Dublin*, where he feaſted all the Kings and great Men of the Country, gave Orders for the planting and fortifying of Garriſons where they were needful, made *Hugh Lacy* Juſtice of *Ireland*, and ſeated him in *Dublin* to defend it; granting him by his Charter, and his Heirs, the Country of *Meth*, to hold the ſame in Fee by the Service of an hundred Knights; to *Robert Fitz-Bernard* he left the keeping of the Towns of *Waterford* and *Weiſhford* (which he had taken from *Fitz-Stephens*) with a Charge to build Caſtles in them; and to humble Earl *Strongbow*, and level him with the reſt of his Subjects, he took from him all his Dependents and made them his. Thus in one Winter was the Kingdom of *Ireland* made ſubject to *England*, and a tolerable Settlement made, tho' it proved not very laſting; becauſe both this, and ſome ſucceeding Kings, had ſuch innumerable Diverſions that they could not attend to the full Eſtabliſhment of it.

The King goes into Ireland *to conquer it.* 1172.

His Reformation of Ireland.

A. D. 1172. Reg. 17.

On the *Eaſter-Mondy* after he ſet ſail from *Ireland* into *England* again, but made a very ſhort ſtay there, becauſe he had appointed the Pope's Legates, *Theodinus* and *Albertus*, to meet them in *Normandy*, who were ſent by Pope *Alexander* (but in a milder way than formerly) to examine into the Murther of the late Archbiſhop *Becket*; wherefore taking with him the young King, he paſſed over thither. Four Months were ſpent in debating the Matter, and in Concluſion, the King taking an Oath upon the Holy Evangeliſts and Saints Reliques in the Preſence of his Son *Henry*, the Archbiſhop of *Rouen*, and the reſt of the Biſhops and Abbots of *Normandy*, in the City of *Auranches*, *That he neither had commanded, nor conſented to the ſaid Murther*, cleared himſelf from the Charge brought againſt him for it: Yet becauſe he feared, that the Perſons who did murther him were moved to it either by his Paſſion or Words, he engag'd himſelf in Satisfaction for it to perform theſe following Articles. '(1.) Ne-'ver to forſake Pope *Alexander*, nor his Succeſ-'ſors, ſo long as they treated him as a Catholick 'King. (2.) That he would freely allow Appeals 'to be made to the Pope in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, 'provided, That if any Man be ſuſpected of any 'ill Deſigns againſt the King or Nation, he ſhall 'put in Security before his Departure. (3.) That 'he would for three Years go in Perſon to the 'Holy Wars, unleſs hinder'd by the Pope or his 'Succeſſors, or employ'd againſt the *Sarazens* in 'Spain. (4.) That he ſhould put ſo much Money 'preſently into the Templars hands, as ſhould 'maintain two Hundred Men in the Holy War 'for one Year. (5.) That he ſhould recall all that 'had ſuffer'd Baniſhment for the Archbiſhop, and 'reſtore his and their Poſſeſſions. (6.) That he 'ſhould aboliſh all Cuſtoms which had been in-'troduc'd in his Time, to the prejudice of the 'Church. When the King had ſworn to the afore-ſaid Conceſſions, he made his Son *Henry* to ratifie the ſame by Oath, except ſuch as concern'd his own Perſon; and having ſet his Seal to them with the Cardinals, he deliver'd them to be kept in the *Roman* Church. Thus ended this tedious Controverſie, which made ſuch a Noiſe in the World; and *Becket* tho' he could not conquer the King while he lived, did it by his Death; having gained the Name of a Saint in Heaven by his Sufferings, and [a] a Shrine in the Church, to which his Sovereign Lord muſt bow himſelf and pray, or elſe be thought a worſe Enemy to him than ever: So that this obſtinate Archbiſhop was above his Will when alive, and over his Faith when dead. But how good a Man he was may appear by this, that forty eight Years after his Deceaſe, the Doctors of *Paris* diſputed whether he were damn'd or ſav'd; and one *Roger* a *Norman*, maintain'd' he had juſtly deſerv'd Death, for rebelling againſt his Sovereign, the Vicegerent of God. After the ending of this Affair, the King, that he might pacifie all Parties, and content the King of *France*, had his Son *Henry* crown'd again with his Wife *Margaret* [b].

The King's return from Ireland *and Voyage into* Normandy, *where he clears himſelf of* Becket's *Murther.*

Shortly after theſe things, the young King

[a] For Pope *Alexander* Canoniz'd him ſoon after this Agreement, and his Shrine was erected at *Canterbury* by his next Succeſſor but one, *Stephen Langton*, at very great Expence and Charge; and he became ſo famous a Saint for Miracles (no leſs than 270 being ſaid to be done at his Shrine) that the Gifts at it annually were computed worth 600 *l.* and the Viſitants in a Jubilee an hundred thouſand.

[b] In St. *Swithin's* Church in *Wincheſter*. This was done the 27th of *Auguſt*, before the ending of the Affair of *Becket's* Death; for the King purg'd himſelf of it at *Auranches* on the 27th of *September* following.

A. D. 1172. Reg. 18.

Young King Henry's *Voyage to* Paris, *and the ill Effects of it.*

Henry obtain'd leave of his Father to viſit *Paris*, and his Father-in Law the *French* King; where ſtaying ſome time, he imbib'd thoſe Inſtructions which kindled his Ambition, and overthrew his Obedience to his Father, being taught there, that to be a King was to have a Supreme Power, and be under none; which he ſoon put in Practice upon this Occaſion. *Henry* the Father, who was always watchful to lay hold of every Opportunity of advancing his own Greatneſs and Power, took a Journey in Perſon to *Auvergne*, and ſo to *Montferrat*[a]; where he purchaſed a Match at the Price of five thouſand Marks for his youngeſt Son *John*, with *Alice* the eldeſt Daughter of *Hubert*, Earl of *Mauriena* and Lord of *Piedmont* and *Savoy*, with a Condition of having all thoſe Countries, containing many Seigniories, Cities and Caſtles, after her Father's deceaſe. The King of *England* alſo aſſured to his Son *John* the Caſtles of *Chinon*, *Lodun*, and *Mirabel* at *Limoges*, where he was come after the Concluſion of the Match. While he continu'd here, *Raymond* Earl of S. *Giles* came to him to do him Homage for the Earldom to *Tholouſe* to hold it of him, and his Son *Richard* Earl of *Poictou* by Hereditary Right, by the Service of coming unto them upon Summons, and remaining in their Service forty days at their own Charge; and if they detain'd him longer, to be allow'd reaſonable Expences: As alſo to pay Yearly one hundred Marks of Silver, or ten Horſes worth ten Marks a-piece. Prince *Henry* was diſpleaſed at his Father's Gift to his Brother *John*, and the King of *France* was afraid of his great Power, who now ha gotten Dominions all round him: Wherefore obſerving the Prince's diſguſt, he put him upon requeſting, and that with an Importunity that would not brook a Denial, either the Dutchy of *Normandy*, Earldom of *Anjou* or Kingdom of *England* for his Maintenace, and Exerciſe of his Kingly Power. The Prince being ambitious put up his Requeſt, and becauſe he was not preſently gratified, eſcapes from his Father, and got to *Paris*, where he was joyfully receiv'd by the *French* King, who had no way elſe to prevent the over-growing Greatneſs of his Neighbour, but ſuch an unnatural Diviſion; and to ſtrengthen the Breach, ſummons all the Princes of *France*, and all the Friends he could make, to aſſiſt King *Henry* the Son againſt the Father, and made them ſwear, That they would either diſpoſſeſs King *Henry* of his Kingdoms, or bring him to their Conditions. The young King likewiſe ſwears to them never to make Peace with his Father without their Conſent; and to encourage his Aſſiſtances, he engag'd to give *Philip* Earl of *Flanders* a 1000 *l.* a Year, with the County of *Kent*, and *Dover* and *Rocheſter* Caſtles; to *Matthew* Earl of *Bologne*, the ſaid Earl's Brother, *Kerton Soake* in *Lindſey*, the Earldom of *Morton*, with the Honour of *Heizè*; to *Theobald* Earl of *Blois*[b] 200 *l.* a Year in *Anjou*, the Caſtle of *Amboys*, with all his Right in *Tureine*, which Grants he confirm'd under his Seal, with many others, to his Followers for their Service; to the King of *Scots* he granted all *Northumberland* as far as the River *Tine*, and to his Brother the Earldoms of *Huntington* and *Cambridge*[c]. Many diſcontented Lords both of *England* and *Normandy*, who hoped for new Advantages by Changes in State, and a broken Sovereignty, adhered to him; as *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Hugh Bigott*, *Hugh* Earl of *Cheſter*, *Roger Mowbray*, &c. to whom he gave ſeveral large Promiſes of the Lion's Skin before he was dead. Queen *Eleanor* enrag'd for ſome Injuries done to her Bed[d], like a furious *Alecto*, blows up the Coals of War between the Father and Son; and perſuading her two Sons, *Richard* and *Jeffrey*, to join in the Rebellion againſt their Father, made the Confederacy ſo ſtrong, that the King was left deſtitute both of Friends and Subjects to defend his Right. Some faithful Miniſters he had, yet thoſe but very few; as *William* Earl of *Mandevile*, *Hugh de Lacy*, *Hugh de Beauchamp*, *Humphrey Bohun*, and ſome others: But his People forſook him ſo generally, that he was forced to hire twenty thouſand[e] *Brabanſons* which were Mercinary Soldiers, commonly called *Routs* or *Coſterells*) to mantain and hold his Kingdoms. This happen'd about the 20th Year of his Reign. The King having yet the Bowels of a Father toward his Rebellious Son, ſought all ways to heal the Breach, offering him all convenient Allowances for his Eſtate, and advantageous Conditions of Peace; but all would not do, his Sword was drawn, and nothing would ſatisfie him but War; and therefore with the King of *France* his Forces he invades *Normandy*, and beſieges *Vernoul*, a Place of great Strength and Importance. The King of *Scots* enters *Northumberland*, and makes great Havock there. *Hugh de Lacy* and *Hugh de Beauchamp* valiantly defended the Caſtle of *Vernoul*, and after a Month's Siege, the Citizens (being deſtitute of Proviſion) obtain a Truce of the King of *France*, and a Permiſſion to ſend for Succours to their King, which if they could not obtain within three days, they would ſurrender their City, and the mean time gave him Hoſtages; and on the other ſide, the King of *France*, Prince *Henry*, and divers other Lords and Biſhops ſwore, That if they ſurrender'd the City at the day appointed, their Hoſtages ſhould be reſtor'd, and no Harm be done to their City. King *Henry* the Father came with all the Forces he could gather juſt at the day appointed, and diſpoſes his Army for Battel; but the King of *France* to avoid it, ſends the Archbiſhop of *Sens* and Earl of *Blois* to procure a Parly, which was granted on the Morrow, but loſt *Vernoul*; for the King of *France* neither came, nor ſent to the Parly, but had admittance given him into the Town according to the Covenants, which contrary to his Oath he domoliſh'd, plunder'd, and taking Hoſtages remov'd his Camp, and left the King of *England* diſappointed; who being inrag'd at it, purſu'd the flying Army, of which he got ſome Booty, enters *Vernoul*, and the next day took the Caſtle of *Danvile*, with many Priſoners. From hence he marched to *Rouen*, and there ſent his *Brabanſons* into *Britain* againſt *Hugh* Earl of *Cheſter*, and *Ralph Fulgiers*, who had gotten that whole Country into their Power; but being not able to withſtand this Army of the King's in the Field, they with all the great Men of thoſe Parts got into the Caſtle of *Dole*, and fortified themſelves in it; but the King following in Perſon beſieg'd and took it, and in it about eighty Lords, beſides others of Note and Valour, by which Defeat the reſt of the Country was brought to yield. By this Succeſs the King's Enemies were ſo much diſcourag'd,

A. D. 1173. Reg. 19.

The young King Henry *rebels againſt his Father.*

[a] *Hovedon* drew *Daniel* into this Miſtake. The Father and Son met, according to other Authors, with *Hubert* Earl of *Maurienna* (now Part of *Savoy*) at *Clermont* in *Auvergne*; and indeed 'tis very unlikely that King *Henry* ſhould go ſo far as *Montferrat* in *Italy*, to get a Wife for his Son.

[b] 500 *l.* of *Anjovin* Money.

[c] This was done at a great Council held at *Paris*; where *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*, *Matthew* his Brother Earl of *Bulloign*, and *Theobald* Earl of *Blois*, did Young Prince *Henry* Homage.

[d] King *Henry* had lately beſtow'd his Affections on *Roſamund*, Daughter to the Lord *Clifford*, whom he kept at his Mannour of *Woodſtock*.

[e] Of the Province of *Brabant*.

A. D. 1173. Reg. 19.

raged, that they desired a Parly in order to a Peace, which was appointed between *Guisors* and *Try*. At this Treaty the King of *England*, tho' every way superiour, was so condescending to his Children for a Pacification sake, that he offer'd to his Son *Henry* half his Revenues of the Crown of *England*, with four convenient Castles; or if he had rather remain in *Normandy*, half the Revenues of that Dukedom, and the whole of the Earldom of *Anjou*, &c. To his Son *Richard* he offer'd half the Revenues of *Aquitain*, and four Castles in it. To *Jeffrey* the Earldom of *Conon*, which was to descend to him by his Wife. And if these things were not sufficient, he would submit to the Arbitration of the Archbishop of *Tarento*, and the Pope's Legates, to add any Allowance which they should in their Judgments think fit, reserving to himself his Royal Authority, and Administration of Justice. But all these fair Proposals did not satisfie: The King of *France* was for no Agreement, as is plain from the Indignities offer'd to the King at the Treaty; wherein 'tis said, that *Robert* Earl of *Leicester* reproached him to his Face, and attempted to draw his Sword at him. So the Meeting ended with quarrelling, and the Armies began their daily Bickerings, tho' the *French* had the worst. The Earl of *Leicester* with an Army gets over into *England*, where he was received by *Hugh Bygot* into the Castle of *Fremingham*. *Richard de Lucy* Chief Justice of *England*, and *Humphry Bohun* the King's Constable, being then upon the Borders of *Scotland*, and hearing of his arrival, made a Truce with the King of *Scots*, and hasten'd away with their Forces to St. *Edmundsbury*, where the Earls of *Cornwall*, *Gloucester*, and *Arundel* joyn'd with them; and so they went on to encounter the Earl of *Leicester* at *Farnham* [a], whose Army they defeated, killing ten thousand *Flemmings*, and taking himself, Wife, and several other great Men Prisoners, whom he sent to the King in *Normandy*. In the mean time the King himself was not idle, but daily got Castles and Forts from his Enemies, until Winter constrain'd him to make a Truce till *Easter*; which also the Bishop of *Durham* did with the King of *Scots*, for three thousand Marks of Silver, to be paid out of the Lands of the Barons of *Northumberland*.

A Treaty between the King and his Sons.

The King's Advantages against his Son's Party.

1174. Reg. 20.

The Spring being come on, the Truce on all sides being expired, King *Henry* the Son, and *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*, are ready at *Graveling* with a great Army for *England*. The King of *Scots* also entred *Northumberland*, and sends his Brother *David* to relieve the small Remainders of the Earl of *Leicester*'s Forces, which held the Town of *Leicester*, but too late; for *Robert de Lucy* and the Earl of *Cornwall* had taken and raised the Town, and seized *Robert Mowbray* coming to help those who held out in the Castle. King *Henry* the Father seeing his Son's Preparations for *England*, draws off his Forces from other Employments, and brings them down to *Barbfleet*, and so pass'd over to *Southampton*, with his Prisoners, Queen *Eleanor*, *Margaret* his Son *Henry*'s Wife, and the Earls of *Leicester* and *Chester*; and from thence he went to *Canterbury*, to visit his own Martyr, and perform his Vows of Victory; and some write, that when he came in sight of the Church, he alighted from his Horse, and [b] went three Miles barefoot to it; the Stones which cut his Feet receiving bloody Tokens of his Devotion. But in recompence of this meritorious Action, they add, That the same day, when he departed from *Canterbury*, the King of *Scots* was conquer'd, and taken at *Alnwicke* by some Knights of *Yorkshire*, viz. *Robert de Stutevile*, *Odonel de Humfreville*, *William de Vescy*, *Ralph de Glanville*, *Ralph de Tilly*, and *Bernard Baliol*; and his Son *Henry* was by Tempests beat back again into *France* where *Lewis* the King of *France* hearing of his Father's passage into *England*, and the taking of the King of *Scots*, call'd him to the Siege of *Roan*. *Henry*, after his fit of Devotion was over, being ready for business, soon quieted and settled the disorder'd State of his Nation. For he took the Castles of *Huntington*, *Fremingham*, *Bungay*, *Durham*, *Norham*, and *Alverton*; which *Hugh Bygot* and the Bishop of *Durham* resigned to him, upon his granting them his Favour and Pardon. *Ralph Mowbray* also yielded himself up with his Castle of *Treske*, Earl *Ferrers* resigned his Castles of *Tutsbury*, *Duffield*, one *Ankstill*, *Mallery*, and *William Dove*, Constables of the Earl of *Leicester*, the Castles of *Leicester*, *Montsorill* and *Groby*. So that within three Weeks all things were quiet without Arms. When the King had thus settled *England*, he being enforced with a thousand *Welshmen*, went with his Prisoners, the King of *Scots*, Earls of *Leicester* and *Chester*, and passes over into *Normandy* to relieve *Roan*. His *Welshmen* being first sent over the River *Seine*, made way through the *French* Camp by their Swords, and got into a Wood, without any loss, slaying an hundred of their Enemies; and so got into the City with the King's Forces, who open'd the Gates to provoke the *French* King to Battel, but in vain. For *Lewis* having sent away the weakest of his People before, follow'd after with the rest, by the permission of the King of *England*; of whom he got leave by the Archbishop of *Sens*, and Earl of *Blois*, to depart, under pretence of a Parly to be the next day, which he never perform'd. However the King of *France* seeing that all his Arts prov'd nothing advantageous, either to himself or his Confederates, he again sends the former Agents to the King of *England* with the same proffers of Peace, which was at last concluded [c] between him and his Sons, but upon harder Conditions then he had proffer'd at the former; and yet upon such as shew'd the Goodness of his Nature, and Love to his Children: His whole Proceedings in this War proving, that not his Will, but Necessity moved him to Action. At the signing of the Covenant of Peace, when his Son *Henry* would have done him Homage (which is a Personal Service) he refused it, because he was a King, but of his Sons *Richard* and *Jeffrey* he accepted it: Yet *Henry*, to free his Father from all scruple, swore Fealty to him as a Subject against all Men, in the presence of the Archbishop of *Roan*, Bishop of *Bayeux*, Earl of *Mandevile*, and many others of his Nobility. At the Conclusion of this Peace the Earl of *Flanders* yielded up to King *Henry* the Father his Son's Charter of Reward for his Assistance, and had another confirm'd to him for a Pension of a thousand Marks to be paid out of *England* yearly upon Condition of Homage, and to find the King of *England* five hundred Soldiers for the space of fourty days upon Summons given him. This business being ended, the King's (Father and Son) took their progress into all the Provinces on that side of the Sea, to visit and reform the Disorders of War, and settle all Affairs; and sent *Richard* into *Aquitain*, and *Jeffrey* into *Britain* for the same purpose, and settled them there with their Council to take care of their own.

A. D. 1174. Reg.

Peace made between the King and his Sons.

Shortly

Henry *goes barefoot to visit* Becket's *Tomb, and after settles* England.

[a] *Farnham*, in a Meadow near the Church of St. *Geneveſe*.

[b] Our Historians relate, he submitted his Back to receive eighty Lashes from the Monks and Clerks of that Church, to make full satisfaction for his Offence against their Arch-bishop *Becket*, who had been lately Canoniz'd.

[c] At *Poictiers* on the 23d of *September*.

A. D. 1175. Reg. 21.

The two Kings return into England, *and reform things.*

Shortly after the two Kings, Father and Son, return'd into *England*, where there was as great neceſſity of a Reformation of Government both in Church and State as there was in *France*. The King deſirous to compleat both, firſt had a Council of the Clergy call'd under *Richard* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in which many Enormities of the Clergy were reform'd, as may be ſeen in the Canons of that Synod. The King ſupply'd all Vacancies, and gives to *John Oxenford* (his chief Miniſter) the Biſhoprick of *Norwich*. Then he took into his hands all the Caſtles he could ſeize, and among others the Tower of *Briſtol*, which was ſurrender'd to him by the Earl of *Gloceſter*, and was never in his hands before. The King alſo exacted certain Penalties of all, both Clerks and Laymen, who had in the time of the War done any Injuries to the King's Foreſts, for which he is accuſed of Injuſtice, becauſe *Richard Lucy* the King's Juſtice, had by the King's Warrant diſcharg'd them for the ſame; but the gain, which ſuch Mulcts yielded him, made him the more ſevere. For after the Death of *Alain de Nevill*, who had been chief Juſtice of all the Foreſts of *England*, he divided them into ſeveral parts, appointing four Juſtices to overſee every one of them, whereof two were to be Clerks, and two Knights. And over all other Foreſters he conſtituted two of his own Servants to be the Gamekeepers, and gave them power to implead any, according to the Laws of the Foreſt.

1176. Reg. 22.

The King of Scots *does Homage, and ſeveral Parliaments call'd*

The King being at *York*, there came to him *William* King of *Scots*, with almoſt all the Nobility, Abbots, and Biſhops of his Kingdom, and confirmed the Peace and final Agreement, which had been promiſed in his Impriſonment at *Falaiſe* in *Normandy*, before all the greateſt Perſonages of both Kingdoms, the Copy of which is in *Roger Hovedon*. A little after[a] a Council was held at *Windſor*, to which certain *Iriſh* Biſhops, and the Chancellor of *Rodoricke* King of *Connaught* came, who concluded a firm Agreement for their Maſter, doing Homage and Fealty, and obliging him to pay a Tribute of one ſufficient Hide of every ten Beaſts killed within his Kingdom, and thoſe Provinces that held of it. The ſame Year a Parliament was ſummon'd to meet at *Nottingham*, where, by the advice and conſent of his Nobles, he cauſed the Kingdom to be divided into ſix parts, and appointed for each of them three Juſtices, who were to travel from place to place to adminiſter Juſtice, cauſing them to take an Oath upon the holy Evangeliſts, faithfully to obſerve, and cauſe to be obſerved by all his Majeſty's *Engliſh* Subjects, the Statutes made at *Clarendon*, and renew'd at *Northampton*, concerning Murther, Theft, Robbery, and Receivers of ſuch as were guilty of ſuch Crimes, Frauds, and Burning of Houſes; which Facts, if any were found guilty of by the Verdict of twelve Men, they were to paſs the Tryal of Water-Ordeal; whereby, if they were not acquitted, their puniſhment was the loſs of a Leg, or Baniſhment: it being held in that Age a more deterring Spectacle, to ſee a miſerable Malefactor alive then dead, for as yet they did not ſhed Blood in thoſe caſes. And yet we find, that in this King's Reign, one *Gilbert Plumpton* a Knight, being accuſed of a Rape, was condemned by *Ranulph Glanville* Chief Juſtice of *England*, to be hang'd on a Gibbet; but before the Execution, it was diſcover'd, that *Glanville* did it out of a deſign of getting his Wife, a great Heireſs, for one *Reinor*, Sheriff of *Yorkſhire*; and ſo by the Clamours of the People, and Authority of *Baldwin* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, he was ſaved, till his Innocency was clear'd to the King, who thereupon ſtopped the Sentence. This Act of Injuſtice leaves a foul Blot upon the Memory of *Glanville*, though he was a chief Inſtrument in compoſing that Body of the Laws and Cuſtoms of *England* that paſs under his Name.

A. D. 1176. Reg. 22.

Glanvile's *Injuſtice.*

The Charge given at the Aſſizes at this time conſiſted but of very few points, beſides the Felonies aforeſaid, and was eſpecially for taking Homage and Allegiance of the King's Subjects, demoliſhing Caſtles, ſecuring the King's Rights of his Crown and Exchequer. The multitude of Actions which aroſe in ſucceeding Ages, proceeded from new Crimes, and increaſing of Laws and Conteſts, which were then but in the Cradle. This Year the King of *Sicily* ſent and craved to have the King's Daughter *Joanna* in Marriage; and *Henry* having taken the advice of his Parliament, which he call'd on purpoſe, granted his Requeſt; and ſhortly after ſent her to him, who honourably endow'd her with many Cities and Caſtles in his Iſle. But the great Match which the King had provided for his Son *John*, was at this time broken off by Death, and he was marry'd to the Daughter of *William* Earl of *Gloceſter*[b], by whom he was to have that Earldom. This *William* was the Son of the famous Duke of *Gloceſter*, who being natural Brother to *Maud* the Empreſs, ſo ſtrenuouſly aſſerted her Right. The ſame Year he marry'd[c] *Eleanor*, another of his Daughters, to *Alphonſo* King of *Caſtile*, and determin'd a Controverſie between him and his Uncle *Sanctio* King of *Navarre*, about the detaining of certain parts of each others Kingdom, he being choſen Arbitrator between them[d]. Likewiſe the Marriage between his Son *Richard*, and *Alice* the Daughter of the *French* King (who was truſted to his Care and Keeping) was again treated on, and urged by the Pope's Legates, to be conſummated upon pain of Interdiction[e]; but it was deferr'd, tho' both Kings entred into a perpetual League, both Offenſive and Defenſive, and vow'd an Expediton into the Holy Land together, which they never liv'd to perform.

1177. Reg. 23.

The King of Sicily *obtains the King's Daughter in Marriage.*

1178. Reg. 24.

The King of *France* in a dangerous Sickneſs of his Son *Philip*, vow'd to viſit the Sepulchre of *Thomas* the Martyr of *Canterbury*, and by a Licenſe from the King of *England*, and promiſe of ſafe Conduct, perform'd the ſame with great Devotion, and gave rich Preſents, *viz.* Offering upon his Tomb a maſſy Cup of pure Gold, and giving and confirming to the Monks 3600 Sextaries of Wine yearly (a Sextary is two Gallons of *Engliſh* Meaſure) to be deliver'd to them at *Poiſſi*, at the *French* King's Charge, and beſides freed them from all Toll and Cuſtom for whatſoever they ſhould buy in his Kingdom. He ſtay'd in *England* three Months,

The King of France *viſits the Tomb of Archbiſhop* Becket.

[a] The King of the *Scots* came to *York* in *Auguſt*, 1175. By this Treaty *Roxburgh*, *Berwick*, *Gedworth*, *Edenburgh*, and *Sterling* Caſtles were deliver'd to King *Henry*. In this Charter of Peace, which is at large in *Hoveden*, 'tis expreſly mention'd, that the King of *Scots* did Homage to the King of *England* for all *Scotland*. The Council at *Windſor* was held about *Michaelmas*, 1175. The Council at *Nottingham* was held on the 25th of *January*, in the next Year 1176. They arriv'd about *Whitſuntide*, *Anno* 1175. *Rog. Hov.*

[b] The Earl of *Gloceſter* left all his Eſtate to *John* the King's youngeſt Son, on Condition he marry'd *Hawiſe* the Earl's youngeſt Daughter. Some Authors place this Marriage in the firſt Year of *Richard* III. *Anno* 1189. Her five eldeſt Siſters had Penſions allow'd them.

[c] *Rad. de Diceto*, and others, relate, That the Princeſs *Eleanor*, who was then but ſeven Years old, was marry'd to King *Alphonſo* in 1169.

[d] This Controverſie was debated and determin'd by the Great Council of the Nation, but the King had the Honour of it, and Judgment was not given till the next Year, 1177.

[e] It happen'd in *July*, 1177.

A. D. 1179. Reg. 25. Months, and then return'd into *France*, being conducted by the King of *England* to *Dover*. What Effect this Journey had upon the Recovery of the Son, 'tis eaſie to conjecture; but 'tis certain, that it wrought moſt upon the aged King, who was no ſooner come to *S. Denis*, but he was taken with a Palſie, and died of it within a few days; yet foreſeeing his Death, he cauſed his Son to be crown'd, tho' then but fifteen Years of Age, which was done at *Reimes*, *Anno Dom.* 1179.

The Duke of Saxony baniſh'd by the Emperour.

Henry Duke of *Saxony*, who had married *Maud* the King's Daughter, was expell'd from his Dutchy, and baniſh'd by the Emperor *Fredericke* for ſeven Years; becauſe he detain'd certain Revenues from the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, which were payable to him out of *Saxony*, and refuſed to come to a Tryal about it at the Imperial Chamber, according to his Faith and Promiſe made to the Emperor: So that he was forced to come with his Wife and Children to his Father-in-Law the King of *England* for Aſſiſtance, and remain'd with him three Years, till the Archbiſhop of *Cologne* coming to viſit the Sepulchre of *S. Thomas* of *Canterbury*, the King ſo pacified the Archbiſhop, that he was reſtor'd to his Dutchy, and a Contract of Marriage made between *Richard* the King's Son and the Emperour's Daughter; which notwithſtanding the Pre-

1180. Reg. 26. contract made with *Alice* the *French* King's Daughter, had been conſummated, had not Death prevented. King *Henry* alſo ſends his Son *John* to reſide in *Ireland*, thinking that the Majeſty of a Court, and Gallantry of his Attendants might both awe and civilize that rude Country; but he being accompanied with many young Men, who had more Wit than Judgment, did more Harm there than Good. For the jocoſe Courtiers ſcorning and deriding the *Iriſh* for their rude Habits and Faſhions ſo anger'd the Natives, that three of their moſt potent Kings, *viz.* of *Limerick*, *Connaught*, and *Corke*, fell into open Rebellion; for as *Cambrenſis* ſays, 'Tho' Barbarous Nations are 'ignorant of Honours, yet they affect to be ho-'nour'd above meaſure, and are quickly touch'd 'and incens'd with any Signs of Diſgrace and 'Contempt, but their Anger was ſoon al-'lay'd [a].

The King's Arts to fill his Treaſures and enrich himſelf.

Henry enjoying now days of Peace, employ'd himſelf to find out all means poſſible to fill his Treaſury, and watched all Occaſions to enrich himſelf; and the firſt thing he attempted this way, was this. *Roger* Archbiſhop of *York* dy'd very rich, and in his Sickneſs diſpos'd of very great Sums by Will to godly Uſes; which as ſoon as the King had Intelligence of, he ſent Commiſſioners to ſeize them for his Uſe, becauſe as he alledg'd, he had acted againſt a Canon of his own making; which was, *That it is againſt Law for any Eccleſiaſtical Perſon to diſpoſe of any thing by Will, unleſs before he were ſick.* The Commiſſioners in Proſecution of their Office having found out, that *Hugh* Biſhop of *Durham* had receiv'd three hundred Marks of Silver of the Archbiſhop's Money to be beſtow'd in thoſe Uſes, demanded the ſame for the King; but the Biſhop ſaid, 'He 'had diſpoſed of the Money according to the 'Archbiſhop's Will to the Leprous, Blind and 'Lame, and in repairing Churches, Bridges and 'Hoſpitals; and if they would have the Money, 'they muſt take it of them: Which round Anſwer ſo diſpleaſed the King, that he ſeiz'd upon his Caſtle of *Durham*, and brought him into many Troubles. The King's Revenues (beſides his Demeſns and the Benefit of his Foreſts) were but A. D. 118 Reg. 26. ſmall in *England*, which caus'd him ſometimes to make bold with the Church, and keep the Biſhopricks and Benefices vacant, as he did that of *Lincoln* eighteen Years. He made a new Coin in *England*, and cry'd down the old, fining all the Corrupters of the Coin very heavily: And becauſe the Charge of Horſe and Armour was very burthenſome to him, to ſave his own Purſe he cauſed every Man's Lands and Eſtate to be rated for the furniſhing out of them. This Method he began to take firſt in his Dominions beyond Sea; where he order'd, 'That all that had 100 *l.* 'of *Anjovin* Money in Goods and Chattels, ſhould 'find an Horſe, and all Military Furniture belong-'ing to it; and all that had 40, 30, or 20 *l.* of 'Anjovin Money, ſhould find a Croſlet, Head-'piece and Sword, or a Bow and Arrows, with 'a ſtrict Prohibition, That no Man ſhould ſell or 'pawn his Armour, but leave it when he died, 'to his next Heir. And this Conſtitution he eſtabliſh'd in *England* by the Conſent of his Parliament. The King of *France* and the Earl of *Flanders*, much liking his politick Invention, made the like Conſtitutions in their Country.

His Device to raiſe Horſe for his War.

His great Expences. 1181. Reg. 27.

But notwithſtanding all his Arts of getting and ſaving, he could hardly get much more than to ſupply his large Expences, which he was oblig'd to be at in ſo large Dominions, for Entertainments, Penſions and Rewards, Buildings and Fortifications, beſides his extraordinary Diſburſements, which either for Honour or Policy he was forced to; for he was often fain to bribe the Pope's Legates, to make them favourable to him in the Buſineſs he had with the King of *France*, about ſending ſuch Supplies to the Holy War, as might be ſufficient, and for his Reputation. In the Year 1182. he reliev'd the Neceſſities of the Chriſtians at *Jeruſalem* with a Royal Bounty, giving them forty two thouſand Marks of Silver, and five hundred Marks of Gold, which is in our Money 47333 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* And when Pope *Lucius*, being reduced to very great Streights by the People of *Rome*, deſired his Aſſiſtance, he ſent him a very great Sum of Gold and Silver, which he levied of the Clergy, partly at their own Deſire: For when the Pope's Nuncio's came to deſire the ſame, they went to the King and adviſed him, 'That he ſhould ſupply his Wants, 'as he thought was convenient for his Honour, 'both for himſelf and them; becauſe it was bet-'ter that their King ſhould receive any Impoſi-'tion laid upon them than the Pope, leſt it 'ſhould be an ill Preſident, and beget a Cuſtom, 'which may prove of very great Detriment to 'the Kingdom.

1182. Reg. 28.

The King and Sons fall out. 1183. Reg. 29.

The Peace made between the two Kings, the Father and Son, had now continu'd about eight Years, when a freſh Quarrel broke out between them upon this Occaſion, as far as can be gather'd from the uncertain Relations of thoſe Times. In the 29th Year of his Reign he kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Cane* in *Normandy*, and feaſted moſt magnificently his Sons, *Henry*, *Richard*, and *Jeffrey*, with the Duke of *Saxony*, his Wife and Children, and all the Nobility of thoſe Parts. At this Meeting the King adviſed his Son *Henry* to take the Homages of his Brothers *Richard* Earl of *Poictou*, and *Jeffrey* Earl of *Britain*. *Richard* at firſt refuſed to do it, but upon Perſuaſion offer'd it, but was then refuſed: Whereupon he departed into *Anjou* from his Father's Court, to fortifie and furniſh his Caſtles there. The King his Bro-

1 ther

[a] Prince *John* did not go for *Ireland* till the Year 1185. He was ſtil'd King of that Iſland, and had a Crown of Peacocks Feathers, interwoven with Gold, ſent him by Pope *Lucius* the 3d.

A. D. 1183. Reg. 29.

ther follows him, being put upon it by the Barons of *Poictou* and *Aquitain*, who deserted *Richard*, as sensible [a] that he could not long hold his Dominions against his Brother's Power and better Title; and *Jeffrey*, Earl of *Britain*, joyned his Forces with the King his Brother. *Richard* being over-power'd, sent for Assistance to his Father, who immediately came into *Poictou*, not to make War, but constrain his three Sons to a Peace, with a powerful Army; by which he soon effected it, and brought them to swear Obedience to him, and to live in Peace one with another, which was ratified not long after at *Mirabel*, and the Barons of *Poictou*, and *Aquitain* at the Desire of *Henry* (who had sworn to defend them against his Brother *Richard*) included in it, and *Richard* made to Promise them a Pardon for all Acts formerly committed, *Jeffrey* Earl of *Britain* being sent to bring them in to joyn in it. But the Barons, judging this Peace either not safe or unprofitable, were so far from complying, that they over-persuaded *Jeffrey* to assist them against his Father, and kept him with them. *Henry* the Son notwithstanding, still mediates for them with his Father and Brother, to receive them into Favour; and undertaking to bring them in, with his Brother *Jeffrey*, is permitted by his Father to go and treat with them at *Limoges*. The King himself, desirous to confer with his Sons and compose this Quarrel, came, as was agreed, another way: But they both met with an unwelcome Reception, the Father being in very great Danger of being shot twice [b]; and the Son and being able to prevail with them to submit after repeated Tenders of Pardon and Favour. This Obstinacy of the Barons so troubled the young King, that upon his return to his Father, he protested that he would renounce them, if they would not come and yield themselves to his Mercy; and as if he had resolv'd to forsake their Party, gave his Father fresh Assurances of his own firm Adherence to him, by delivering up to him his Horse and Armour. But he continued not in his Fidelity many days; for either thro' the Instigation of some disaffected Ministers about him, or else because he saw his Father intended a severe Revenge upon them, whom he had promised to secure, but he could not do it if he stay'd with him, he again enters into a League with them. But finding his Power to come far short of his Design, and despairing of Success, he burst out into an extravagant Passion before his Father, and falling down before S. *Martial*'s Shrine, vow'd to take upon him the Cross, and give over all Worldly Business, and unless he would give him leave (without which he could not go) he would instantly kill himself. His Father being amaz'd at this sudden and strange Passion, first asked him, Whether any Discontent or Religious Zeal had induc'd him to make this Vow: The Son protests, That it was merely to obtain the Remission of those Sins he had committed against his Person. His Father much dissuaded him from this Purpose; but finding him very obstinate, and resolv'd after all the Arguments he could use, he said unto him, 'Son, God's 'Will be done, and your's: If you will go, I 'will take care to fit you out according to your 'Greatness and State. The Son (while his Father was pliable) besought him to deal mercifully with the Barons, who held out the Castle of *Limoges* against him; and by Importunity obtain'd it, upon condition, That they should give him Pledges for their Fidelity for the future, which they seem'd contented to do. But in the Performance of the Condition, some who were against this Peace made such Disturbances, that all former Tenders and Conclusions were broken; and the young Princes fell again into open Rebellion with their Confederates against him, and being made Heads of the Faction, were forced to commit Theft and Sacrilege to support their Adherents. The Father immedeiately besieges *Limoges*; and the Son, who was enrag'd against him very unwillingly, fell into a Fever and Flux, which was caused by the Grief and Vexation of his Mind, by which in a few days he died. A Prince of excellent Parts, but ruin'd by his Father's Indulgence and Rigour; who never suffer'd him to be a King, tho' he made him one by his Coronation, putting those Desires of Majesty in his Heart which he was forced to break, that he might suppress them. The King was extreamly grieved at the Death of his Son, but did not desist from his Revenge he had begun against the Barons of *Aquitain*, whom he furiously prosecuted, seiz'd on their Castles, and rased that of *Limoges* to the Ground. *Jeffrey* upon his Submission was again receiv'd into Favour, but dy'd the next Year at *Paris*, being in a Tournament there trodden to Death by Horses [c]: And thus *Henry* liv'd to see half his Male-issue extinct before him, and that by Deaths as violent as their Dispositions. The other two indeed surviv'd him, but were no less miserable in their Ends, as this ensuing Story will shew.

The Young King Henry and his Father reconciled, and again at Enmity.

The Young King's Death and Character.

Jeffrey's Death. 1184.

Philip the Second, King of *France*, being now seated upon his Father's Throne (and able to effect more than his Father could) soon after the Death of King *Henry* the Son, requires that the Country of *Vexin*, which was given in Dower with his Sister *Margaret*, should be restored; but the King of *England* (who never car'd to part with any thing in his Possession) chose rather to pay Yearly seventeen thousand and fifty Pounds *Anjovin* to Queen *Dowager*, than to part with it [d]. And because he saw this Prince to be of an high Spirit and very active, and so likely to give him Disturbance in his old Age, he did Homage to him for all his Dominions he had in *France* (which he never would do to his Father, and was the first time he ever stoop'd to any Earthly Power) and sided with him against *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*, a potent Prince in those days; who had always held a fair Correspondence with *Lewis*, but was at Variance with *Philip*, because he required of him the Country of *Vermandois*, as belonging to his Crown, divorcing his Wife, Niece to the Earl, upon an Allegation indeed of Consanguinity, but most for her Relation to him. The Earl being joyned with *Odo* Earl *Burgogne*, the Earls of *Champagne*, *Hainalt*, *Namur*, *S. Poll*, and others, raised War upon *Philip*, and made such havock in his Country, that he was forced to agree a Peace to his own Disadvantage. Soon after this the Kings of *England* and *France* met between *Gison* and *Try*, and the King of *England* having sworn, that he would deliver *Alice* the

Philip *the Second K. of* France *his Contests with King* Henry *and the Earl of* Flanders.

[a] *Rad. de Diceto* writes, they were discontented with him for his severe Government.

[b] *Henry* and *Jeffrey* had seiz'd the Castle of *Limoges*, and shut out the King; who coming near the Castle to treat with them, the young Princes Guards shot at him, and an Arrow had certainly pierc'd his Heart if his Horse had not by chance toss'd up his Head and receiv'd it in his Forehead.

[c] The *French* Historians affirm he dy'd of a Fever, and that it was not till the Year 1186.

[d] It is 1750 *l.* only in *Rog. Hov.* Mr. *Daniel* has corrected it, and made it 1705o *Anjovin* Pounds; for 1750 *l.* that Money wou'd be a small Joynture for a Princess, an *English* Shilling was then of the same Value with a *d.* of *Anjou* Money.

A. D. 1185. Reg. 31.

French King's Sister to his Son *Richard* to Wife, the King of *France* granted her in Dower the Country of *Vexin*, as her Sister *Margaret* had before. But these Tyes held not long. The young King of *France* having contracted so great a Familarity with *Richard* the King's Son, that one Bed and Board is said to have held them, so stirred up the Jealousie of the old King, that he sent for his Son home, and caused him to swear upon the Evangelists to preserve his Fidelity to him against all Persons whatsoever. The King of *France* seeing this, laid hold upon the old Cause to pick a Quarrel, and threaten'd that he would invade and destroy *Normandy*, unless he would either deliver his Sister to *Richard* forthwith, or resign *Gisors* and the Country of *Vexin* into his hands. The news of this Action brought the two Kings to another Parly between *Gisors* and *Try*, to settle matters in difference between them, but never came to any mention of them. For the Archbishop of *Tyre* (who came from the East to obtain aid against the *Turks* in the Holy War) did with that Zeal and Earnestness of Persuasion urge that business, that these two great Princes let fall all Contentions between themselves, and with joynt consent resolved to undertake that laborious and dangerous Expedition against the Infidels.

Philip and Henry's Resolution for the Holy War.

Their Preparations for their Expedition.

And now such was the Zeal of these two Kings, that nothing was thought, or talk'd on, but preparations for that War. They agreed to raise each of them a strong Army; and for a mark of Distinction among their Followers and People, it was agreed upon, that the King of *England* should wear a White Cross, the *French* a Red, and the *Flemmings* a Green. And as a farther Engagement in this Business, the King of *England* wrote to the Patriarch of *Antioch* a most comfortable and pious Letter, concluding with these words: 'That among other Princes, he himself, and his 'Son, rejecting the Glory of this World, and de-'spising all the Pleasures thereof, in their own 'Persons, and with all their strength; did intend, 'God willing, to visit them shortly. To raise Money to defray the great Expence of this Undertaking, it was ordain'd by the two Kings, their Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, and other in both their Dominions in *France*, that all Persons, as well of the Clergy as Laity, (except only such as went with them) should pay the tenth part of all their Lands for that Year, and of all their Moveables and Chattels, as well in Gold as Silver. And besides they made many excellent Orders for the restraint of all Excesses in Meat, Drink, and Apparel, as was convenient for the Undertakers of so good and devout an Action. The King of *England* having laid these Impositions upon his Dominions in *France*, comes over into *England*, and calls a Parliament of his Bishops, Abbots, Earl, Barons, and others both of the Clergy and Laity, at *Gayntington*[a], and by their consent imposes the same Tax upon all his Subjects in *England*; and presently sends forth Collectors into every Shire to gather it, as he had done in *France*. But in all the Cities of *England* he sought out the Richest Men, as in *London* two hundred, *York* an hundred, and proportionably in the rest, which at a Time and Place appointed, he summon'd to appear before him, and took of them the tenth part of all their Moveables, as they were rated to him by credible Men, who knew their Estates; and if any refused to pay, he impriſon'd them till they did: In which Exaction, Piety bore him out, otherwise 'twould not have been endured in those times. The King also sent *Hugh* Bishop of *Duresm*, with other Commissioners, to *William* King of *Scots*, to collect the like Tenths in his Country; which that King would not allow of, but offer'd to give the King of *England* five thousand Marks of Silver, and a Castle, which he claim'd, but the King of *England* refused the same.

A Parliament to raise a Tax for the Holy War.

1186. Reg. 32.

A.D. 1186. Reg. 32.

Whilst these Preparations were making, and Money collecting, a Quarrel happen'd between *Richard* Earl of *Poictou*, and *Raymond* Earl of *Tholouse*, which blasted their whole Design, and that upon this occasion: The Earl of *Tholouse*, by the Persuasion of one *Peter Suillar*, had taken certain Merchants of *Aquitain*, and used them very hardly. The Earl of *Poictou* being displeased at it, surprizes *Peter*, imprisons him, and would not suffer the Earl of *Tholouse* to redeem him upon any condition. Whereupon that Earl imprisons two Gentlemen, Servants of the King of *England*, *Roger* and *Ralph Poer*, who were travelling through his Country, as Pilgrims from St. *James* of *Compostella*; which Earl *Richard* took so ill, that he immediately entred *Tholouse* with an Army, which he had prepared for a better design, destroys the Country with Fire and Sword, and took several Castles. The People and Earl of *Tholouse*, not able to oppose *Richard*'s Forces, made their Complaints to the King of *France*, who sends to the King of *England* to know, whether his Son *Richard* had done this by his advice or consent? The King answer'd, That he had given neither to his Son; but that his Son had sent him word by the Archbishop of *Doublin*, that he did it with the consent of the King of *France* This that King look'd upon as a delusory Answer; and therefore presently enters *Berry*, seizes on that Country, and takes divers Castles belonging to the King of *England*. This Act of Hostility broke all measures laid for the Holy War, and they fell into open and violent Wars between themselves. The Pope by his Legates, and many other Princes, endeavour'd to reconcile these enraged Kings, and brought them to many interviews, but all to no purpose; they went away usually greater Enemies then they came. The Pope's Legates looking upon the *French* King the cause of this lamentable Breach, threaten'd him, unless he would make a Peace with the King of *England*, to interdict him; but the *French* King told them, he feared not their Sentence, being grounded upon no Equity, and it not belonging to the Church of *Rome* by any Sentence to hinder the King of *France* from chastizing his Rebellious Subjects; and added, *That they smelt of the Sterlings of England.* This produced a worse effect than any thing that had hitherto been done. For the King of *England* upon this Occasion utterly refusing to give *Alice*, the *French* King's Sister, to *Richard*, tho' he offer'd to give her to his Son *John* with larger Conditions, so angred his Son *Richard*, that he fell to the King of *France*, did Homage to him for the Dukedom of *Aquitain*, and joyn'd his Forces with him against his Father. This quite broke the Heart of the King of *England*, and as if he had been wholly deserted of his ancient Courage, as well as of many of his Subjects, buckles to any Conditions, leaves the Defence of *Mans*, (which he had undertaken by Oath never to forsake, by reason it was the Tomb of his Father) and flies away with seven hundred Men; and afterward[b] did Homage to the King of *France*

The Designs for the Holy War laid aside, upon what occasion.

1187. Reg. 33.

King Henry's degeneracy from his wonted Courage.

[a] The Assembly met at *Gaytington*, now *Gayton*, about ten Miles from *Northampton*, in *January* 1188. *Reg. Hov.*

[b] He did Homage for his Transmarine Dominions on St. *Nicholas*-day, *Anno* 1183. almost six Years before.

A. D. 1189. Reg. 35.

France for all his Dominions on that ſide the Sea, renders up *Alice* to his Son *Richard*, upon Condition ſhe ſhould be marry'd to him when he return'd from the Holy War, and in the mean time remain in the Cuſtody of any one of ſuch five as the King of *England* ſhould nominate; grants Fealty ſhould be given to *Richard* of all his Dominions, and pardons all his adherents, covenants to pay the King of *France* twenty thouſand Marks in Silver, as a reparation of the Damages he had ſuſtain'd the laſt War. And as if he had been affrighted out of his Reaſon and Wit at thoſe Thunderclaps, which are ſaid to have happen'd at ſome Interviews between himſelf and King of *France*, he permitted, that in caſe he ſhould not perform theſe Articles, his Barons ſhould ſwear to renounce him, and betake themſelves to the King of *France* and Earl *Richard*; and for more ſecurity, he yielded up the Cities of *Mon* and *Turien*, with divers other Caſtles into their hands, *&c.* And thus having concluded this buſineſs, he ended alſo his Life three days after, the greatneſs of his Heart not being able to ſtoop under the weight of his declining Fortune, and therefore with grief and ſorrow broke. Some few hours before he dy'd he ſaw a Liſt of their Names, who had conſpired againſt him, with the King of *France* and his Son *Richard*; and finding among them his Son *John* to be the firſt, he fell into a very extravagent Paſſion, curſing his Son's and his own Birth, and in that Fit of Anger departed the World, which he had ſo often diſturb'd, having reign'd [a] thirty five Years, ſeven Months, and five Days. After he was dead, and was carrying to be buried (adorned, according to the manner of Kings, with all Royal Ornaments open fac'd) when his Son *Richard* drew near his Body, the Blood guſhed out of the Noſtrils (which being uſually noted, as a Sign of Guiltineſs) may rightly be accounted as a Voice of Nature giving notice of the Wrongs and unnatural Offences *Richard* had done to him, which was ſo interpreted by *Richard* himſelf; for at the Sight of it being ſurpriz'd, he is ſaid to have burſt out into extream Sorrow and Lamentations. He had by his Wife *Eleanor* ſeveral Children, *viz.* four Sons; *Henry*, *Richard*, *Jeffrey*, and *John*, beſides two, *viz.* *William* the eldeſt, and *Philip* the youngeſt but one, which dy'd young; and three Daughters *viz.* *Maud*, married to *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*, *Eleanor*, who was given to *Alphonſo* VIII. King of *Caſtile*, and *Joanna*, who was married to *William* King of *Sicily*. He had alſo two Natural Sons by his Concubine Fair *Roſamond*, Daughter of *Walter* Lord *Clifford*. viz. *William* ſurnam'd *Longeſpee* or *Long-Sword*, and *Jeffrey* Archbiſhop of *York*, who after five Years Baniſhment in his Brother King *John*'s time, died *Anno Dom* 1213. The other Son *William Longeſpee*, who was Earl of *Salisbury* in Right of *Ela* his Wife, Daughter and only Heireſs of *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, Son of *Patricke*, had Iſſue *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Stephen* Earl of *Ulſter*, *Elea* Counteſs of *Warwick*, *Ida* Lady *Beauchamp* of *Bedford*, and *Iſabel* Lady *Veſey*. It is ſaid, that King *Henry* had a third Natural Son call'd *Morgan*, by the Wife of one [b] *Rodolph Bloeth*, or *Blewit*, a Knight. He liv'd to be Provoſt of *Beverly*, and was elected to the Biſhoprick of *Durham*; and coming to *Rome* for a Diſpenſation (becauſe his Baſtardy made him uncapable of it) the Pope adviſed him to profeſs himſelf as *Blewit*'s Lawful Son, and not the King's Natural, promiſing him to conſecrate him on that Condition; but he (by the Counſel of one *William Lane* his Chaplain) told the Pope plainly, that he would not renounce his Father, or deny himſelf to be of the Royal Blood to gain the greateſt Earthly Promotion.

His Death.

His Iſſue by Queen Eleanor, and Natural Children.

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES *in the Reign of* Henry II.

IN the 6th Year of his Reign thirty *German* Hereticks came into *England* to propagate their Opinions: One *Gerard* was their Teacher. They ſaid they were *Chriſtians*, but deny'd *Baptiſm*, the *Lord's Supper*, and *Matrimony*; for which they were condemn'd by a *Council* of Biſhops at *Oxford*, and deliver'd over to the Secular Power to be puniſh'd: Accordingly they were mark'd in the Forehead with a red hot Iron, whipp'd and thruſt out of Doors naked in the midſt of Winter: Where none daring to relieve them, an Order having been publiſh'd to the Contrary, they dy'd of Hunger and Cold, and were the firſt that ever ſuffer'd for Hereſie in *England*.

In his 14th Year *Robert* Biſhop of *Lincoln* dy'd, and the King kept his See vacant ſeventeen Years, himſelf all that while receiving the Revenues of that Dioceſs. *Hol.*

In his 18th Year a mighty Tempeſt happen'd in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and three Men were kill'd by Thunder and Lightning, at *Andover* in *Hampſhire*, on *Chriſtmas-Day*. *Hol.*

The ſame Year as King *Henry* was about to take Horſe at *Cardiffe* in *Glamorganſhire*, an Apparition appear'd to him; and having threaten'd him with ſome dreadful Plagues if he did not amend his Life, it vaniſh'd. *Ibid.*

The next Year this Infamous Collect was order'd to be us'd in all Churches in the Province of *Canterbury*, to expiate the Guilt of *Becket*'s Murther.

> *Be favourable, good Lord, to our Supplication and Prayer; that we which acknowledge our ſelves guilty of Iniquity, may be deliver'd by the Interceſſion of* Thomas *thy Bleſſed Martyr and Biſhop.* Ibid.

In his 23d Year it rain'd Blood in the *Iſle of Wight* for two days. *Ibid.*

In his 26th Year, on the 18th of *June*, after Sun-ſet, the New Moon then ſhining out fair with her Horns to the Eaſt, the upper Horn on a ſudden ſeem'd to be divided into two; out of which there appear'd to riſe a burning Brand, caſting forth Sparks and Flames as if it had been on fire. The Body of the Moon ſeem'd to wriggle like an Adder that is beaten: It did ſo above twelve times,

[a] King *Stephen* dy'd the 25th of *October*, 1154. and King *Henry* the Second, the 6th of *July*, 1189. and dating the Commencement of King *Henry*'s Reign from the Day of *Stephen*'s Death, he reign'd thirty four Years, eight Months, and nineteen Days.

[b] Sir *Ralph Blewit*.

times, and then turn'd black. In *September*, the Moon being about twenty ſeven days old, at ſix a Clock a Partile Eclipſe of the Sun happen'd; its Body appear'd to be horn'd, the Horns ſhooting towards the Weſt, as the Moon does at twenty days old: The reſt of it was cover'd with a black Roundel, which coming down by little and little, threw about the horn'd Brightneſs that remain'd, till both the Horns hung down on either ſide towards the Earth; and as the black Roundel went a little forwards, the Horns turn'd to the Weſt, and the Blackneſs paſſing away, the Sun recover'd his former Brightneſs. *Hol.*

In the Chriſtmas Holidays, *Anno* 1179. the 26th of *Henry* II. ſays *Rog. Hov.* near *Derlington*, in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, at a place call'd *Oxen-Hall*, the Earth rais'd it ſelf up like a lofty Tower, and remain'd ſeveral Hours in that poſture; on a ſudden it ſunk down again with a horrid Noiſe, and the Earth ſo ſuck'd it in, that it made there a deep Pit, which continues to this day. And Mr. *Cambden*, in his *Britannia*, new Edit. p. 774. ſuppoſes it to be the Wells that are now call'd *Hell-Kettles.*

In the Year 1185. there was ſo great an Earthquake as overthrew the Church of *Lincoln*, and other Churches. There was alſo almoſt a total Eclipſe of the Sun.

In the 34th Year of his Reign a Crucifix was ſeen in the Air at *Dunſtable*, and Streams of Blood ſeem'd to flow out of the Wounds of the Feet, Hands and Sides; 'twas viſible ſeveral Hours. *Hol.*

In the laſt Year of this King, Mr. *Holinſhead* (who is apt to take too much notice of theſe things) reports, That the Fiſh leap'd out of the Water in a Pool in *Normandy*, and fought together on dry Land, with ſuch noiſe as drew the neighbouring People to behold this Wonder; which, it ſeems, was in the Night-time.

Men Famous in Arms in this King's Reign were

Robert Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Hugh Bygot* Earl of *Norfolk*, *Reginald* Earl of *Cornwall*, *Roger Ferrers* Earl of *Derby*, *Richard Lacy*, *Roger Mowbray*, *Ralph de Fulgiers*, *Humphry Bohun* Conſtable of *England*, *William Veſey* and *Bernard de Baliol.*

Thoſe that follow were Renown'd for their Learning, Viz.

Ralph Glanville the Lawyer, *Nicholas Breakſpear*, who was Pope by the Name of *Adrian* the Fourth, *Gilbert de Sempringham*, *John Serlo*, ſurnam'd *Grammaticus*, Abbot of *Fountains*, *John* Prior of *Hagulſtad* or *Hexam* in *Northumberland.*

Hiſtorians: *Adam* of *Eveſham*, *Thomas* of *Monmouth*, *John* of *Salisbury* in great Favour with the King: *Adelbortus Levita*, *Gervaiſe* of *Ciceſter*, *Odo* of *Kent*, *Clement* Prior of *Lanthony*, *Walter Daniell*, *Robert Knought*, *Robert Foliot*, *William Ramſey*, *Senatus Bravonus*, *Robert* the Scribe, *Odo Miremuth*, *Hugh* of *Reading*, *Richard* of *Dover*, *William* of *Peterborough*, and *Bartholomew Iſcanus.*

THE LIFE and REIGN OF RICHARD I.

Richard *began his Reign.* July. A. D. 1189. Reg. 1.

RICHARD, ſurnam'd *Cœur de Lion*, Earl of *Poictou*, (born at *Oxford*) ſucceeded his Father in all his Dominions, and firſt ſeizes upon his Treaſures in *France*, which being then in the Cuſtody of one *Stephen Thurnham*, Seneſchal of *Normandy*, he impriſon'd the Treaſurer, that he might by Severities extort the full Sums in his Hands [a]; which having gotten, he departed to *Roan*, where he was girded with the Sword of *Normandy*, by *Walter* Archbiſhop [b] there, and took Fealty of the Clergy and Laity. Then he went to the King of *France* to agree with him about the Reſtitution of ſome parcels of his Dominions, which had been taken from his Father in the late Wars, which he obtain'd not by his old Friendſhip, but his Money [c]; and to confirm a laſting Amity between them, he gave his Niece *Maud*, the Daughter of the Duke of *Saxony*, to *Jeffrey* the Earl of *Perch*'s Son. While he continu'd in *France* to ſettle his Affairs there, Queen *Eleanor* his Mother, whom he had freed from a long Impriſonment of twelve Years, and put into Power in his abſence, endeavour'd to prepare his People's Affections for his coming into *England*, by iſſuing out Pardons, and relieving Oppreſſions; and at laſt went to meet him at *Wincheſter*, and welcome him into *England.* A. D. 1189. Reg. 1.

His great Treaſures and Coronation.

Soon after his arrival (beſides the great Sum which came to him by his Father's Treaſure, which is ſaid to been have nine hundred thouſand Pounds [d] in Gold

[a] 'Tis ſaid, he was Seneſchal of *Anjou* and ſent over to *Wincheſter*, where he was kept in Priſon, in Fetters of thirty Pounds weight, till he had paid thirty thouſand Pounds of *Anjovin* Money down, and given Security for fifteen thouſand more.

[b] Archbiſhop of *Roan.*

[c] He gave four thouſand Marks above the twenty thouſand his Father had agreed to pay the *French* King.

[d] *Matt. Paris* writes, There was found ninety thouſand Pounds in Money, beſides Jewels and other Treaſures.

KING RICHARD THE I.st

A. D. 1189. Reg. 1.

Gold and Silver, with abundance of Plate, Jewels and precious Stones) there fell to him by the Death of *Jeffrey Riddle* Biſhop of *Ely*, dying inteſtate, three thouſand and ſixty Marks of Silver, and two hundred and five of Gold, which befel him in a fit ſeaſon to defray the Charge of his Coronation, which was perform'd a little after, viz. *September*[a] 3. 1189. at *Weſtminſter* by *Baldwin* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. On his Coronation there happen'd an unlucky Accident, which ſtained that Day with Blood. The *Jews* inhabiting about the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, deſirous to gain the Favour of the new King, came to offer their Preſents, as an afflicted People in a ſtrange Country; but the Rabble, who before were incenſed againſt them, ſet upon them, and in a tumultuous manner ſo uſed them, that they loſt both their Lives and Money; and their Example was follow'd in the Towns of *Norwich*, *St. Edmundsbury*, *Lincoln*, *Stamford*, and *Lin.*

The Jews maſſacred.

His Expedition into the Holy Land, and his Proviſion for it.

After his Coronation he reſumed the Thoughts of his Expedition to *Jeruſalem*, and reſolved to go through with it. The great Treaſure which was left him by his Father was not thought ſufficient to defray the Expence of that Action, and therefore he contrived all the Ways he could to raiſe more Money. And firſt he ſold many of the Crown-Lands both to the Clergy and others: *Godfrey de Lucy* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* bought two Manours, *Weregrave* and *Menes*; the Abbot of *St. Edmunsbury* the Manour of *Mildhall* for a thouſand Marks of Silver; the Biſhop of *Durham* the Manour of *Sadborough*[b], with the Palatinate Dignity of the whole Province, which gave occaſion to that Jocoſe Speech of his concerning that Biſhop, That he was a cunning Workman, that could make a New Earl of an old Biſhop. He alſo granted to *William* King of *Scots* the Caſtles of *Berwick* and *Roxborough* for ten thouſand Marks, and gave him a Releaſe from thoſe Covenants made and confirmed by Charter to King *Henry* II. as extorted from him by force while he was a Priſoner; but reſerving to himſelf ſuch Rights as were and had been performed by his Brother *Melcolm* to his Anceſtors the Kings of *England*. Farther, pretending that his Signet was loſt, he made a new one, and put out a Proclamation, That whoever would enjoy peaceably the Grants made under the former Seal, muſt have them confirm'd by the New; by which means he brought in great Sums of Money to the grief of his Subjects. Then he procured a Power from the Pope of diſpenſing with ſuch Perſons as had vow'd to take the Croſs, and were not willing to go, he got great Fines of them. All which Monies he levy'd with great Expedition, becauſe the King of *France* in *November* after his Coronation, had ſent the Earl of *Perch*, with other Commiſſioners, to acquaint King *Richard*, that in a general Aſſembly at *Paris* he had ſolemnly ſworn upon the Evangeliſts to be ready at *Tours*, with all his Princes and People who had undertaken the Croſs, upon *Eaſter-day* following, and from thence to ſet forward to the Holy Land; and to aſſure him of this his Reſolution, he ſent a Charter of their Agreement, deſiring the King of *England* to ſend him the ſame aſſurance to meet him at the ſame Time and Place; which the King did at a general Aſſembly held at *London*. In *December*, the King, having ſtay'd but four Months in *England* after his Coronation, departs into *Normandy*; kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Rouen*; and preſently had a Conference with the King of *France* at *Reimes*, where both themſelves, and moſt of the Nobility of both Kingdoms, enter'd into a firm Peace and Union one with another, to preſerve each other, and their Eſtates; and agreed upon many Orders for their Journey. Theſe things being ſettled, *Richard* ſent for Queen *Eleanor* his Mother, his Brother *John* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Durham*, *Norwich*, *Bath*, *Saliſbury*, *Ely*, *Cheſter*, and others, who came unto him at *Rouen*, where he committed the chief Charge of the Kingdom to *William Longchamp* Biſhop of *Ely*, under the Title of Chief Juſtice of *England*, and gave him one of his Seals, and the Cuſtody of the Tower of *London*; and conferr'd upon *Hugh* Biſhop of *Durham* the ſupream Command of the North, from *Humber* to *Scotland*, and the keeping of *Windſor*-Caſtle, which proved after a cauſe of Quarrel between theſe two ambitious Prelates, who were impatient of each other's Greatneſs. *Hugh Bardulph*, *William Marſhall*, *Jeffrey Fitz-Peter*, and *William Brewer*, were joyn'd in Commiſſion with the Biſhop of *Ely*. The King knowing the ambitious Mind of his Brother *John*, dare not truſt him in the Commiſſion; but leſt he ſhould cauſe any Diſturbance in his abſence, he cauſed him to take an Oath[c], that he would not come into his Kingdom of *England* for the ſpace of three Years next following; and that he might be obliged the more to behave himſelf peaceably, he conferr'd upon him the Earldoms of *Mortaigne*, *Cornwall*, *Devonſhire*, *Dorſet*, *Somerſet*, *Nottingham*, *Darby*, and *Lancaſter*; which, with the Earldom of *Gloceſter*, the Honour of *Wallingford*, *Tichill*, and *Eye*, and Caſtles of *Marlborough* and *Lutgarſal*, which he had by his Wife *Iſabel*, Daughter of the Earl of *Gloceſter*, made him a very great and powerful Prince; but were ſo far from contenting his Mind, that they only increaſed his Deſires of more, and made him a dangerous Subject, whenever an opportunity ſhould offer. The King having thus provided for the Safety of his Kingdom, and Government of it, ſends the Biſhop of *Ely* his Vice-Roy[d] over into *England*; and to make his Reputation the greater, he procured of the Pope to make him his Legate over all *England* and *Scotland*; confining the Archbiſhop of *York*, his Baſe Brother, to *Normandy*, till his return, leſt he alſo through Emulation might moleſt his Kingdom: And being thus ſecured, commanded him to provide what Neceſſaries he could for his intended Voyage. The Biſhop of *Ely* furniſh'd with this ample Authority, begins his Reign with much Zeal for his Maſter's Service, but Offence to the People, whom he grievouſly oppreſſed by his rigorous Exactions: For he took from every City in *England* four Horſes of Service[e], and of every Abby one; and ſo of all the King's Manours. And to ſhew how he would prove, he took the Caſtle of *Windſor* from the Biſhop of *Durham*, and confined him within his Town of *Howedon*, queſtioning his Authority, and depreſſing him; notwithſtanding he made his Application to the King himſelf.

A. D. 1189. Reg. 1.

The Government in his abſence committed to the Biſhop of Ely.

The Vice-Roy ſent into England to provide for his Maſter's Voyage.

The King having now gotten all things ready for his Expedition, and order'd his Navy to convoy his People and Proviſion to the Holy Land; the Charge of which he committed to the Archbiſhop of *Auxerre*, Biſhop of *Bayon*, *Robert de Sabul*, and *Richard Canvile*[f]; he ſet forward with all

The King's ſetting out for the Holy Land, and Voyage to Sicily.

[a] *Gervaiſe* of *Canterbury* ſays, 'twas the 2d of *September*.
[b] *Sadbery*, *Roger Hoveden* ſays, he ſold him the Earldom of *Northumberland*.
[c] He releas'd his Brother *John* from his Oath, and gave him leave to return to *England* upon his taking another Oath, that he would faithfully ſerve him in his abſence.
[d] Chief Juſtice of *England*. [e] Two Saddle-Horſes, and two Sumpters.
[f] His Admirals were *Richard de Canville* and *William de Forz*.

A. D. 1189. Reg. 1.

all his Forces at the latter end of *June*, in the Company of the King of *France* to *Lyons*, where their People growing ſo numerous, that they were troubleſome to each other, the two Kings parted; the King of *France* went to *Genoua* by Land, and the King of *England* to *Marſailles*, where having ſtay'd eight Days, expecting his Fleet, which was kept back by Tempeſts, he was forced to hire ten great Ships, and twenty Galleys to tranſport him and his Army into *Sicily*. The King of *France*, who had taken Ship at *Genoua*, was likewiſe driven by Tempeſt upon the ſame Iſle. They were forced both to winter there, becauſe the *French* King's Ships were ſo ſhatter'd by the Tempeſt, that they could not go farther till repaired,

1190. and *Richard* expected his own Navy, which cauſed great Troubles to the Iſle [a], as well as themſelves, the *Engliſh* and *French* not agreeing. *William* late King of *Sicily*, who marry'd *Joanna* the King of *England*'s Siſter, was dead, and *Tancred*, baſe Son of *Roger*, *William*'s Grandfather, was inveſted in the Kingdom, contrary to the Will of the ſaid King, and the People's Oath to *Conſtantia*, the lawful Daughter of the ſaid *Roger*, who was married to *Henry* the eldeſt Son of the Emperor *Frederick Barbaroſſa*. This Match created *Tancred* very powerful Enemies, againſt whoſe Force he could hardly hold his Kingdom; but after the King of *England*'s coming he much ſtrenghten'd himſelf, by making a League with that King, to defend him and his Kingdom, upon Condition he ſhould pay his Siſter twenty thouſand Ounces of Gold for her Dower, and twenty thouſand more upon a Match betwen *Arthur* Earl of *Britain*, his Brother *Jeffrey*'s Son, and then Heir of his Crown, and *Tancred*'s Daughter [b].

Tancred King of Sicily.

King Richard conquer'd Cyprus, where he marry'd.

At the beginning of the Spring the two Kings having entred into a new League, and ſigned ſeveral Articles and Agreements of Peace, as their Conteſts in the Iſle oblig'd them to, the King of *France* firſt ſets forward to the Holy Land; but the King of *England* being detained by the coming of his Mother *Eleanor*, which brought *Berengera*, Daughter of the King of *Navarre*, to be affianced to him, ſtay'd [c] upon that account till *Whitſuntide* after, when the Queen return'd home, and the King with his Siſter, the Queen Dowager of *Sicily*, and the young Lady, proceeded on his Journey with an hundred and thirty Ships, and fifty Gallies. In his way he was by a Tempeſt driven [d] upon the Iſle of *Cyprus*, and being deny'd entrance, he beſet the Iſle on all ſides, aſſaulted and took it; and placing Garriſons in it, he committed the Cuſtody of it to *Richard de Canville* and *Robert de Turnham*, taking half the Goods of the Inhabitants from them, to confirm the uſe of their own Laws. And here our Hiſtories ſay, that he marry'd the Lady *Berengera*, and had

1191. her crown'd Queen [e]. From hence paſſed this famous King to the Holy Land, loaden with the Spoils and Treaſure of three noble and rich Iſlands, *England*, *Sicily*, and *Cyprus*, beſides what he had gotten out of *Normandy* and *Guien*, which he conſumed there, tho' to the great Honour of our *Engliſh* Nation, by his Heroick Actions, of which before I come to give an Account, I ſhall give a ſhort Relation of the State of Affairs in *Aſia*, which drew theſe two potent Kings from the utmoſt Borders of *Europe* to venture themſelves, and ſpend their Revenues there.

A. D. 1191. Reg. 3

The State of the Holy Land at this time.

It was now eighty four Years ſince *Godfrey* of *Boloigne*, Duke of *Lorrain*, with the Confederate Princes and their Aſſociates, had recover'd the City of *Jeruſalem*, with the Country of *Paleſtine*, and a great part of *Syria*, out of the hands of the *Sarazens*; and having obtain'd the Government of it by Election, was crown'd with a Crown of Thorns, in imitation of our Saviour, but reign'd but one Year. *Baldwin* his Brother ſucceeded him, and govern'd eighteen Years, and was ſucceeded by *Baldwin de Burgo*, who, having ruled thirteen, dy'd, and left only one Daughter, and the Kingdom in Diſſention. *Fulke* Earl of *Anjou* coming three Years before, marry'd this Daughter, and enjoy'd the Kingdom eleven Years, leaving two young Sons by her, *Baldwin* and *Almericke*, who ſucceſſively inherited their Father's Throne, and had it, the firſt twenty four, and the other twelve Years. The laſt left a Son of his own Name to ſucceed him; but he having no Iſſue, made *Baldwin* his Nephew, Son to his Siſter *Sybil*, who was married to the Marquis of *Montferrat*, his Heir, committing the Charge of him, and Kingdom in his younger Years to *Raimond* Earl of *Tripolis*. But *Guy* of *Luſignan*, who after the Death of the Marquis of *Montferrat*, marry'd *Sybil* his widow, ſoon put him from his Charge, not ſo much for any Love he had to the young Prince, as his Kingdom, which he firſt got the Adminiſtration, and then the Poſſeſſion of, by poiſoning (as was ſuppoſed) the young Prince. *Raimond* endeavour'd by Arms to regain his Truſt, and put *Guy* of *Luſignan* ſo hard to it, that he was forced to beg the aſſiſtance of *Saladine* Sultan of *Egypt*, who glad of this occaſion to increaſe his own Dominions, deſtroy'd them both, and gain'd their Kingdom; taking the Cities of *Ptolomais*, *Aſotus*, *Byrethus*, *Aſcalon*, and after one Month's Siege *Jeruſalem* it ſelf, eighty eight Years after it had been conquer'd by *Godfrey*. Againſt this mighty Prince, who was not only an experienced Commander, and Ruler of very large Dominions, but fluſh'd with Victories over the Chriſtians, did theſe two Kings, with an Army of ſeveral Nations, viz. *Engliſh*, *French*, *Italians* and *Germans*, march; and at their firſt Arrival ſet down before *Acon*, a City of *Judea*, defended by *Saladino* againſt the Chriſtians, who had beſieg'd it three Years. Many worthy Princes and noble Perſons had loſt their Lives before it, *viz. Conradus* Duke of *Suevia*, the Emperor *Frederick*'s Son, the Earls of *Perch*, *Pontiff*, and *Blois*, *Stephen* Earl of *Sancerre*, *Berteldus* Duke of *Germany*, and *Roger* and *Joſelin* Earls of *Apulia*; and [f] of *England*, *Baldwin* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Ralph de Glanvile* Chief Juſtice of *England*, *Richard de Clare*

Saladine Sultan of Egypt conquers Jeruſalem.

[a] King *Richard* took the City of *Meſſina*.

[b] *Jeffrey Vineſauf*, a learned Hiſtorian of thoſe Times, and the Author of King *Richard*'s Travels to *Jeruſalem*, writes That he gave him twenty thouſand Ounces more, to be free from all other Demands for the Plate, and other rich Moveables, belonging to the late King, Husband to King *Richard*'s Siſter *Joanna*. The ſame Authors relate, That *Richard* divided this vaſt Sum with the King of *France*, *Philip* the Auguſt, his Fellow-Traveller, tho' he had no manner of Pretenſions to any part of it.

[c] During his ſtay in this Iſle he is ſaid to have given himſelf much to religious Offices and Duties, confeſſing his Sins, leading a very circumſpect and pious Life; and ſending for the Abbot *Joachim* from *Calabria* to hear him preach, becauſe he was had in great eſteem for his Learning, Holineſs, and prophetick Spirit. In a Sermon before King *Richard*, the Abbot is ſaid to have deliver'd, That the Pope was Antichriſt.

[d] It drove him firſt into *Crete*, then into *Rhodes*, where he ſtay'd ten Days; and the Ship, wherein the Lady *Berengera* was, being driven into the Port of *Limezun* in *Cyprus*, the King follow'd her thither.

[e] On the 12th of *May*, 1191. they were marry'd by *John* Biſhop of *Eureux*.

[f] Some other Noble Perſons are remember'd by our Hiſtorians to have periſh'd in this Holy Expedition, whoſe Poſterity yet flouriſh, as *Ingelram de Fiennes*, the Anceſtor of the Right Honourable the Lord *Say* and *Seal*, the Lord *Dacres*, *Theophilus Clinton* Earl of *Lincoln*, whoſe Arms ſtill retain the Badges of the Holy War, Stars, Creſſants and Croſſes; as alſo *St. John*, *Minſhul*, *Tilney*, &c.

A. D. 1191. Reg. 2.

Clare and *Walter de Kime*; but all in vain, till the United Forces of those two Kings, after three Months Siege more, forced them to surrender upon Articles [a]. At the Entrance into the City, after it was taken, the Ensign of *Leopold* Duke of *Austrich*, which he had set upon the Wall, was order'd to be pull'd down by King *Richard*, and the two Kings Standards to be set up; which being ill resented, was afterwards the Cause of the King's great Misfortune. Besides, during the Siege the two Kings themselves had several Differences concerning *Richard*'s Marriage with *Berenguela*, and rejecting the *French* King's Sister, about dividing the Spoils of their Voyage; which, by their Agreement, were to be parted equally: For the King of *France* claim'd his half in *Cyprus*, and *Richard* his Share in the Earl of *Flanders*'s Goods and Estate, which the King of *France* had seiz'd; and lastly, about the Crown of *Jerusalem*, which was pretended to by *Conradus*, Marquis of *Montferrat*, and *Guy* of *Lusignan*, who married *Sibilla*, the Sister of the late King, and was in Possession of the Kingdom. The King of *England* took *Guy*'s Part, and the King of *France Conrade*'s. Thus these two Kings liv'd in continual Jars, till a dangerous Sickness through the Heat and Contagion of the Country, put an end not to them only, but almost to their Lives. As soon as they were recover'd, the King of *France* resolves to return home, where he knew was less Danger and more Honour than there; especially by the Death of the Earl of *Flanders*, whose bordering Countries he had a mind to add to his Kingdom: And therefore desires the King of *England*'s Leave (for by their Agreement, it was not lawful for them to depart without each other's Leave) to return home. King *Richard* was very hardly prevail'd with to grant it, being sensible of the Trouble he might create his Dominions in his absence: But at length, by earnest Sollicitations and Promises made by the King of *France* not to molest his Countries in *France*, he obtain'd his Desires, and so departed, leaving the Earl of *Burgogne* Lieutenant of his Forces. *Richard* soon after he was gone besieg'd *Ascalon*, and wrote invective Letters against the King of *France* for leaving him; and on the other side, the *French* King to be even with him, defam'd *Richard* among his Neighbours at home. King *Richard* staid ten Months longer, consuming both his Men and Treasure with great Valour, but little Success; the Earl of *Burgogne* by his Master's Instructions, proving always an Impediment in Matters of Importance, till his Death, which at length happen'd at *Acon*. *Conradus*, who was so much favour'd by the King of *France* in his Title to the Kingdom, was murther'd by two [b] Assassins, not without the Concurrence (as was falsly supposed) of the King of *England*. The Earl of *Champagne* marry'd his Widow, who was Sister to Queen *Sibilla*, and was by King *Richard* preferr'd to the Crown of *Jerusalem*, and *Guy* of *Lusignan* (the other Pretender to it) he made King of *Cyprus*, and so gave Content to them both.

The Kings of England and France differ.

The King of France goes home.

While these things were doing in the East, *England* suffer'd much at home under the Government of *Longchamp*, who assuming the whole Regal Authority to himself, and excluding both the Nobility and the Commissioners whom the King had joyn'd with him, did act so arbitrarily and insolently, that he became odious to the whole Kingdom, as well Clergy as Laity; which concurring with the Prejudice the *English* had against him, as a *Frenchman*, and Envy [c] for his excessive Grandure and Pride, begat a general Opposition to his Proceedings; which being encourag'd by Earl *John*, who study'd all ways to make himself popular, and usurp the Kingdom, soon brake out upon this Occasion. *Jeffrey*, Archbishop of *York* Elect, base Son to *Henry* the Second, whom *Richard*, who was averse to any Preferment of him in *England*, had confin'd to *Normandy* during his absence, obtain'd by great Labour of Pope *Celestine* a Licence to be invested in that See, and for that end came into *England*. The Chancellor *Longchamp* having Intelligence of his Arrival, met him at *Dover* to apprehend him; but the Archbishop escap'd to the Church to secure himself: *Longchamp* pursued him to the very Altar, and in a barbarous manner drawing him from thence in his Pontifical Vestments imprison'd him in the Castle. This Action gave just Cause of Offence not only to Earl *John*, but all the Bishops; who thereupon commanded the Chancellor not only to release him, but also to answer the Matter before the Assembly of Bishops and Nobles, which should meet for that purpose at St. *Paul*'s. Here divers Articles of heinous Offences committed contrary to the Commission given him, and the Interest of the King and Kingdom, were exhibited against him. The Archbishop of *Roan* also, and *William Marshall* Earl of *Striguile*, openly shew'd them the King's Letters Patents, dated at *Messina* in *Sicily*, wherein they were made Commissioners with him in the Government of the Kingdom; but alledg'd, That he never would permit them to manage any publick Business, but took upon him to do as he thought fit. Whereupon in the end, he was by the Assembly [d] deposed from his Office, and the Archbishop of *Roan*, who would do nothing without the Concurrence and Advice of the Peers, put in his Place; to whom the Tower of *London*, Castle of *Windsor*, and Legantine Power, was by him also unwillingly resign'd. *Longchamp* deservedly thus stripp'd of all his Power and Greatness, endeavour'd to make his Escape to the King in the Habit of a Woman, with a Parcel of Linen Cloth under his Arm; but being discover'd at *Dover*, he was rudely used by the People, and made Prisoner in the Castle, till Earl *John* released him within eight days, and suffer'd him to go on in his intended Journey; by which being the Messengers of his own Misfortues, he had the advantage of his Adversaries, and mightily incens'd the Pope against them, because they had so villified the Legantine Power, which he was very tender of. Soon after his Departure Earl *John*, the Archbishop of *Roan*, and the other Justices of the King granted unto the City of *London* their Immunities, and the Citizens swore Fealty to King *Richard* and his Heirs; and if he dy'd without Issue, they promised to receive Earl *John* for their King, and swore likewise Fealty unto him against all Men, reserving their Faith to King *Richard*. In so great Forwardness was *John* for his Brother's Crown, while he besieg'd *Ascalon*, and grappl'd with *Saladine* in the East.

A. D. 1192. Reg. 4.

Bishop Longchamp deposed, and flies to the King.

Longchamp's arbitrary Actions.

But

[a] The Author of King *Richard*'s Travels to *Jerusalem* affirms, That 300000 Pilgrims perish'd in this Siege.

[b] These Assassins were a precise Sect of *Mahometans*, dwelling together in six Cities near *Antaradus*, in *Syria*, being about 40000 in Number; govern'd by one Chief Master, a *Saracen* Emir, whom they call'd, *The Old Man of the Mountains*. At his Command they were ready to undergo any dangerous Attempts, and would stab any Prince whom he appointed them to Death. *Full. Holy War*, out of *M. Paris* and *Paul Æmilius*. These Assassins were two young *Saracens*, whom he kept in his Service.

[c] He came from a mean Original, being only a Farmer's Son, and in his great Dignity affected a very unbeseeming Grandure; for he had 1500 in his Retinue, as *Wolsey* had a 1000, and had all things else proportionable.

[d] Whom Dr. *Brady* calls a *Traiterous Faction*. Comp. Hist. p. 434.

A. D. 1192. Reg. 3.

King Richard's *return into* England.

But *Richard* was not ſo intent upon Victory over the *Infidels*, but that he was as careful to keep what he was in Poſſeſſion of; wherefore hearing of the Proceedings in *England*, and that the King of *France* had taken *Giſors*, and the Country of *Vexin* contrary to his Oath, he embrac'd *Saladin*'s Proffer of a Truce for three Years, upon Condition, That he ſhould reſtore *Aſcalon* to the ſame State wherein he found it before the Siege, which was done by the Advice of the Templars, and the whole Army; and preſently leaving his Wife, Siſters and People, to come after him as faſt as they could conveniently, he took Ship [a] in three Galleys with ſome few Attendants, and haſten'd into *England*: In their Paſſage they pretended themſelves to be Pilgrims; but the King was ſoon diſcover'd by his laviſh Expences, and began to be valu'd by the Maſters of the Veſſels as a Prize; which when he had notice of, he left his Company, and with one Man only paſſed on Horſeback through wild Deſerts, and a Rocky Country, Day and Night into *Auſtrich*; where Fame having given notice of his coming, he was taken in a poor Inn aſleep, by means of his Companion, and brought before *Leopold* the Duke of *Auſtrich*; who glad of this Opportunity, to revenge the Diſgrace he had receiv'd from *Richard* at the entring of *Acon*, ſeiz'd upon him, and ſent him (or rather ſold him for ſixty thouſand Marks) to the Emperor *Henry* VI. whom likewiſe he had anger'd by aſſiſting *Tancredi*, the baſe Son of *Roger*, in the Uſurpation of the Crown of *Sicily* againſt *Conſtantia*, the lawful Daughter of the ſaid *Roger*, whom this Emperor had married. The News of *Richard*'s Misfortune was ſoon diſperſed into the adjoyning Countries. The Emperor ſent Word to the King of *France* of it, that he might rejoice with him; becauſe as he ſaid, *He had gotten the Enemy of the Empire, and Diſturber of the Kingdom of* France *into his Power*. *England* much lamented the Captivity of their Magnanimous King, and endeavour'd all ways poſſible to obtain his Releaſe, but it could not be effected for a whole Year and ſix Weeks; tho' he clear'd himſelf of the Scandals laid on him for the Death of *Conradus*, the Emperor's Kinſman, and other his Actions in the Eaſt, and reſign'd his Kingdom of *England* to the Emperor, in the Preſence of the *German* and *Engliſh* Nobility, to hold it of him by the Annual Tribute of 50000 *l.* Sterling to obtain his Freedom; becauſe Earl *John*, his Brother, and the King of *France*, offer'd the Emperor great Sums to keep him Priſoner, and intended by their continual Bribes to keep him in perpetual Impriſonment, that *John* might be eſtabliſh'd in all his Dominions with no ſmall Advantage to the King of *France*: For to that End Earl *John* did Homage to the King of *France* for *England*, *Normandy*, and all the reſt of the Tranſmarine Provinces, reſign'd *Giſors* and the Country of *Vexin* to him, and ſwore to marry his Siſter *Alice*, and to be divorc'd from his other Wife the Earl of *Glouceſter*'s Daughter; and the King of *France* on the other ſide, covenanted to give him with his Siſter that Part of *Flanders*, which he had taken from that Earldom, and ſwore to aſſiſt him in gaining *England*, and the other Dominions of his Brother. After this, *John* went over into *England* with an Army of *French* and *Flemmings*, had the Caſtles of *Wallingford* and *Windſor* ſurrender'd to him preſently; and coming to *London*, requir'd the Archbiſhop of *Rouen*, and the other Commiſſioners for the Kingdom of *England*, to do Homage and Fealty to him; affirming, That his Brother was dead: But they not giving Credit to his Words, and denying his Deſire, provok'd his Paſſions ſo much, that he fortified his Caſtles, and with Force of Arms invaded the Revenues and Lands of the Crown, finding many to joyn with him in the Attempt. The Queen-Mother, Juſtices of *England*, and all the King's faithful Subjects guard and defend the Ports againſt the Invaſion of the *French* and *Flemmings*, who came over in great Numbers to aid and help Earl *John*, and more earneſtly ſought to redeem the King; for whoſe Ranſome the Emperor requir'd an hundred thouſand Marks, and to find fifty Galleys and two hundred Men to attend his Service in the Holy Wars for one Year. Nor did the Officers and Subjects of the King in *France* defend his Dominions in *Normandy* with leſs Courage and Fidelity againſt the King of *France*, who with all his Power labour'd to ſubdue them, and by large Offers to the Emperor to prolong his Redemption and enhance his Ranſome: Yet ſuch was the good Opinion that his Subjects had of him, and their Love they bear to him for his Valour and Piety, that by their Importunities they brought the Emperor to a Compoſition for his Freedom in this manner. 'That he ſhould ſend 'his Commiſſioners to *London*, and receive an 'hundred thouſand Marks of pure Silver of *Co-*'*logn* Weight, to be ſeal'd up and convey'd to the 'Bounds of the Empire at the Hazard and Charge 'of the King of *England*, and that ſeven Months 'after he ſhould pay fifty thouſand Marks more 'of Silver (of which twenty thouſand were for 'the Duke of *Auſtrich*, and thirty thouſand for 'the Emperor) and Hoſtages to be given in the 'mean time, ſixty to the Emperor, and ſeven 'to the Duke: And *Richard* ſwears to ſend his 'Niece, the Siſter of *Arthur* Earl of *Britain*, to 'be married to the Duke of *Auſtrich*. And on the other ſide, the Emperor granted to the King of *England* by his Charter the Sovereignty of *Province*, *Vienna*, *Vionnoys*, *Marſeilles*, *Narbon*, *Arls*, *Lyons*, and all his Dominions in *Burgogne*, with the Homages of the King of *Arragon*, the Earls of *Dijon* and S. *Gyles*, in which Countries were five Archbiſhopricks and thirty three Biſhopricks: And tho' the Emperor had only a Titular Dominion over thoſe Provinces himſelf (for he never made any Governor over them) yet they did *Richard* this Service, that he ſeem'd not to part with ſo much Treaſure for nothing. For which Reaſon it was, that he ſent over into *England* to *Hubert*, the new Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who was lately made his Vicegerent in *England*, this News by his Letter wrote to him [b] in theſe Words. 'Being very ſure, That you much deſire our Deli-'verance, and will greatly rejoyce at it, we 'have thought fit to impart the joyful News of 'it, and to ſignifie to you, that the Emperor 'hath fix'd the Day for it, to be upon *Monday* 'after the Feaſt of the Nativity; and the *Sun-*'*day* after we ſhall receive the Crown of the 'Kingdom of *Provence*, which he hath given us, 'as by his Letters Patents herewith ſent, you 'may perceive. Ordering you in the mean time, 'as much as in you lieth, to comfort all thoſe you 'know, as our Friends and Well-willers, to love 'us

King Richard *taken by the Emperor.*

Earl John *aſſumes the Kingdom.*

King Richard *redeem'd, and the Sum paid for his Redemption.*

A. D. 1192. Reg. 3.

[a] Aboard a great Buſs bound for the Iſle of *Corfu*, where he arriv'd about the latter end of *October*, and from thence ſail'd partly in a ſmall Ship, and partly in certain Galleys to *Raguſa*, in *Dalmatia*, on the *Adriatick* Gulf; from *Raguſa* he intended to travel over-land, thro' *Sclavonia* and *Auſtria* into *Germany*, and ſo home into his own Dominions on the Continent.

[b] The Letter is in *Roger Hoveden*, p. 413. directed to Queen *Eleanor* his Mother, and to his Juſtices, and all other his faithful Subjects. 'Tis dated from *Hagenow*, (a City in the *Lower Alſace*) the 10th of *April*, 1193.

A. D. 1193. Reg. 4.

us and desire our Promotion. Witness Our self at *Spira*, 22. *Sept.* The Emperour also wrote at the same time to the Bishops and Barons, and other the King's Subjects in *England*, how he purpos'd to advance, and magnificently to honour his especial Friend their King: And thus were the *English* recompensed for the large Expences they had been at in redeeming their King. The King then sent for his Mother Queen *Eleanor*, Archbishop of *Roan*, and many others, to come unto him about the Time and Business of the Deliverance; for which there was imposed upon every Knight's Fee twenty Shillings, the fourth part of all Lay-mens Revenues and Clergy-mens, with a fourth part of their Goods. [a] The Chalices, and Treasure of all Churches, are taken to make up the Sum, and the like was done in all the King's Territories beyond Sea: So dearly did the King's Voyage into the East, in going and returning, cost his People. Nor did the Queen *Berenguela* escape her part of Affliction in this Journey; for she with her Sister-in-Law, the Queen *Dowager* of *Sicily*, fearing the Emperour's Malice, were an whole Year travelling from *Palestine*, and were at length conducted into *Poictou*.

The Queen's return home.

Earl John's treasonable Actions against his Brother.

The King of *France* hearing of the Conclusion made between King *Richard* and the Emperour, wrote immediately to Earl *John*, *That the Devil was got loose, and desired him to look to himself*; which shewed, That the King of *France* was not less disappointed of his Hopes, then Earl *John* himself. Upon this News, Earl *John* leaving his Castles in *England* well fortified, and encouraging his Soldiers to hold out valiantly against all Reports, departed into *Normandy*; where, with repeated Promises and Solicitations, he and the King of *France* labour'd to detain King *Richard* in Imprisonment, proffering the Emperour an hundred fifty thousand Marks, or a thousand Pound a Month so long as he would keep him his Prisoner. But all they could do prevailed not, tho' it stagger'd the Emperour in his Design a little; but at length, he shew'd *Richard* his Brother's Letter: And having receiv'd the Pledges, *viz.* the Archbishop of *Roan*, Bishop of *Bath*, and several Noblemens Sons for the Security of that part of his Ransom, which was to remain unpaid, releas'd him from his Captivity, after a

1194. Year and six Weeks, in the fourth Year of his Reign, and deliver'd him to his Mother Queen *Eleanor* [b]. Immediately after his Release he return'd into *England*, were he found that the Bishops who continu'd firm in their Fidelity to him, had excommunicated the Earl *John*, and all his Adherents, and taken his Castles of *Marlborough*, *Lancaster*, and a Fort at *S. Michael's Mount* in *Cornwall*, defended by *Henry de Pomeroy*. But his Castle of *Nottingham*, tho' strongly assaulted by *Ralph* Earl of *Chester*, and Earl *Ferrers*, and the Castle of *Tichil* by the Bishop of *Durham*, held out for the Earl, and cost the King a great deal of Blood and Labour to reduce them into his Power; and that at last upon Condition, That their Persons and Goods should be saved, and all Acts of Disloyalty pardon'd,

A Parliament at Nottingham, *and the Acts.*

Richard having thus settled his Kingdom of *England* in Peace, call'd a Parliament at *Nottingham*, where Queen *Eleanor* was present, and sat upon his Right Hand [c]. On the first day of the Session he depriv'd *Gerhard de Canvile* of the Possession of the Castle of *Lincoln*, and his Office of Sheriff in that Shire, and *Hugh Bardolph* of the Castles of *York* and *Scarborow*, and the Custody of *Westmorland*, and his Office of Sheriff of *Yorkshire*, and expos'd them to Sale. The Archbishop of *York* bought the Sheriff's Office of *Yorkshire* for three thousand Marks down, and an Annual Rent of an hundred Marks. On the second day the King demanded Judgment against his Brother *John*, for having contrary to his Oath of Fealty, usurp'd his Castles, and enter'd a Confederacy with the King of *France* against him; as also against *Hugh de Nevant*, Bishop of *Coventry*, for adhering to him and his other Enemies; and it was determin'd, That they should both appear upon a day fix'd, to answer according to Law: Which if they refus'd to do, the Earl should be banish'd, and the Bishop undergo such Punishment both from the Clergy and Laity as his Crime deserv'd: But the Bishop, within two Years after, was restor'd to the King's Favour, and his Bishoprick for two thousand Marks. On the third day, the Parliament granted to the King two Shillings from every Plough-Land in *England*; and besides, the King requir'd a third part of the Service of every Knight's Fee for his Attendance in *Normandy*, and all the Wool that Year of the *Cistercian* Monks, which being a very grievous Tax to them, he compounded with them for it. The fourth and last day was spent in hearing and determining of Grievances and Accusations, and so this Assembly brake up, after a Resolution taken up, That to nullifie the Act done to the Emperour, he should be crown'd again, which accordingly was perform'd the *Easter* following at *Winchester*.

A. D. 1194. Reg. 4.

The King of Scots *comes to King* Richard.

Whilst the King remain'd about *Nottingham*, after the Parliament was broke up, *William* King of *Scots* came to him to require the Dignities and Honours, which his Predecessors had of Right enjoy'd in *England*, and withal the Counties of *Northumberland*, *Westmorland* and *Lancaster*. The King reply'd, 'That he could not satisfie him, till 'he had taken the Advice of his Council, which 'he intended shortly to call at *Northampton*. Where after Consultation had, he told him, 'That he could not grant his Petition with Rea'son then, because most of the Princes of *Eu'rope* were his Enemies at that time; and if he 'should part with so much of his Country then, 'twould be thought rather an Act of Fear, than 'Love or Justice; and so put him off with fair Words and Promises, but granted by the Consent of his Parliament under his Charter to *William* King of *Scots*, and his Heirs for ever, 'That if 'at any time being summon'd, they should come 'to the King of *England's* Court, the Bishop of 'Durham, and Sheriff of *Northumberland* should 'receive them at the River *Tweed*, and bring 'them under safe Conduct to the River *Teis*, 'and from thence the Archbishop of *York* and 'Sheriff of *Yorkshire* should convey them through 'that County; and so the Sheriffs of other Shires, 'till they came to the King's Court, being al'low'd all along their Passage, and so at their re'turn, an hundred Shillings a day, and when they 'were at the Court thirty Shillings a Day, 'twelve Loaves of fine Bread, and twelve Sim'nels of the King's; four Quarts of the King's 'best Wine, and six of ordinary Wine; two Pounds 'of Pepper, and four Pounds of Cinnamon;

[a] This Occasion so clear'd the Church of Plate, that the Priests celebrated the Sacrament in Tin and Latin Cups, by the Pope's Order and Allowance, as they continu'd to do a good while after.

[b] He gave him his safe Conduct to *Antwerp*, where he was under the Protection of the Duke of *Louvain*, and he arriv'd at *Sandwich* on the 13th of *March*, 1194.

[c] *Hoveden* p. 419. says, *Hubert*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, sat on his Right Hand, and *Jeffrey* Archbishop of *York* on his Left.

A. D. 1194. Reg. 4.

'two Pounds of Wax, and four Wax-Lights; forty large Perchers of the King's beſt Candles, and twenty four of Ordinary; and at his return to be ſafely conducted as he came, and with the ſame allowance.

King Richard crown'd again, and his Reſumptions at that time.

From *Northampton* both Kings went to *Woodſtock*, and from thence to *Wincheſter*, where the Coronation was ſumptuouſly ſolemnized on the 17th of *April*, 1194. When the Ceremony was over, he reſumed the two Manours he had ſold to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* when he went to the Holy War, with the other Sales of the Country and Caſtle, and all other the Demeſnes belonging to the Crown; alledging, That it was not in his power to alienate any of his Revenues, whereby his Dignity was to be maintain'd. The Biſhop of *Durham*, obſerving this, voluntarily deliver'd up the Caſtle of *Durham*, with the Country of *Northumberland*, which the King order'd to put into the hands of *Hugh Bardolph*. *Hugh* Biſhop of *Lincoln* at the ſame time gave for the liberty of his Church a thouſand Marks of Silver, redeeming thereby the Cuſtom of giving to the King of *England* every Year a Cloak lined with Sable Furs. Hither alſo were all ſuch as had ſided with his Brother *John*, and defended his Caſtles, ſummon'd to appear; of whom the Richer were fined, and the Poorer ſort ſet at liberty, but by giving Sureties of an hundred Marks a-piece to appear in the King's Courts whenever they ſhould be call'd. The King of *Scots* ſeeing the King of *England* make uſe of all means to bring Money into his Treaſure, offer'd him fifteen thouſand Marks for *Northumberland*, with the Appurtenances; alledging, That King *Henry* II. gave the ſame to *Henry* his Father, and that *Malcolm* after him enjoy'd it five Years. This large proffer of Money tempted King *Richard* ſo, that he conſulted his Parliament about it again; and in concluſion was contented to yield it to the King of *Scots*, with a Reſervation of the Caſtles to himſelf; but the King of *Scots* would not accept it, and ſo in a diſcontent paſſed into his own Country. *Richard* two Years after ſent *Hubert Walter*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to *York* to treat with the King of *Scots* about a Marriage between *Otho* [b] his Nephew, and *Margaret* that King's Daughter, with whom he was to give all *Lenox* for her Dower; and would give with his Nephew *Northumberland*, and the Earldom of *Carliſle*, with all the Caſtles: But in the time of this Treaty the Queen of *Scots* being found to be with Child, it took no effect. From *Wincheſter*, after the King had gotten as much Money as he could out of his Subjects in ſo ſhort a time as he ſtay'd, which was but from the end of *February* to the tenth of *May* [c], he haſted over into *Normandy*, in an hundred Ships, to ſpend it in his Atchievements there, which took up all the remaining part of his Reign, which was but nine Years in all, of which he ſpent not above eight Months in *England*. Nor do we find that his Queen *Berenguela* was ever there, or had any Honour or Dower, or was of any great Regard with him, however Deſerving ſhe was in her ſelf.

He reſides in Normandy all the reſt of his Reign.

And now by the King's Reſidence in *Normandy* was the Charge and Labour of the *Engliſh* much greaten'd; all Affairs, which either concern'd the State in general, or the People in particular, being to be diſpatched there. The firſt Action that *Richard* undertook at his entrance into his Territories there, was to relieve *Vernoul*, then beſieged by the King of *France*, which he ſoon raiſed, and by the Mediation of his Mother was reconciled to his Brother *John*, who abjured the *French* Party, and adhered to him. His next buſineſs was to ſtrengthen himſelf in thoſe Countries againſt his potent Enemy the King of *France*, which he did firſt by giving his Siſter *Joanna*, Queen-Dowager of *Sicily*, to *Raymund* Earl of *Tholouſe*, who was his neareſt Neighbour of Power to his Dutchy of *Guien*. Then he made a League with *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, from whom the King of *France* had taken away *Artois* and *Vermandois*; and ſo on all ſides ſeeks to vex his Enemy. Four Years at leaſt did theſe two great Princes continue their furious Aſſaults one againſt another, invading, ſurprizing, ſpoiling and ruining each other's Eſtates and Dominions; making ſhews indeed often of Peace and Reconciliation by frequenr Leagues and Truces, but they laſted no longer than ſome Advantages offer'd of either ſide. The King of *France*, on the other ſide, to ſtrengthen himſelf with Shipping, that he might oppoſe the *Engliſh*, marry'd *Botilda* the Siſter of *Canute* or *Knute* King of *Denmark*; but this Match, which he ſought not through Affection, but for his Politick Ends, created him greater Trouble; for he put her away the next Day after his Wedding, upon a pretence of too great nearneſs of Blood, and ſo made both the Church, and King of *Denmark* his Enemy, The Emperor at the ſame time ſent to the King of *England* a maſſy Crown of Gold, and offers to aſſiſt him againſt the King of *France*, and invade his Kingdom; but *Richard* was not willing to have him engage in this Quarrel, either becauſe he ſaw that the Emperor ſought to add the Kingdom of *France* to his Empire, or becauſe he fear'd the King of *France* might win him over to him by his Money to joyn againſt himſelf, return'd only a Compliment of Thanks for his Tender.

A. D. 1194. Reg. 4.

Earl John reconcil'd to the King.

1195.

His means of raiſing Money.

But tho' *Normandy* was the Stage of Action, *England* was the Treaſury, from whence the King fetch'd Monies for all his vaſt Expences; which to ſupply, he ſought all manner of ways of raiſing Taxes and Fines upon the People [d]. And firſt he gave out his Commiſſion to certain Itinerant Juſtices, whom he ſent into every Shire of *England*, 'to raiſe and exact Sums of Money upon Pleas of the Crown for Eſcheats, Wardſhips, and Marriages, to improve his Demeſnes, to take an account of Men's Eſtates, and eſpecially of the *Jews*, on whom he would have none to pray but himſelf; to raiſe an Impoſion upon his allowance of Turnaments, *viz.* twenty Marks of Silver for every Earl, ten for a Baron, four for a Knight having Lands, and two for a Licenſe for ſuch as had none; the Collection of which the Archbiſhop left to his Brother *Theobald Walters*. He order'd alſo a new Seal to be made, becauſe the old one was loſt by his Vice-Chancellor at the taking of *Cyprus*, which was a means for another Exaction. But the Proceedings in the Pleas of the Crown, and extorting of Penalties, *Ann. Regni* 9. by *Hugh Bardolph*, *Roger*

[a] At this Coronation *William* King of the *Scots* bore one of the three Swords carr'd on that occaſion before King *Richard*.
[b] *Otho* Duke of *Saxony*.
[c] He landed the 13th of *March*, and ſail'd from *Portſmouth* the 12th of *May*.
[d] He return'd into *England* to raiſe this Tax for Turnaments. *Matt. Paris*. But his Charter or Proclamation for them is dated at *Ville Le Veske* in *Normandy*. Theſe Tiltings were to be held at five Places:
In *Wiltſhire*, between *Salisbury* and *Wilton*.
In *Warwickſhire*, between *Warwick* and *Kenelworth*.
In *Lincolnſhire*, between *Stamford* and *Warniford*.
In *Northamptonſhire*, between *Brackly* and *Mixburgh*,
In *Nottinghamſhire*, between *Blie* and *Tickhill*.

A. D. 1195. Reg. 5.

Roger Arundel, and *Jeffrey Hatchet*, Itinerant Juſtices for *Lincolnſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, *Darbyſhire*, *Yorkſhire*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Lancaſter*, were intolerable, being manag'd with gradual Tryals of the People's Patience and Abilities. So that (as *Hoveden* ſaith) all *England*, from Sea to Sea, was reduced to extream Poverty. Yet did not his Extortion ſtop here; but *Hugh Nevile* Chief Juſtice, *Hugh Wac* and *Erniſe de Nevile* Juſtices of the Foreſt brought a greater Trouble upon the Subjects, by the ſevere Execution of the cruel Foreſt-Laws, introduced by the Conqueror; which, being only fit to be damn'd to eternal Oblivion, ſhall not be particularly mention'd. Beſides in the ſame Year this King impoſed a Tax upon every Hide, or Plough-land, (which contains about an hundred Acres) of five Shillings, which was levy'd with great Cruelty. Likewiſe he required by his Vicegerent, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, That the People of *England* ſhould find three hundred Knights for one Year in his Service, or ſo much Money as would maintain them at three Shillings a Day: Which *Hugh* Biſhop of *Lincoln* oppoſed, and ſaid, 'He would 'never yield to the King's Will in this, becauſe 'of the Damage it might bring to Poſterity by 'ſo ill an Example, which might give them cauſe 'to complain, and ſay, *Our Fathers have eaten 'four Grapes, and the Childrens Teeth are ſet on 'Edge*, and turning himſelf to the Archbiſhop, de'ſired him to do nothing, of which he might after'ward be aſhamed. But the Archbiſhop could deſert this, and yet pretend to have well merited of the King for his other Services in this kind; for in the ſeventh Year of his Reign, he gave up an account to him, that he had levy'd of the Kingdom within the ſpace of two Years an hundred thouſand Marks of Silver, which at that time was an admirable Sum.

The King's Death, and the Occaſion.

And now, as the firſt Act of this King was his violent Proceedings with *Stephen Turnham* Seneſchal of *Normandy*, his Father's Treaſurer, about his Treaſure: So was likewiſe his laſt, and the cauſe of his Deſtruction; for *Widamore* Viſcount of *Limoges*[a], having found a great Treaſure of Silver and Gold in his Ground, ſends a great part of it to the King, but he refuſed it, laying claim to the whole; *Widamore* deny'd it. And ſo the King laid Siege to the Caſtle[b], where he imagin'd the Treaſure was hid. They in the Caſtle being unable to defend themſelves, offer'd to ſurrender the ſame, upon Condition, that their Lives, Arms and Members ſhould be ſecured; which the King would not yield to, but ſwore that he would

1199. ſtorm the Caſtle, and hang them all: Whereupon they deſperately reſolved to ſtand to their defence. King *Richard*, with *Merchard*, alias *Markadey*, General of the *Barbanzons*, his mercenary Soldiers, going about the Caſtle to obſerve what place was fitteſt for an Aſſault, *Bertram de Gurdon* from the Walls ſhot a Barbed Arrow at the King, and gave him a mortal Wound on the Arm. The King was immediately carry'd to his Lodgings, but gave Commandment to his Forces to proſecute the Siege without Intermiſſion, which they did; and taking the Caſtle, put all the Defenders of it to Death, except *Bertram*, who was reſerved by the King's Command. The Arrow was drawn out with great Torture, and much mangling of his Fleſh, by an unskilful Chyrurgeon belonging to *Merchard*, which cauſed him to deſpair of Life[c], and by Will to diſpoſe of his Eſtate, three parts to his Brother *John*, and one to his Servants[d]. Before his Death he call'd for *Bertram de Gurdon* to be brought to him, and demanded of him, what hurt he had done him, which provoked him to do him this Miſchief? *Bertram* replied, 'Thou dideſt kill my Father and two Bro'thers with thy own Hand, and now ordereſt me 'to be ſlain; Take what Revenge thou wilt up'on me, I willingly endure any Torment thou 'canſt inflict, ſince I have ſlain thee, who haſt 'done ſuch, and ſo much miſchief to the World. The King, notwithſtanding this rough and deſperate Anſwer, cauſed him to be ſet at liberty, not only forgiving him for his Fact, but commanding an hundred Shillings to be given him; but *Merchard* after his Death cauſed him to be flay'd alive, and afterward hang'd[e]. Thus dy'd this Lion-like King, when he had Reigned nine Years and nine Months[f]; wherein he exacted and conſumed more of the Wealth of this Kingdom than all his Predeceſſors from the *Norman* Conqueſt had done, and yet with very little Noiſe and Trouble, becauſe of his undertaking of the Cauſe of Chriſt (as it was then eſteemed) in the Holy War; the Clergy feeding the People's Opinion of the Merit of that Expedition with ſtrange Relations both of his Valour and Succeſs; and his Miniſters at home being very careful and zealous for him to keep their place, and ſo doing perhaps more for him in his abſence than he could have done with his preſence. But the inſolent Oppreſſions of the Nation in theſe Times made the future more careful and audacious to provide for themſelves: Exceſſes uſually procure Alterations. So that his Succeſſors have reaſon to blame his and his Brother's Oppreſſions and Irregularities for thoſe Limitations of their Power, which have been extorted rather from them, than voluntarily granted by them. Yet what this Prince would have been, had his Days been prolong'd to a time of Peace, is uncertain: But that his Temper was very pliable and yielding to good Counſel, is manifeſt from the good effect that little which a poor Hermit beſtow'd upon him wrought; adviſing him in a Sermon to think ſeriouſly upon the Deſtruction of *Sodom*, and to abſtain from things unlawful, otherwiſe the deſerved Vengence of God would come upon him. For not long after falling ſick, he call'd to mind this Advertiſement, and made a Vow to reform his Life; which after his recovery he was ſo careful to perform, that he roſe early every Morning to hear Divine Service. Upon which Action *Hoveden* makes this Reflection: *How Glorious is it for a Prince to begin his Actions in him, who is the Beginning without beginning, and judges to the ends of the Earth.* Moreover he grew very Charitable to the Poor, and made Reſtitution of many of the Church's Goods, which had been ſold for his own Ranſom.

A. D. 1199. Reg. 9.

Bertram *de* Gurdon, *who kill'd* Richard, *his Courage and Reward*

His good Temper.

Tho' this King had no Children[g], yet was he told by a Prieſt in *France*, that he had three evil Daughters, and admoniſh'd to beſtow them elſewhere, that he might avoid the Judgments of God.

His Iſſue.

[a] *Holinſhead* ſays, He was a Viſcount in the Dutchy of *Bretagne*; and that the Treaſures which he found were the Images of an Emperour, his Wife and Children, all in fine Gold.

[b] The Caſtle of *Chaluz*, near *Limoges*.

[c] He lay eleven Days in great Torment.

[d] And the Poor.

[e] He dy'd on the 6th of *April*; his Body was bury'd at *Font-Everard*, at the Feet of his Father, his Heart at *Roan*, and his Bowels at *Charron* in *Poictou*.

[f] *Holinſhead* writes, He was in the forty fourth Year of his Age: But he was born in 1117. and dy'd in 1159. So he could be no more than forty two Years of Age.

[g] He had a Natural Son, nam'd *Philip*, who in the Year following kill'd the Viſcount of *Limoges* for the Death of his Father. *Hol.*

God. The King gave him the Lye, and ſaid, *He knew none he had. Yes, Sir*, replied the Prieſt, *Three Daughters you have, which are theſe, Pride, Covetouſneſs, and Letchery.* The King apprehending his Meaning, call'd the Lords and great Perſons who were attending upon him, and having told them what the Prieſt had ſaid to him, requir'd them to bear Witneſs how he did diſpoſe of his three Daughters. *My Pride I give to the Templars and Hoſpitallers, my Covetouſneſs I give to the* Ceſtercian *Monks, and my Letchery to the Clergy*[a]. This ſudden Repartee ſhews us his great Quickneſs of Wit, and what kind of Men were then out of Favour with him.

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES *in the Reign of* Richard I.

IN the 2d Year of his Reign, on *Midſummer*-Eve, the Sun was eclips'd for three Hours, and the Stars appear'd in the Heavens at ten a Clock in the Forenoon.

In the 5th, 6th, and 7th Years of his Reign there was ſo great a Dearth in *England* and *France*, that a Quarter of Wheat was ſold for almoſt twenty Shillings, as much as ſix Pound now; which was follow'd by a ſevere Mortality, that carry'd off innumerable Multitudes of People by a Peſtilential Fever. It laſted five Months, and during that time, the dead were bury'd in Pits a great many at once; for they dy'd ſo faſt, that thoſe who ſurviv'd had not Leiſure to bury them ſingly. About *Whitſunday* two Suns appear'd, the true Sun and another, and were ſo like each other, that the Aſtronomers were forc'd to take a View of them with their Inſtruments to diſtinguiſh them.

Men Eminent in his Time for their Courage were

Robert Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Hugh Bardolph*, and his Brother *Henry*, *William Marſhal* Earl of *Chepſtow*, *Gerard de Glanville*, *Hugh de Gourney*, *William de Borrez*, *Walcline de Ferrers*, *Roger de Toonie*, *William de Barrs*, *William de Tarland*, *Drogo de Merlo*, *Robert de Neale*, *Henry Fitz-Nicholas*, *Robert de Newburgh*, *Ralph de St. Mary*, *Arnald de Bois*, *Henry de Grey*, *Stephen de Turnham*, *Manſer de Liſle*, *Alexander Darcie*, *Stephen de Longchamp*, *Seguin de Barret*, *Roger de Glanville*, *Bartholomew de Mortimer*, *Gerard Furnivall*, *William de Pool*, *Hugh de Nevill*, and *William Teutch* the King's Standard-Bearer, who all ſhew'd their Valour in the Holy Land.

The moſt Famous for Learning were

Daniel Morley a famous Mathematician, *Richard* Prior of *Hagulſtad* or *Hexam*, *William Fitz-Stephens*, who wrote the Life of *Becket*, *Richard* of the *Deviſes*, *John Brompton*, Hiſtorians; *Robert de Bello foco* an excellent Philoſopher, *Baldwin* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who dy'd at *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*, and wrote ſeveral Treatiſes of Divinity; *Hubert* his Succeſſor in that See, *William* Biſhop of *Ely* a great Politician, *Richard* the Abbot of the Order of *Præmonſtratenſis*, and *Nicholas Walkington*.

THE LIFE and REIGN OF King JOHN.

Earl John *ſecures the Crown.* A. D. 1199. Reg. 1.

JOHN, the Brother of *Richard*, and youngeſt Son of *Henry* the Second, being at his Brother's Death with his Army in the Field, and among all his Servants and Followers, had as good an Opportunity as he could have deſir'd to ſecure his ambitious Aims of the Crown of *England*, by making his Intereſts with them; which he did by large Promiſes of Gifts and Rewards. *Hubert*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was then in *Normandy* about ſome Buſineſs, and *John* knowing him to be a Man of great Power and Intereſt in *England*, engages him to his Deſign, and preſently diſpatches him into *England* with *William Marſhall* Earl of *Striguil*, *Jeffrey Fitz-Peter*[b], and others, to prepare the People to receive him for their King. Theſe Agents[c] for *John*, upon their Arrival, began to treat with thoſe whom they knew were moſt likely to oppoſe his Aim; and by their confident Promiſes, That he ſhould reſtore their Rights, and govern the Kingdom with all due Moderation, ſo prevail'd with them, that they were content upon thoſe Conditions to ſwear Fealty to him againſt all Men, and ſo an Entrance to the Crown was cleared for him

A. D. 1199. Reg. 1.

[a] *My Letchery I give to the Prelates of the Church, who have moſt Pleaſure and Felicity therein.* Hol.
[b] Lord Chief Juſtice.
[c] They held an Aſſembly of the States at *Northampton*, who agreed to accept of Prince *John* for their King. *Hol.*

Lutterell delin:
P. Vanderbanck sculp:
KING IOHN.

A. D. 1199. Reg. 1.

among the *Engliſh*; which becauſe they ſaw the King of *Scots* only could intercept and hinder, they ſend him word, That upon *John*'s Settlement in the Throne, he ſhould receive Satisfaction for his Claim in *England*, and ſo ſtopp'd him from any preſent Attempts. In the mean time, *Arthur*[a] Earl of *Anjou*, Son of *John*'s elder Brother *Jeffrey*, who had the Right of Succeſſion by his Birth, was not unactive with the Nobility of *Anjou*, *Main*, and *Tureine*, to maintain and recover his Inheritance: And his Mother *Conſtance* put him under the Protection of the King of *France*, who receiv'd him, and undertook the Defence of his Right. *John* was not inſenſible of the Cloud that was gathering over his Head; and tho' he had reaſon to fear a violent Storm from it, yet judging it beſt to ſecure the Poſſeſſion of *England* firſt, he having receiv'd the Inveſtiture of *Normandy* with all the Rites of it, paſſed preſently into *England* with his Mother *Eleanor* (who was a forward Aſſiſtant in this her Son's Promotion) and by way of Election, receiv'd the Crown upon *Aſcenſion-Day*, the 26th of *May*, at the hands of *Hubert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; who in his Oration (as *M. Paris* relates it) before the Aſſembly of Nobles met at that Solemnity ſaid, 'That by all Reaſon Divine 'and Humane, none ought to ſucceed in the 'Kingdom, but he who for his Vertue and Worthineſs was unanimouſly choſen by the State, 'as this Man was, *&c.* which he then urg'd to put a fair Pretence upon that Action, becauſe he ſaw the Right of Succeſſion was againſt him; but after being queſtion'd for it, he confeſs'd to his Friends, , That he foreſaw, that *John* would 'in the end obtain the Crown, whatever Blood 'and Trouble it coſt; and therefore he thought 'it the beſt way to prevent Confuſion, rather 'to make him King, than that he ſhould make 'himſelf, and that their Election would be a 'tie upon him to rule them well. Thus did *John* get the Crown of *England*, which he govern'd with as much Injuſtice as he got it, and involv'd the Kingdom in thoſe Miſeries and Troubles, which after produced deſperate Effects, and made thoſe Alterations in Government, which follow'd.

Arthur *puts in for his Right.*

John *crowned.*

John *goes againſt* Philip *King of* France.

England being thus ſecur'd, *John* returns into *Normandy*, having receiv'd Information of a general Revolt of his Dominions beyond Sea, procur'd by *Philip* the *French* King, who had conferr'd the Order of Knighthood upon *Arthur*, and taken his Homage for *Anjou Poictou Main*, *Nureine*, and alſo *Normandy* it ſelf, becauſe (as he pretended) King *John* had neglected to come and do him Homage for the ſame. King *John* being unwilling to engage in ſo ſudden a War, ſo ſoon after his new and doubtful Admiſſion to the Crown, mediated for a Parley with the King of *France*, but to no purpoſe; for that King well underſtanding his own Advantage, and *John*'s Circumſtances, requir'd ſuch unreaſonable Conditions, as *John* could not with Honour comply with, and ſo they proceeded to decide the Quarrel with the Sword. The King of *France* had the better of *John*, and gain'd ſeveral Parts of his Dominions; but it was ſo plain that what he did was for himſelf, not for *Arthur*, as he pretended, that *Arthur* and his Mother *Conſtance* were induc'd (by the Perſuaſion of their Chief Miniſter *William de la Roche*) to commit themſelves to the Protection of King *John*. But neither here could they find a ſafe Repoſe; for either through ſome

1200. Reg. 2.

ſecret Jealouſie, or (as ſome ſay) having Information of *John*'s Purpoſes to impriſon them, they got away the next Night after their coming ſecretly, and fled to *Algiers*. And ſo this young Prince, born to be cruſh'd between theſe two Potent Monarchs, (who only intended their own Ends and not his Advantage) gave an occaſion to both to become his Enemies. The two Kings continu'd their Conteſt a while, but having made many Attempts on both ſides with little Gain, they by the Mediation of the Pope's Legates came to a Treaty, wherein *John* buys his Peace upon theſe yielding Conditions; *viz.* That *Lewis*, the eldeſt Son to King *Philip*, ſhould marry his Niece *Blanch*, Daughter of *Alphonſo* King of *Caſtile*, and have with her for her Dower the City and County of *Eureux*, with ſeveral Caſtles in *Normandy*, and thirty thouſand Marks in Silver: And farther promiſes, To leave him all his Territories in *France*, if he dy'd without Iſſue; and that he would not aſſiſt his Nephew *Otho* (lately elected Emperour) againſt *Philip* Brother to the late Emperour *Henry* VI. whom the King of *France* favour'd in Oppſition to Pope *Innocent*, who took *Otho*'s part.

A. D. 1200. Reg. 2.

A Peace concluded between the Kings of France *and* England.

After the Concluſion of this Peace, *Otho* taking it ill that his Uncle *John* had thus forſaken him, ſends his two Brothers *Henry* Duke of *Saxony* and *William* of *Winton* (ſo call'd, becauſe he was born at *Wincheſter*) to require of him the City of *Eureux* and County of *Poictou*, and two parts of the Treaſure, which his Uncle King *Richard* had given him by Will, beſides other of his Moveables: But they came too late. The Obligations of Kindred, and rendring of Dues, muſt give place to the preſent Neceſſities and Intereſts of State, and ſo they are ſent away without any Anſwer to their Deſires. To this unkind and unnatural Act he ſoon after added another, *viz.* The Divorce of his Wife, who was Daughter to the Earl of *Gloceſter*; alledging, that ſhe was too near a Kin to him in the third Degree of Conſanguinity, and marry'd *Iſabel* the Daughter and Heireſs of the Earl of *Angoliſme*, who was before a affianced to *Hugh le Brun* Earl of *March*, (a Peer of a great Eſtate and Alliance in *France*) by the Conſent of King *Richard*, in whoſe Cuſtody ſhe then was. Having finiſh'd theſe diſtaſtful Buſineſſes, he return'd into *England* to do as ungrateful things there; for he impos'd three Shillings upon every Plough-land, to diſcharge the great Dower of thirty thouſand Marks which he had promis'd with his Niece *Blanch*. *Jeffrey* the Archbiſhop of *York* oppos'd the Collection of it within his Province, and the King being before angry with him for not coming upon his Summons to his Treaty in *France*, immediately cauſes the Sheriff of the County of *York* to ſeize upon all his Temporalties. The Archbiſhop interdicts the whole Province of *York*, and excommunicates the Sheriff. But not long after, the King made his Progreſs into the Northern Parts as far as *Scotland*, exacting great Fines of ſuch as had offended in his Foreſts, and in his Paſſage through *Yorkſhire* was by his Brother the Archbiſhop deny'd Wine, and the Honours of the Bells of *Beverly*; but by the Mediation of four Biſhops and four Barons, and a great Sum of Money, a Reconciliation was made between them, and a Reformation promis'd on both ſides.

Otho *the Emperour claims part of* Richard's *Treaſure.*

1201. Reg. 3.

A Quarrel between John *and the Archbiſhop of* York.

Upon the *Eaſter*[b] after his Progreſs into the North, the King was crown'd again at *Canterbury* with his Queen *Iſabel*, by *Hubert* Archbiſhop of

His ſecond Coronation.

[a] Duke of *Bretagne*.

[b] *Holinſhead* ſays, Queen *Iſabel* was crown'd on the 8th of *October*, and that King *John* was crown'd again by himſelf at *Canterbury* on the 14th of *April* 1202, by Archbiſhop *Hubert*.

A. D. 1202. Reg. 4.

of that See, and there he ſummon'd the Earls and Barons of *England* to be ready with Horſe and Armour to go over with him at *Whitſuntide* into *Normandy*; but they meering at a Conference at *Leiceſter*, with one conſent ſent him word, *That unleſs he would reſtore them to their Rights and Liberties, they would not attend him out of the Kingdom.* But the King (ſaith *Hoveden*) uſing ill Council, took their Caſtles from them; and beginning with *William de Aubenie*, demanded his Caſtle of *Beauvoir*, which he refuſed, delivering him his Son as a Pledge of his Obedience. But notwithſtanding this Refuſal of his Lords, having ſettled the Government here, he ſailed into *Normandy* with his Queen, where his Preſence, with his great ſhew of Preparations, cauſed the Rebels to give over their Attempts for that time; and a farther Ratification of the Peace, with as ſtrong Covenants and Cautions as could be deviſed, was made with *Philip* King of *France*; who thereupon feaſted the King of *England* at *Paris* with all outward Demonſtrations of real Friendſhip. And here both Kings, being ſollicited to it by the Pope's Legate, granted a Subſidy of the fortieth part of all their Subjects Revenues for one Year (by way of Alms) for the Relief of the Chriſtians in the Holy Land; for the levying whereof *Jeffrey Fitz-Peter*, then Chief Juſtice, ſent out his Writs by way of Requeſt and Perſuaſion, avoiding in it all Terms of Coaction or Due, leſt it ſhould be drawn into a Preſident afterward.

A Conſpiracy againſt John, and the King's Victory over the Authors of it.

Not many Months after this a Conſpiracy broke out, which was begun and carry'd on by *Hugh le Brun*, who being greatly incenſed at the taking away his Wife (a Wrong which makes the deepeſt Impreſſion on Man's Nature) joyn'd with Duke *Arthur*, the Barons of *Poictou* and *Britain*, and they made a ſtrong Party againſt him. The King of *France* (notwithſtanding all the former Obligations of Amity) combined with them out of hopes of Intereſt, declared himſelf for *Arthur*, to whom he marry'd his youngeſt Daughter, requires King *John* to deliver to him all his Territories in *France*, and upon a certain Day to appear in Perſon at *Paris*, to anſwer ſuch Accuſations as ſhould be brought againſt him, and abide the Judgment of his Court; which *John* refuſing, was by Sentence of Court adjudged to loſe all that he held of that Crown. Then were his Dominions aſſaulted on all ſides, by the King of *France* in *Normandy*, by Prince *Arthur* and the Barons in *Anjou*, who laid Siege to his Caſtle in *Mirabel*, defended by *Eleanor* the Queen-Mother; but near taking, when *John*, with greater Force and Expedition then was expected, came and defeated the whole Army of the Beſiegers, taking *Arthur*, *Hugh le Brun*, the Barons of *Poictou*, and above two hundred Knights, and Men of Command, Priſoners; all which he carry'd away bound in Carts, and diſperſed into ſeveral Caſtles both in *Normandy* and *England*. This Victory, which might ſeem to have Eſtabliſh'd him in his Throne, was his Undoing; for by the ill uſe of it he loſt himſelf and his Reputation for ever. For Prince *Arthur* was ſhortly after (by his means, as was thought) murther'd[a] in Priſon, and many of the Priſoners and Hoſtages cruelly executed; which ſo exaſperated the Nobility of *Britain*, *Anjou*, and *Poictou*, that they took up Arms againſt him, appealed for Juſtice to the King of *France*, and ſummon'd him to appear in his Court; which he refuſing, he was condemned to loſe his Dutchy of *Normandy*, which his Anceſtors had held three hundred Years, and all his other Dominions in *France*, which either through his own Negligence, or Treachery of his Miniſters, who were diſaffected to him, was brought about, and he wholly diſpoſſeed of them[b].

A. D. 1202. Reg. 4.

1203.

In this miſerable Condition he returns into *England*, and charges the Lords and Barons with his Loſſes in *France*, and fines them to pay the ſeventh part of all their Goods for refuſing their Aſſiſtance, not ſparing the Church it ſelf. *Hubert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* exacted this rigorous Tax of the Clergy, and *Jeffrey Fitz-Peter*, Chief Juſtice of *England*, of the Laity. But all this Treaſure was not ſufficient to ſupply his Wants, and furniſh him with Aſſiſtance to recover his Loſſes, (which was the end of raiſing it) and therefore in leſs than a Year he was forced to call a Parliament[c] at *Oxford*, to obtain in a more ſatisfactory way another Tax, and by it got a Grant of two Marks and an half upon every Knight's Fee for a Military Aid, and a proportionable Contribution of the Clergy. But no ſooner was this Money gather'd, but an Occaſion was offer'd of ſpending it in *France*, that devouring Gulph of the *Engliſh* Treaſure, by a Revolt begun in *Britain* by *Guido*, the Husband of *Conſtance*, *Arthur's* Mother, *Saveri de Malleon*, and *Almaric Luſignian*, with many other Confederates; who not receiving that Satisfaction they expected from their new Maſter, call'd in the old one again; ſhewing us, that only Men's private Intereſts ſway their Affections, though they often pretend Honour and Juſtice. King *John* hearing of it, haſted over into *Normandy*, and by the Forces he carry'd and found there, won the Caſtle of *Mont-alban*, and a little after the City *Angeirs*, and was in a fair way of recovering more; but the King of *France*, by the Fortune of one Day, (wherein he overthrew and took Priſoners the chief Confederates, *Guido*, *Almeric*, and *Saveri*) forced him to accept of a Truce for two Years, and return into *England* for more Supplies, which he took his old methods to obtain, by impoſing a Tax of the thirteenth part of every Man's Moveables, and other Goods, both of the Clergy and Laity. But his Subjects now ſeeing their Eſtates conſumed without ſucceſs, and likely to be a continual Prey to his extravagant Deſigns, began to bethink themſelves of recovering their ancient Immunities, which had been uſurped by their late Kings, and eaſe themſelves of thoſe Burthens indirectly laid upon them. The Archbiſhop of *York* was the firſt Man that began the Quarrel between the King and his Subjects, by oppoſing the Collection of the Impoſition, and ſolemnly Curſing the Receivers of it; and then conveyed himſelf out of the Kingdom, chooſing rather to live in Baniſhment abroad, than under Oppreſſion at home. And here began the miſerable Breach between the King and his People, which coſt more Noble Blood to make up again than all the foreign Wars ſince the Conqueſt. For this Conteſt (tho' it had ſeveral Intermiſſions) did not fully ceaſe till the *Great Charter* (which was firſt obtain'd of this King *John*, and confirm'd by his Son *Henry* III.

John is angry with the Barons, and fines them.

1205. Reg. 7.

Civil Wars between John and his Subjects, and the Cauſe of it.

[a] It is not certain that Prince *Arthur* was murther'd, tho' perhaps King *John* was charg'd with it: Kings themſelves, if not lov'd, can't eſcape foul Aſperſions. *Arthur* was King *John's* Priſoner of War, and ſuch an one as it ſeems Adverſity could not humble; for when the King in Priſon promis'd him his Favour, if he would renounce his Amity with the King of *France*, and live peaceably, he was ſo far from compliance, that he threaten'd him; which oblig'd the King to keep him in ſtraighter Impriſonment. And *Matt. Paris* ſays, To eſcape this tedious Confinement, he ventur'd to ſwim over the River *Seine*, and was drown'd. Others write, that he dy'd of Grief.

[b] *Roan*, the Capital City of *Normandy*, and the laſt that held out for King *John*, was taken in the Year 1204.

[c] *Matt. Paris* calls it a *Colloquium*.

A. D. 1207. Reg. 9.

but was never obſerved by either) was freely ratified by that judicious King, *Edward* I. in the 27th Year of his Reign, which was above eighty Years after. This was the firſt Civil Diſſention between the King and his Nobles that we find upon Record ſince the Eſtabliſhment of the *Engliſh* Kingdom; and to underſtand the Cauſes and Occaſions of it, I ſhall take a View of the poſture of Affairs at that time.

The Norman *Nobility.*

It was about an hundred and forty Years ſince *William* the Conqueror planted the *Norman* Nobility here, whoſe Poſterity being now become meer *Engliſh*, were at this time very numerous, rich, and of great Spirits, being exerciſed in the Wars of *France*, where moſt of them were Commanders of Caſtles, and had great Eſtates, as well as in *England*. But being under this violent and unſucceſsful King depriv'd both of their Employments and Eſtates abroad, they contriv'd all they could to preſerve what they had left, and enrich themſelves at home; which becauſe they could not do ſo long as they were perpetually haraſſed at the King's Will, they reſolv'd to make uſe of their own Martial Courage, and the Privileges of the Nation to do it. Their Cauſe was much better than their Proſecution of it, which filled all things with Injuſtice and Diſorder. The ſtrange Corruption of the Times contributed much to the Miſchief. An ambitious Clergy, polluted with Avarice, brought in a feigned Piety to be a Party in it. The Occaſion of their Interpoſition in this Affair began about the Election of a new Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* after the Death of *Hubert*, after this manner: The Monks of that Convent pretending, that it belong'd to them by their ancient Privileges to elect an Archbiſhop, met in the Night and choſe one *Reginald* their Sub-Prior, on purpoſe to prevent the King's Nomination, and taking an Oath of Secrecy of him, diſpatch'd him to *Rome* to be inſtall'd. But his great Joy for his Preferment ſoon brake out, and his Election was openly diſcover'd at his arrival in *Flanders*; which the Monks hearing, and fearing the King's Diſpleaſure, they ſent to crave leave to elect a fit Perſon for their See. The King thereupon nominates to them *John Gray*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, whom he favour'd much, and perſuaded them to prefer; which, after long Debate, they yielded to: And ſo *John Gray* was advanced to the Chair, wherein (ſaith *Matt. Paris*) their laſt Error was worſe than their firſt; and began that Conteſt, which proved an irreparable Damage to the whole Kingdom.

An Election of an Archbiſhop of Canterbury *by the Monks and King.*

Both Elections null'd and Stephen Langton *choſen by the Pope.*

This Election being made, the King ſends to *Rome* ſome of the Monks of *Canterbury* (among whom was *Elias de Branfield*, a truſty Servant of the King's) with a plentiful Proviſion for their Journey, to obtain the Pope's Confirmation of it. The Suffragan Biſhops of the Church of *Canterbury* ſent alſo their Complaints againſt the Monks, for Electing without their Concurrence, which by Right and Cuſtom they ought to have; alledging, that three Archbiſhops had been by them elected. The Monks oppoſed their Allegation, and offer'd to bring Proof, that they only, by the ſpecial Privilege of the *Roman* See, were accuſtom'd to elect. The Pope appointed a certain Day for the deciding of this Controverſie; and upon hearing of both ſides fully, pronounced both Elections void, by the Advice of the Cardinals; the firſt, becauſe it was made in the Night, and not in a fit Seaſon; and the other, becauſe the firſt, tho' irregular, was not juridically made null: And then propounded unto the Monks a third Man, which was *Stephen de Langton*, an *Engliſh-man* born, and a Cardinal of an high Spirit, whom he perſuaded them to elect; alledging, that it was in their Power by his Prerogative to make good his Choice. *Stephen Langton* being thus choſen, and after conſecrated at *Viterbo*, the Pope diſmiſſes the Monks and the King's Agents with Letters to King *John*, exhorting him to receive this Archbiſhop favourably, who was canonically elected, a Native of his Kingdom, a Doctor of Divinity, and Learned in all the Sciences, and which exceeded his Learning, of a good Life and Converſation, every way fit to hold ſo great a Place, *&c.* He wrote alſo to the Prior and Monks of *Canterbury*, charging them by Virtue of their holy Obedience to receive the Archbiſhop for their Paſtor, and obey him in all Spiritual and Temporal Matters. The Letters being brought to the King, with an Account of what had been done at *Rome*, ſo enraged him, that in heat of Paſſion he ſent *Fulke de Cantlo* [a], and *Henry de Cornhill*, two fierce Knights, with ſome armed Men, to expel the Monks of *Canterbury*, as Traytors, out of the Kingdom, and ſeize upon all they had, which was as hotly executed as commanded, and the Prior and all the Monks fled into *Flanders*, (except ſuch as were not able through Sickneſs to remove.)

A. D. 1207. Reg. 9.

John offended at the Pope's Election, writes to him.

Then he wrote a ſharp Letter to the Pope, 'accuſing him, that he had done him wrong in 'making the Election of the Biſhop of *Norwich* 'void, being a Man he greatly favour'd, and advancing *Stephen Langton*, a Perſon unknown to 'him, and bred up in the Kingdom of *France*, 'among his Enemies; and which was more to 'his Prejudice, and againſt the Prerogative of his 'Crown, he had preferr'd him without his Conſent, which ſhould firſt have been required. 'So that he much wonder'd, that the Pope and 'Court of *Rome* ſo little valued his Friendſhip; 'and did not conſider, that his Kingdom of *England* yielded them more Advantage than any 'Kingdom on this ſide the *Alps*. He alſo added, 'That he would vindicate the Liberties of his 'Crown to Death, and would not recede from 'the Election of the Biſhop of *Norwich*, whom 'he knew every way fit for the Place. And in 'the Concluſion threatens, that if he were not 'gratified in the Premiſſes, he would hinder all 'reſort to the Court of *Rome*; and that, if Neceſſity required, he had in his Kingdom of *England*, and his other Dominions, Archbiſhops, 'Biſhops, and other Prelates, of ſo great Learning as could do the buſineſs of his Nation, without going to beg Juſtice of Strangers.

The Pope's Anſwer to the King.

The Pope having received this Letter from the King, return'd anſwer to it, beginning with theſe Words: 'Whereas we wrote to you concerning 'the Buſineſs of the Church of *Canterbury*, exhorting and perſuading you, humbly, earneſtly, 'and mildly; you have written again to us (as 'I may with your leave ſay) in a contumacious 'manner, reproving and threatning us; and tho' 'we took care to give you more than your Right, 'you have not been careful to give us ours; reſpecting us leſs than becomes you: And if your 'Devotion be moſt neceſſary for us, ours is no 'leſs fit for you. And whereas we have honour'd 'no Prince ſo much as you, you have derogated 'from our Honour more than any other Prince 'in the like Caſe would have done; alledging 'certain frivolous Pretences, why you can't conſent to the Election of our beloved Son *Stephen* 'Langton, Cardinal of *S. Chryſogonus*, made by 'the Monks of *Canterbury*, becauſe he hath been 'bred among your Enemies, and his Perſon is 'altogether unknown to you. To which he replies:

[a] *Fulke de Cantelupe.*

A. D. 1207. Reg. 9.

'plies: That it was for his Reputation, not his 'Fault, that he had liv'd ſo long at *Paris*, where 'he had made ſo great Progreſs in his Studies, as 'to be created a Doctor not only of the Learned 'Sciences but of Divinity; and for his Life, 'agreeable to his Learning, obtain'd a Prebend 'at *Paris*. Wherefore he could not but wonder, 'that a Man of ſo great note, and a Native of 'his Kingdom, ſhould be unknown to him, at 'leaſt in Fame; eſpecially ſince (ſaith he) you 'have written thrice unto him, ſince he hath 'been made a Cardinal by us, aſſuring him, 'That tho' you had a Deſire to call him to your 'familiar Attendance, yet you rejoiced that he 'was exalted to an higher Office. Then he 'makes an Excuſe to the King, that his Conſent 'was not requir'd; altho' (ſaith he) in Elections 'celebrated at the Apoſtolick See, the Conſent 'of Princes is not to be expected, yet were two 'Monks deputed to go unto you, to ask your 'Conſent, who were ſtopp'd at *Dover*, ſo that 'they could not deliver the Meſſage enjoyn'd 'them, with many other things. So that at 'length (ſaith he) we reſolv'd to do, as the Ca-'nonical Sanctions order'd, without declining to 'the Right Hand or to the Left; that there 'might be no farther Delays to our pious Deſigns, 'leſt the Lord's Flock ſhould be without Paſto-'ral Cure, and therefore it can't be revok'd.' And in the Concluſion he uſeth theſe Words; 'As we have had more Reſpect to your Honour, 'than we were oblig'd in Duty, do you give us 'that Honour which is our Due, that you may 'deſerve God's Favour and ours; leſt by doing 'otherwiſe, you bring your ſelf into ſo great 'Troubles, as can't eaſily be remov'd. For he 'in the end muſt overcome, to whom all Knees 'bow, both in Heaven and Earth and Hell, whoſe 'Vicegerency here below we (tho' unworthy) 'do exerciſe: Yield not therefore to their Coun-'ſels, who deſire to involve you in Confuſions, 'that themſelves may fiſh in troubled Waters, 'but ſubmit your ſelf to our Pleaſure, which 'will tend to your Praiſe and Honour. Neither 'is it ſafe for you to oppoſe God and the Church, 'for which the Bleſſed Martyr and Eminent Bi-'ſhop *Thomas* lately dy'd; eſpecially ſince your 'Father and Brother, of Glorious Memory, late 'Kings of *England*, have by the Hands of the 'Legates of the Apoſtolick See, abjur'd that 'impious Cuſtom: We, if you behave your ſelf 'well, will ſufficiently take care, that no Preju-'dice ſhall ariſe to you, or yours hereby. Da-'ted at the *Lateran* in the 10th Year of our Pon-'tificate.' Thus did theſe two great and pow-

The Pope's Command to the Biſhops upon the Baniſhment of the Monks, and the King's Anſwer to it.

erful Princes defend their Prerogatives with Words: But when the Pope underſtood with what Severity the King had proceeded againſt the Monks of *Canterbury*, he ſends preſently his Mandate to the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, and *Worceſter*, commanding them to treat firſt mildly with the King, and exhort him to reform his Actions; but if he obſtinately perſiſted, to interdict the whole Kingdom, and if that would not prevail, he would deal more ſeverely with him himſelf: And withal charged the Suffragan Biſhops of the Province of *Canterbury*, by Virtue of their Obedience, to receive their Archbiſhop *Stephen*, and to obey him with all Reſpect. The Biſhops, according to the Pope's Injunction, went to the King, and ſhewing him the Pope's Mandate, beſought him, 'For the Love 'of God, to recall the Archbiſhop and Monks 'of *Canterbury*, and to uſe them with Kindneſs 'and Reſpect, that he might avoid the Trouble 'of an Interdiction, &c. The King interrupting the Biſhop's Speech, broke out into a violent Paſſion againſt the Pope and Cardinals, ſwearing by God's Teeth[a], 'That if they or any other 'ſhould dare to put the Kingdom under Interdi-'ction, he would ſend all the Clergy of *England* 'immediately to the Pope, and confiſcate their 'Goods: And if any Perſon came from *Rome* for 'that end were found in any part of the Land, 'he would have their Eyes put out and Noſes 'cut off, and ſo ſent home, that by theſe Marks 'they might be known of other Nations, charg-'ing the Biſhops to depart his Preſence imme-'diately, as they tender'd their own Safety.' The Biſhops ſoon after give the Pope an Account of the Succeſs of their Meſſage, and the King-dom was thereupon interdicted, the Miniſtration of Sacraments ceaſed (except of Confeſſion, Extream Unction, and Baptiſm of Children) the Dead was buried without Prieſt or Prayer[b]. The Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, *Worceſter*, *Bath*, and *Hereford*, fled ſecretly out of the Kingdom. The King to requite this Severity, ſends his Sheriffs and other Miniſters, to command all the Biſhops and their Servants to depart forthwith out of the Kingdom, puts the Biſhopricks, Abbies, and Priories into the hands of Lay-men, confiſcating all their Revenues; but the Biſhops got into the Monaſteries, and would not depart, unleſs expell'd by Force, which the Officers would not do, becauſe their Commiſſion did not reach ſo far; wherefore they ſeiz'd on their Goods for the King's Uſe. The Monkiſh Writers of thoſe Times give us a Tragical Account of the barbarous Uſage the Clergy [c] and Religious Men met withal from the King's Servants at this Time, and 'tis probable the incenſed King might encourage Men to injure and abuſe them, from whom he ſuffer'd ſo much, but their rebellious Obſtinacy deſerv'd ſuch Severities, that their credible Relations will paſs for Forgeries.

A. D. 1207. Reg. 9.

The Kingdom interdicted. 1208.

The King not having been able to prevent this Curſe, ſets himſelf to hinder the ill Conſequents of it. He was ſenſible, that this Breach with the Church would endanger his Peace, and probably cauſe a Defection among his Subjects; and therefore to avoid it, he ſent a Body of Soldiers to all the moſt potent Men in his Kingdom, to require of them Hoſtages for their Fidelity, which many of them yielded to, ſending ſome their Sons, other their Nephews, and others their neareſt Kin. *William de Brauſe*, a Nobleman, being requir'd to deliver his Hoſtage, was prevented in his Anſwer by his Wife, who told the Commiſſioners, 'That the King ſhould have none 'of her Sons to keep, becauſe he kept *Arthur* his 'own Brother's Son ſo ill.' Which raſh Speech the Baron ſharply reproving his Wife for before the King's Servants, told them, 'That he was 'ready, if he had offended, to ſatisfie the King 'without any Pledge, according to the Judg-'ment of his Court, or that of his Peers at any 'Time or Place whatſoever.' But his Wife's Anſwer was taken more notice of than his, and reported to the King, who ſends immediately to apprehend the Baron; but he having notice of it, or fearing what would follow, got away with his Wife and Children into *Ireland*, where this afflicted Lady ſought all ways to pacifie the King's Wrath, and preſented the Queen with four hundred Milk-white Cows and a Bull: But this would not procure her Pardon. The King at length apprehended her and her Sons, the Baron himſelf eſcaping

The King takes Pledges of his Nobles.

[a] His uſual Oath was, *By God's Feet*, and he ſwore ſo now.

[b] As *M. Paris* ſays, in the Highways and Ditches.

[c] Their Concubines, *Focariæ*, are particularly nam'd by *Paris* to be taken from them, and the Prieſts and Clerks were forc'd to pay great Compoſitions to recover them.

A. D. 1208. Reg. 11.

eſcaping into *France*) and impriſon'd them in *Windſor* Caſtle; where both ſhe and her innocent Children were famiſh'd to Death, a ſharp Puniſhment for a raſh Tongue.

The Exchequer removed from London. 1209.

The King diſpleaſed with the *Londoners*, removed his Exchequer to *Northampton*, and with a great Army marches towards *Scotland*, to make War upon that King for harbouring his Enemies, and aſſiſting them againſt him. But by mediation a Peace was agreed upon, on theſe Conditions: *That the King of* Scots *ſhould pay eleven thouſand Marks of Silver, and deliver up his two Daughters Hoſtages to ſecure the Peace.* In his Return he cauſed all the Incloſures of his Foreſts to be beaten down, to the great Grief of his Subjects; whom, though he never minded to ſatisfie, yet he ſought all Means to faſten them in their Obedience, (whereof Love, not Rigour, is the faſteſt Tye) and therefore took Homage of all Free-Tenants, yea even of Children of twelve Years old throughout the Kingdom.

King John *Excommunicated.*

After the Interdiction had lain upon the Kingdom two Years, to the Diſtraction of the People, but without the Effect intended upon the King, the Pope thinking to bring him to compliance, proceeds to the Excommunication of his Perſon; a Piece of Rigour, which his Predeceſſor *Alexander*, being better adviſed, would not uſe againſt *Henry* II. tho' accus'd of a more heinous Crime upon the Perſon of *Thomas Becket*; but this Method failed alſo, and the King grew only the more enraged againſt the Clergy: So that, notwithſtanding the Pope's Mandate, they durſt not execute it for many Days after, but kept it cloſe from his knowledge; but at length it came to his Ears, by the Means of *Jeffrey* Arch-deacon of *Norwich*, an Officer in the King's Exchequer, who conferring with his Fellows about the Sentence, affirmed, That it was not lawful for any Beneficed Men to remain in the Service and Obedience of an Excommunicated King; and ſo without leave withdrew himſelf from his Place to his own Houſe. The King hearing of this Action was very angry, and preſently ſent Sir *William Talbott* with armed Men to apprehend him, and lay him in Fetters in cloſe Impriſonment; and afterward, at the King's Command, he was put into a Sheet of Lead [a], in which, with the Weight, and want of Victuals, he periſh'd.

Otho *the Emperor Excommunicated.*

The Excommunication of the King of *England* was accompany'd the ſame Year with another, of the Emperor *Otho*, his Nephew, which like his Uncle's was look'd upon as a Strain of the Pope's Pride and Injuſtice; 'becauſe it was done in a 'Caſe of the Pope's own private Intereſt, ſeeking 'to extend his Authority beyond the Bounds of 'a Spiritual Juriſdiction, which reaches only to 'their Souls, not Eſtates. For tho' the Pope had been very inſtrumental in raiſing him to the Imperial Dignity, and oppoſing the Election of *Philip*, Son of *Fredericke Barbaroſſa*, for his own Ends, becauſe in the Vacancy of the Empire he had ſeized certain Parts of *Italy* belonging to it, and hoped ſo to keep them; yet when *Otho* ſought to recover his Right, he procured the Pope's Diſpleaſure, who ſent him divers Meſſages to deſiſt from the Proſecution of his Deſign, both in reſpect to himſelf, and *Fredericke* King of *Sicily*, who had put himſelf under the Protection of the Apoſtolick See. To theſe Meſſages the Emperor reply'd, 'That if the Pope deſires unjuſtly to 'uſurp any thing that belongs to the Empire, he 'muſt abſolve me from the Oath which he cauſed 'me to take at my Coronation, which was, That 'I ſhould recall and recover the Rights which 'had been rent from the Empire, and I will de-'ſiſt. But the Pope refuſing this, and the Emperor not deſiſting from his Claim, the Pope iſſu'd out his Excommunication againſt him, and abſolved all the States of *Germany* from their Obedience to him. And thus were two of the greateſt Princes in the World left to the Mercy of their Subjects, ſo far as lay in the Pope's Power; but the Ligaments and Sinews of Government were not ſo wholly diſſolved, eſpecially in *England*, but the Kingdom continued ſtill in ſome tolerable Order and Quiet, the Natural Affections of ſome, Senſe of Duty and Obligations of Intereſt in others, keeping them firm to their Loyalty and Allegiance; ſo that moſt of the Nobles adhered to their King.

A. D. 1209.

1210.

King John's *Expedition into* Ireland. 1211.

But becauſe Eaſe and Idleneſs would probably corrupt his Loyal Subjects, and make them ready to hearken to the Suggeſtions of the Pope againſt him, therefore the King reſolv'd to keep them in Employment; and having receiv'd an Intelligence of a Revolt of the *Iriſh*, he undertakes an Expedition into *Ireland* to ſecure his Dominions there. At his firſt arrival, all the great Men, which held the Caſtles and Champion Country near the Coaſts, came in, and did their Homage and Fealty to him at *Dublin*; but thoſe that lived in the more remote Parts, and held the Forts, refuſed to come; of which *Catalus* King of *Connaught* was the ſtrongeſt, and the Confidence of the reſt. King *John* therefore attack'd and conquer'd him, and ſoon became abſolute Maſter of the Country; which to reduce into better Order, he commanded to be govern'd by the Laws and Cuſtoms of *England*, cauſed *Engliſh* Money to be coined there, of equal Value and alike Current as in *England*, with many other Conſtitutions, which if they had been as carefully kept as they were wiſely ſettled, might have kept that Kingdom in entire Obedience ever after, and ſaved all the Pains and Expence which it coſt in after-Ages to preſerve it. After three Months ſtay, having made *John Gray* Biſhop of *Norwich* Chief Juſtice there, he return'd home, and preſuming upon his ſtrength, ſummon'd all the Prelates of the Kingdom to appear before him at *London*, where he extorted from them for the Redemption of their Sees from the Laity, an hundred thouſand Pound Sterling. With this Sum he was enabled to go on with his Expedition into *Wales*, which then rebelled under *Lewelin* King of *North-Wales*, and reduced it to his Obedience in the twelfth Year of his Reign, taking twenty eight Children of their beſt Families for Pledges of their future Subjection. At his return, he exacted two Marks of every Knight that attended not upon his Army in that Expedition; and by the way at *Northampton* is pleaſed to receive the Pope's Agents, *Pandulphus* and *Durandus*, who came from the Pope to make Peace between the Kingdom and Clergy, and found the King ſo pliable to their Propoſals and Advice, in Conſideration of the State of the Kingdom, that he conſented that the Archbiſhop and Monks of *Canterbury*, with all the exil'd Biſhops, ſhould return to their Places, but refuſed to make good their Eſtates which he had confiſcated: At which the Agents of the Pope departing unſatisfied, brought greater Troubles upon the King. For the Pope finding him a little yielding, grew more intolerably Imperious, and would force him to what he pleaſed; and for that End abſolved all his Subjects, of what Condition ſoever, from their Obedience, ſtrictly forbidding them, under pain of Excommunication, the King's Table, Counſel

Wales *rebels, and is reduced to Obedience.*

1212.

[a] 'Twas a Leaden Cope. *Matt. Paris.*

A. D. 1212. Reg. 14. and Conference; which notwithſtanding prevail'd not ſo much as to keep his Subjects from paying their Service to him; tho' it cauſed a Revolt of the *Welſh*, and a Conſpiracy of ſome of his People againſt him. The *Welſh* he haſted to ſubdue, and hang'd up their twenty eight Hoſtages for Breach of Peace; but before he could effect it, the Conſpiracy againſt his Perſon being diſcover'd, he was obliged to return to *London* to ſuppreſs the

1213. ſuſpected Nobles, of which he got Pledges; but *Euſtace de Veſcy* and *Robert Fitz-Walter*, the Leaders of it, eſcaped, the one into *France*, and the other into *Scotland*. The Pope being thus again diſappointed of his Deſigns, proceeded to his laſt Efforts, and pronounced the greateſt and moſt imperious Sentence that ever was given againſt any Sovereign Prince, *viz.* an abſolute Depoſition from the Royal Government of *England*; and wrote to the King of *France*. 'That 'as he deſired to have Remiſſion of his Sins, he 'ſhould undertake to expel King *John* out of the 'Kingdom of *England*, and poſſeſs the ſame for 'himſelf and his Heirs for ever. And to the ſame effect he ſent his Letters to other Princes, and great Men of other Nations, 'That they 'ſhould aſſiſt the King of *France* in ejecting the 'Contumacious King of *England*, who had done 'ſo great Injury to the Univerſal Church; 'granting them the ſame Remiſſion of Sins, as 'if they undertook the Holy War.

The Pope depoſeth the King, and gives his Kingdom to the French.

With the former Commiſſion were the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the other baniſhed Biſhops, with *Pandulphus*, diſpatch'd to the King of *France* for the Execution thereof; which notwithſtanding the Pope ſeems to have done, rather to terrifie King *John*, than greaten the King of *France*, whom the Pope deſired not to make more powerful; for he order'd *Pandulphus* to condition thus with him apart: 'That if upon the Prepa-'rations gather'd by him againſt King *John*, he 'could bring the King of *England* to ſuch Con-'ditions as he ſhould propound, he ſhould be 'abſolved and reſtored. The King of *France*, upon this Requeſt and Order of the Pope, and Solicitation of his Miniſters, commands all his Nobility and Princes within his Dominions to aſſemble their Forces, with Horſe, Armour, and all Amunition, to aſſiſt him in this buſineſs, and be ready in the Spring under pain of being depriv'd of their Eſtates; preparing alſo a great Navy for their Tranſportation into *England*. King *John* having Information of theſe Deſigns againſt him, ſends to all the Ports of his Kingdom, commanding, That all the Ships, which could poſſibly be gotten, be ready againſt the Spring for this Expedition; and ſummoning 'all Earls, Ba-'rons, and all Perſons of every Condition what-'ſoever, that could bear Arms, to be ready at 'Dover immediately after *Eaſter*, furniſh'd with 'Horſe, Armour, and all other Military Pro-'viſions, to defend themſelves and his Kingdom 'againſt the intended Invaſion, under pain of 'Culvertage (*i. e.* being branded for Cowards) 'and perpetual Servitude. Whereupon ſo great numbers of People reſorted to *Dover*, *Feverſham*, *Ipſwich*, and other places ſuſpected for their Landing, that ſufficient Arms and Proviſion could not be got for them; ſo that Multitudes were ſent home again as unneceſſary, and only the choice and abler Sort reſerved, which amounted to the number of ſixty Thouſand, well provided for Battel, beſides the Navy, much greater than the King of *France*'s [a]. King *John* thus prepared, ſtood in Expectation of his Enemies, when privately two Knights Templars, ſent over by *Pandulphus*, came to propound a Treaty to him about a Pacification, which, notwithſtanding all this Preparation, the King accepted. *Pandulphus* being preſently advertiſed of it, withdraws himſelf out of the *French* Army, and came over to treat with him; whom he ſo terrified with the Forces bent againſt him, and the Danger he was in, that he yielded to any Conditions whatſoever; and not only grants a Reſtitution and Satisfaction of whatever had been taken from the Archbiſhop and Monks of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, *Bath* and *Lincoln*, who were fled to the Archbiſhop, but alſo [b] lays down his Crown, Scepter, Mantle, Sword and Ring, the Badges of his Royal Dignity, at the Feet of *Pandulphus*; delivering up therewith the Kingdom of *England* to the Pope, and ſubmitting himſelf to the Judgment and Mercy of the Church. Two Days (ſome write, ſix) it was before the Legate would reſtore him his Crown; and at the receiving of it he ſwore, (his Earls undertaking for him) That he and his Succeſſors ſhould hold the Kingdom of *England*, and the Lordſhip of *Ireland*, of the See of *Rome*, at the Yearly Tribute of a thouſand Marks of Silver. And this, with his Homage and Fealty, he confirmed by his [c] Charter at an Houſe of the Templars near *Dover*. The weighty Reaſons which moved King *John* to condeſcend to ſuch diſhonourable Terms are ſaid by the Hiſtorians of thoſe Times to be theſe: 'The Senſe of 'his own Sins againſt God, having lived five 'Years excommunicated, and the Troubles the 'Kingdom was in by the Interdiction. 2. The 'Greatneſs of his Enemies, the King of *France*, 'and his Adherence. 3. The doubtful Allegiance 'of his Nobility, whom he had offended. 4. The 'Approach of Aſcenſion-day, after which one '*Peter*, an Hermite and Southſayer, had prophe-'ſied, he ſhould be no more King of *England*; which, tho' miſtaken in the manner, was in ſome ſort fulfilled by this Reſignation. But the Southſayer and his Son was put to Death not long after for his otherwiſe interpreted Divination. But notwithſtanding this Submiſſion of King *John*, the Interdiction of the Kingdom continu'd, and his own Abſolution was deferr'd, till full Reſtitution was made to the Clergy, for whom eight thouſand Marks of Silver was preſently deliver'd to *Pandulphus*, who at the receiving thereof trampled it under his Feet, as contemning the baſe Matter in reſpect of the Grace conferr'd upon the Tranſgreſſor; and ſo return'd with it into *France*, where he declared what had paſſed in *England*; 'and forbids the King of *France*, upon pain of 'Excommunication, to proceed any farther in 'this Expedition, ſince King *John* had ſo much 'ſubmitted himſelf to the Church.

A. D. 1213. Reg. 15.

John's Submiſſion to Pandulphus *the Pope's Legate, and the Reaſons of it.*

King of France's *Preparations to invade* John's *Dominions.*

The King of *France* being in a Readineſs for this great Invaſion, and full of hopes of Victory, flew into a great Paſſion at the Receipt of this ſudden and unexpected Meſſage, and was hardly diverted from his Intentions, by reaſon of the great Charge he had been at [d], and through the Diſhonour

The King of France *diſappointed of* England, *invades* Flanders, *and is beaten.*

[a] Tho' that was ſeventeen hundred Sail.

[b] Many of the Peers, who were preſent at this Act of Reſignation made by King *John* to *Pandulphus*, were much diſpleas'd, not only with the King for ſo much debaſing himſelf, but more with *Pandulphus* for his inſolent Behaviour in accepting and detaining his Regalities; and particularly *Henry* Archbiſhop of *Dublin* proteſted againſt it, as an illegal Inchroachment upon the Crown of *England*.

[c] This Charter is extant at large in Mr. *Fox's Acts and Monuments*, p. 230.

[d] Sixty thouſand Pounds.

A. D. 1213. Reg 15.

Diſhonour of the thing; but at laſt, ſeeing his Confederates all diſcouraged by the Menaces of the Church, he gave it over, tho' unwillingly; but for his own Reputation, and through Deſire of Revenge, having ſo great Forces a-foot, and his Navy ready at the Mouth of the *Seine*, he reſolv'd to undertake ſomething that might give Satisfaction to the Adventurers, and his own People, who had embark'd in that Action. And becauſe *Ferrard* Earl of *Flanders*, who was in Friendſhip with King *John*, refuſed to follow him in this Expedition, he falls upon him, who was next him, and enters his Port of *Dam*, vowing, *That* Flanders *ſhould be* France, *or* France Flanders. *Ferrard* ſeeing this Tempeſt coming on him, ſends to King *John* to aſſiſt him, who being glad that he had eſcap'd a defenſive War at Home, was eager to enter into an offenſive one Abroad, both to employ his Navy and keep his People in Action, who would be unſatisfied (he knew) if he diſmiſs'd them without Action; and therefore ſends away five hundred Sail of Ships, with ſeven hundred Knights, unto *Flanders*, under the Conduct of his baſe Brother *William Longeſpee* Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Reginald* Earl of *Bologne*; whom being driven out of *France* for ſome Demerit, he had entertain'd in his Court, and allow'd him a Penſion. Theſe arriving at the Port of *Dam* found the *French* Navy in great Diſorder, and without Defence (the Forces being gone out of it to invade the Country) and ſetting upon it defeated it wholly; and afterward, joyning their Power with *Ferrard*'s, drove the King of *France*'s Army home with great Diſhonour and exceeding great Loſs.

John endeavours to recovers his loſt Dominion in France.

King *John* being elivated with this Victory, and his Peace with the Church, reſolves upon great Deſigns; and taking the Opportunity of this Overthrow of the King of *France*, contrives to recover all his Dominions on that ſide the Sea, by aſſaulting that King on all Sides, engaging his Nephew *Otho*, the Emperor, to joyn the Earl of *Flanders* and invade the Eaſt Parts of *France*, while he with all his Forces would enter the Weſt; for the Execution of which purpoſe, he ſends firſt a Supply of Money to his Captains in *Flanders*, and then aſſembles a great Army at *Portſmouth* to paſs the Seas: But all his Contrivance was delay'd and ſpoil'd by the Revolt of his Nobility, who refus'd to aſſiſt or attend him in it till he were abſolved, and had confirm'd their Liberties to them. This unexpected Oppoſition to his Affairs in hand much enrag'd him, but ſeeing no way to avoid it, he ſends immediately for the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the other Biſhops who were yet in *France*, and promis'd them Reſtitution and Satisfaction under the Hands and Seals of twenty four of his Barons, and Earls who undertook for the Performance thereof according to the Form of the Charter made on this account before. *Pandulphus*, with the reſt of the exil'd Biſhops, came over forthwith and find the King at *Wincheſter* [b], where he came forth to meet them, and on his Knees with Tears receiv'd them, beſeeching them to have Compaſſion on him and of the Kingdom of *England*. He was abſolv'd with great Repentance, and Compaſſion of all the Beholders expreſs'd with Tears, and ſwears upon the Evangeliſts, 'To love, defend, and maintain Holy 'Church, and the Miniſters thereof, againſt their 'Adverſaries, to the utmoſt of his Power: That 'he would bring into Uſe again the good Laws 'of his Predeceſſors, and eſpecially of King *Edward*, abrogating all unjuſt Laws: That he 'would judge all his Subjects according to the 'juſt Judgment of his Court; and that immediately after *Eaſter* next following, he would 'make a full Satisfaction of all that had been 'taken from the Church. Which being done, he return'd to *Portſmouth* with an Intention to paſs over into *France*, committing the Government of the Kingdom to *Jeffrey Fitz-Peter*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, injoyning them to order all Affairs and Buſineſſes by the Counſel of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. And here a great Company of Soldiers repair'd to him, complaining, that by their long Attendance their Money was ſpent, ſo that they could not follow him, unleſs he would ſupply them out of his Exchequer; which the King refuſing to do, he took Ship in a Rage, with his Family, and ſail'd to the Iſle of *Jerſey*, expecting that his Nobles would follow him: But ſeeing none of them come, and the Seaſon for Action being over, he was forced to return again into *England*, where he gather'd an Army to chaſtiſe his Barons, who had forſaken him. But the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* follows him to *Northampton*. 'Urging, 'That it was againſt his Oath, taken at his Ab'ſolution, to proceed in that manner againſt 'any Man without the Judgment of his Court. To whom the King in great Paſſion replied, 'That he would not lay aſide the Buſineſs of 'the Kingdom for his Pleaſure, ſeeing the Judg'ment of the Laity did not belong to him, and 'ſo in a Fury marches to *Nottingham*. The Arch'biſhop ſtill purſues him, and plainly told him, 'That unleſs he would deſiſt from his Intention, 'he would excommunicate all ſuch as took up 'Arms againſt any Man, before he releas'd the 'Interdiction, and would not leave *him* till he 'had obtain'd a convenient Day for the Lords 'to come to his Court, which he at length 'granted. And [c] a Parliament was ſoon after called, and met in St. *Paul*'s Church, at which the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* produced a Charter of King *Henry* I. by which he granted to his People their ancient Liberties (which had been violated by his Predeceſſors unjuſt Exactions) according to the Laws of King *Edward*, with thoſe Amendments, which his Father by the Council of his Barons did ratifie. This Charter (which is extant in *M. Paris*) being read among the Barons, they much rejoyced at it, and ſwore in the Preſence of the Archbiſhop, That for theſe Liberties they would, if need requir'd, ſpend their Blood; and making an Agreement with the Archbiſhop to that end, the Parliament brake up.

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John *threatens his Barons, and the Archbiſhop forbids him to uſe Severity againſt them.*

The Barons revolt.

Shortly after this dy'd *Jeffrey Fitz-Peter*, Chief Juſtice of *England*, a Man of a generous Spirit, learn'd in the Laws and skilful in Government; the only Man, who in thoſe divided Times kept himſelf diſengag'd, performing the Part of an equal Counſellor and Officer between the King and his Subjects; whom tho' the King moſt uſed, he moſt feared and leaſt loved, as bad Princes do their worthieſt Miniſters, whoſe Gravity and Judgment keeps them in Awe. The King hearing of his Death, was much pleas'd, and ſaid, *When he comes into Hell, let him ſalute the Archbiſhop* Hubert, *whom he will certainly find there*; and turning to thoſe that attended, he ſwore by the Feet of God, *That now at length he was King and Lord of* England, being now at Liberty (as he imagin'd) to free himſelf from the Oath he had made to his great Men againſt his Will, and to

The Death of Fitz-Peter, *Chief Juſtice.*

[a] The *French* Hiſtorians affirm the Expedition againſt the Earl of *Flanders* was before *Pandulph* came over.
[b] They came to *Wincheſter* the 20th *July*, 1213. *Hol.*
[c] 'Twas a Synod of that Clergy, with ſome Barons among them. *M. Paris.*

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to break the Peace he had lately concluded. And first to make himself an absolute Master of his Subjects (of whose Combination against him he had gotten Intelligence) it is said, That he sent an Ambassage by *Thomas Hardington*, *Ralph Fitz-Nichols*, Knights, and *Robert* of *London*, Clerk, his Commissioner. to [a] *Miramumalim* the Moor, the great King of *Africa*, *Morocco*, and *Spain*; who was then the Terrour of all *Christendom*, with his mighty Army, promising him to resign his Kingdom to him, and hold it ever after by Tribute from him, as his Sovereign Lord, to forsake the Christian Faith (which he held vain) and become a *Mahometan*, if he would lend him a sufficient Aid to accomplish his Designs; but they return'd with an ineffectual Answer, either because (as his Enemies the Monks relate) he disdain'd the Baseness and Impiety of the Offer, or he was made unable to do it by reason of the Overthrow of his great Army with the Death of his Son, which soon after happen'd. The King being disappointed in this Attempt, takes another way to bring about his Design, and try Pope *Innocent* (a Person easie to be induc'd to do any thing for Money) with great Sums, and [b] a repeated Assurance of his Subjection, which he shortly after confirm'd by a fresh Oath and a new Charter to the Pope's Legate, the Bishop of *Tusculum* [c], who was sent over by the Pope for that purpose, with a full Authority to compose all Differences between the King and the Church. Several Assemblies were had in divers Places to settle this Agreement, and in the end the King having promis'd, and given Security to pay thirteen thousand Marks more in full Satisfaction for the Damages done to the Church. The Interdiction was releas'd [d], which had continu'd six Years, three Months, and fourteen Days, to the inestimable Loss of the Church and Churchmen, and the King recommended to the Court of *Rome* for a most tractable, obedient, and indulgent Son of the Church; and the Clergy, in stead of a Satisfaction for their particular Damages which they brought in to the Legate, receiv'd a sharp Reprimand for their Obstinacy in opposing him.

John's Embassadors sent to the Emperor of Morocco.

1214. *The Interdiction taken off.*

The King having referr'd the Determination of this whole Controversie to the Legate and some of his own Ministers (being fully assur'd of the Pope's Favour) was gone into *Poictou* to attack the King of *France*, according to his Design and Agreement with the Emperor *Otho*, who was to invade him by the way of *Flanders*. He landed at *Rochel* with his Queen, and having receiv'd the Fealty of many of the Barons of *Poictou*, marched forward into the Country, and recover'd many Castles and Places of Importance (as appears by his Letters from *Parthenas* to the Justices of the Exchequer, in which also he says, that he had promis'd his Daughter *Joanna* in Marriage to the Earl of *Marche*'s Son, tho' the King of *France* had desir'd her for his Son, but fraudulently.) From thence he goes into *Britain*, takes the City of *Nantz*, and prepar'd to encounter *Lewis* the *French* King's Son, who was come into those Parts with a mighty Army to stop his Proceedings. But the *Poictovins* having discover'd the Force of the Enemy, refus'd to fight: Where-

John's Success in Poictou.

upon the King to his extream Grief, forsook the Field, and was forced to come to a dishonourable Peace with the King of *France*, and so irrecoverably lost his Dominions there. But his Forces in *Flanders*, which were joyn'd with the Emperour's, and *Ferrand*'s, had far worse Luck; for the King of *France* having assembled all his Forces he could together, encountred them at *Bovines* Bridge, and overthrew the Emperour with all the Confederate Army, which consisted of one hundred fifty thousand Foot, besides Horse, of which fifteen hundred Knights were slain, and *Ferrand* Earl of *Flanders*, the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Bologn*, and (as the Annals of *Flanders* relate) the Dukes of *Brabant* and *Lemburg*, and the Earls of *Savoy* and *Luxemburgh* were taken Prisoners, the Emperour *Otho* IV. himself hardly escaping, who lived not long after.

A. D. 1214. Reg. 16.

The Battel of Bovines Bridge.

The Barons of *England* hearing of the King's Misfortunes, and fearing his outrageous Anger at his return, assembled themselves at St. *Edmondsbury*; where after a long Conference about the late produced Charter of *Henry* the First, they swore to one another upon the high Altar, That if King *John* refused to restore and confirm to them their Liberties, and the Rights of the Kingdom contain'd in it, they would make War upon him, till he had given them Satisfaction therein; and agreed, That after *Christmas* next they would petition him for the same, and in the mean time furnish themselves with Horses and Arms to be ready (if the King should recede from his Oath made at *Winchester* at the Time of his Absolution, for the Confirmation of these Liberties) to compel him to ratifie their Demands. After *Christmas* accordingly the Barons came in a Military manner to the King, who then lay in the new Temple, urging their Desires with great Vehemency. The King seeing their Resolution and Inclination to War, made them Answer, 'That 'the Matter they desir'd being of Importance, 'he would take time to consider of it till *Easter*, 'and in the mean time takes upon him the Vow 'of the Cross rather through Fear than Devo- 'tion; thinking himself safer among Infidels 'than Rebellious Subjects. The Lords continuing their Resolution, and foreseeing that the King would grant them nothing but by Force of Arms, summon'd their Army to *Stamford*, wherein 'tis said were two thousand Knights besides Esquires among the Foot; and from thence marches towards *Oxford*, where the King expected their coming, according to the time appointed for Answer to their Demands. The Barons being come to *Brackley* with their Army, the King sent the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *William* Earl of *Pembroke* his Marshal, with other grave Counsellors, to demand of them what were those Laws and Liberties: To whom they gave a Schedule, or List of them, to deliver to the King; which when the Commissioners read to the King, he asked them in great Anger, 'Why 'the Barons did not likewise demand the King- 'dom? And swore, That he would never grant 'those Liberties whereby himself should become 'a Slave. The Barons having receiv'd this Answer, and being as hasty as he was averse, resolve to seize upon the King's Castles; and having made

1215.

The Barons League.

The Barons rebel, seize the King's Castles, and possess themselves of London.

[a] This Embassy to *Miramumalim*, the *Mooriſh* Emperor, is judg'd by our *Engliſh* Historians a Monkish Lye, invented to blacken the Memory of this King, because he had been so severe to them; for it was the common Calumny of the Monks, that they had no Religion who lov'd not their Orders. *Mat. Paris* is the only Author that relates this Story; yet it seems improbable, that he who liv'd and wrote in the Reign of this King's Son, and by his particular Encouragement, should dare to report such a scandalous Embassy if it was not true.

[b] Archbishop *Langton* (tho' a great Friend to the *Roman* See) and all the Nobility protested against this Act of King *John*, in subjecting his See to the Pope; and the Nobility declar'd, That one of the chief Causes of their making War upon him was, because he had illegally alienated his Kingdom: And upon this account it was, that this Subjection to the Pope was recall'd by Parliament. 3 *Edw.* 1. and 40 *Edw.* 3. [c] *Fresati.*

[d] The Interdiction was taken off in St. *Paul*'s Church the 19th of *June*, 1214. *Hol.*

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made *Robert Fitz-Walter* their General, whom they entitled, *The Marſhal of the Army of God and Holy Church*, they preſently march towards *Northampton*, which they beſieg'd; but finding it in vain, departed to *Bedford*, where *William de Beauchamp* ſurrender'd to them; and the *Londoners* ſent a private Meſſage to them to invite them into their City, which they would deliver up to be ruled by them. The Barons glad of this news, repair immediately thither, and are joyfully accepted. And now being in Poſſeſſion of the greateſt Strength of the Kingdom, they not only increaſed daily in their Party, but grew bolder with the King; making another ſolemn Proteſtation, never to give over the Proſecution of their intended Deſign, till they conſtrain'd the King (whom they held perjur'd) to grant them their Rights. The King ſeeing himſelf in a manner wholly forſaken, having ſcarce ſeven Knights faithful to him, counterfeits the Biſhops Seals, and writes in their Names to all Nations, 'That 'the *Engliſh* were turn'd Apoſtates; and whoſo-'ever would come to invade them, he, by the 'Pope's conſent, would confer upon them all their 'Lands and Poſſeſſions.' But this Device taking no effect, becauſe of the ſmall Confidence they had either in him or his People, a Parly by the Mediation of the Earl Marſhal and others was obtained with the Barons, to be had between *Windſor* and *Stanes*, in a Meadow call'd [a] *Running-Mead*, (a Place anciently uſed for ſuch Conferences) where, after many Meetings and much Debate, the King freely conſented, for the Glory of God and Benefit of the Kingdom, to confirm thoſe Laws and Liberties formerly reſtored, and in part ordained by *Henry* the Firſt (contained now in the *Great Charter*, and *Charta Foreſtæ.*) And that there might be no Differences in this kind for the future, he granted them a Security for the firm and long Enjoyment of theſe Laws and Liberties in this manner: 'That there ſhould be 'twenty five Barons choſen out of their Number, 'whom they would, who to the utmoſt of their 'Power ſhould cauſe the ſame to be obſerved. 'And if the King, or his Chief Juſtice, ſhould 'break any Article of thoſe Laws, and their 'Offence be diſcover'd, four Barons of the twenty 'five ſhould come to the King, or in his Abſence 'out of the Kingdom, to his Juſtice, and ſignifie 'the Offence, requiring a Redreſs without delay; 'which if it were not made within forty Days 'after notice given, then thoſe four ſhould refer 'the Cauſe to the reſt of the twenty five, who 'with the Commons of the Land, may compel 'and force him by all means they could, *viz.* 'by ſeizing his Caſtles and Revenues, (his own, 'Queen's and Childrens Perſons excepted) till 'redreſs be made according to their Arbitration. 'And that whoſoever would, ſhould take their 'Oath for the Execution of it, and obey the Com-'mand of the twenty five Barons without Pro-'hibition; and if any of them diſſented, or would 'not aſſemble, the major part ſhall have the ſame 'power of proceeding. And for the greater Cau-'tion, the four Governors of the Caſtles of *Northampton*, *Kenelworth*, *Nottingham*, and *Scarborough*, ſhould be ſworn to obey the Command 'of the twenty five Barons, or the major part of 'them, in whatſoever they thought fit concern-'ing thoſe Caſtles, and none ſhould be placed 'in them, but ſuch as were faithful, and would 'obſerve that Oath, *&c.* That ſeveral Strangers, 'of which divers are expreſly nam'd, ſhould be 'baniſh'd the Kingdom, and a general Pardon for 'all Perſons concern'd in this Difference and Con-'teſt from firſt to laſt: That both Parties ſhould 'engage by Oath to keep this Agreement invi-'olable in all its Articles.' The King alſo ſends his Letters Patents to all the Sheriffs of his Kingdom, to cauſe all his Subjects, of what Degree ſoever, within their ſeveral Shires, to ſwear to obſerve thoſe Laws and Liberties thus granted by his Charter.

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Magna Charta *firſt granted, and ſworn to be obſerved.*

After this manner, and no better, were the Rights of the Kingdom recover'd; whereof, tho' the Nobles and People ſeem'd to have had the *Livery*, yet they wanted the *Seiſin*. For the King being among evil Counſellors [b], who told him, that by this Grant he had made himſelf a King without a Kingdom, a Lord without Dominions, and a Subject to his Subjects; preſently pretends, that what he had done was by Force, and therefore he had no Obligation to perform it, and reſolv'd that he would not; and ſo withdraws himſelf into the *Iſle of Wight*. From hence he ſends his Agents to *Rome* (where he could do almoſt any thing) to complain of this forced Act to the Pope, who by his definitive Sentence firſt condemns and makes void what had been done, and after excommunicates the Barons. During the King's abſence in this Retreat, the Barons knowing the Violence of his Nature, and ſenſible of their own Danger, kept themſelves in and about the City of *London*, and under a ſhew of Tournaments, and Exerciſe of Arms, retain'd with them ſuch a number of Men as was ſufficient for their own Defence; neither ſeeking to ſurprize his Perſon, nor intercept his Agents, both which they could eaſily have done, had they acted as Enemies, and not as Subjects, who ſought not the Deſtruction of their Prince, but Reſtitution of their own Liberties, and the Rights of the Kingdom. Nor was the King idle in this his Retreat in the Iſle, tho' he ſeem'd ſo; but in order to put his Deſigns in Execution, he diſpatch'd the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, then Chancellor of *England*, the Biſhop of *Norwich*, and others, with his Seal to procure him Forces from ſuch foreign Princes as held Correſpondency with him, appointing them to repair to *Dover* about *Michaelmas* following. In the mean time, without any Equipage, (except a few Servants, and Mariners) he ſpent his time in Fiſhing and Excurſions at Sea; inſomuch that the common Reports ran, That he was a Fiſherman, Merchant or Pyrate. But at the appointed time he meets at *Dover*, with thoſe Forces which had been gather'd for him out of *Poictou*, *Gaſcony*, *Lovain* and *Brabant*, under the Conduct of *Savarie de Maleon*, *Jeffrey* and *Oliver Butevile*, Brothers, *Walter Bucke*, and others, all deſperate Adventurers, leading as deſperate a Multitude of Soldiers, whoſe low Fortunes made them forward in any the moſt hazardous Attempt. With theſe the King ſets upon his Subjects, who could hardly be call'd rebellious; and had not *Hugh de Boues*, who was come from *Calis* with a farther Addition of forty thouſand Men, been drowned in the Paſſage, he had no doubt made a more general Conqueſt of *England* than the *Norman* did, conſidering what he effected with the Survivors. For after he had recover'd the Caſtle of *Rocheſter* (which *William de Albines* with memorable Courage held out three Months againſt him, and was forced to reſign, becauſe the Barons dare not relieve him) he marched over the whole Kingdom almoſt, and within half a Year got in all the Caſtles of the Barons

The King revokes his Grant of the Magna Charta.

The Barons again arm.

John *with foreign Forces conquers the Barons.*

[a] In *Runnemede*, which (as *Matt.* of *Weſtminſter* obſerves) ſignifies the Mead of Counſel.

[b] *Matt. Paris* ſays, Theſe wicked Counſellers were the Officers of his ſtanding Army of *Mercenaries*, *Ruptarii*, *Brabanders*, and *Flemiſh* Horſe.

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Barons, as far as the Borders of *Scotland*, and was abſolute Maſter of all *England*, except the City of *London*, on which he was afraid to adventure, becauſe of the united Power of the Barons, who had vow'd to die together in the defence of it: But dividing his Forces, with one part he cut off all ways of Supply, that he might annoy them; himſelf with another part marching Northward, and laying waſte the Countries as he went, as far as *Berwick*. He was intended to have invaded *Scotland*, as appear'd from his threatning *Alexander* King of the *Scots*, *That he would hunt the Fox out of his Hole*; alluding to his red Hair: But the

1216. news of ſome freſh Deſigns plotted by the Barons brought him back from thoſe Parts. For they ſeeing themſelves depriv'd of their Eſtates, (which were given to Strangers) their Wives and Daughters raviſh'd, and all their Subſtance conſum'd, deſperately fall upon another Extream,

Lewis *the* French *King's Son ſent for.* and ſend for aſſiſtance to *Lewis* the *French* King's Son, promiſing him by their free Election to inveſt him with the Crown of *England*, and engaged to give him Pledges for the Performance; being perſuaded, that upon the Approach of the *French*, King *John's French* Forces would forſake him. *Lewis* gave a good Entertainment to the Meſſage, and in a Parliament call'd for that Purpoſe by his Father *Philip* [a], it was reſolv'd upon, and a Meſſage ſent to the Barons, that he would ſpeedily ſend them Relief, and be not long behind them himſelf in Perſon, having hopes of the Crown of *England*, not only from their proffer'd Election, but alſo upon the Title which he pretended from *Blanch* his Wife, King *John's* Siſter's Daughter [b]. The Intelligence of this Deſign ſoon flew to *Rome*, and got to the Pope's Ears, who preſently ſends his Agent to the King of *France* with Letters to intreat him not to ſuffer his Son to invade or diſquiet the King of *England*, but rather to defend him, in regard he was a Vaſſal of the *Roman* Church, and the Kingdom, as to the Dominion of it, did belong thereunto. The King of *France* anſwers: 'That the Kingdom of *England* never 'was, nor is, nor ever ſhall be, the Patrimony of 'St. *Peter*; and that King *John* was never lawful 'King thereof, and if he were, he had forfeited 'it by the Murther of Prince *Arthur*, for which 'he was condemned in his Court; neither could 'he give away the Kingdom without the Conſent 'of the Barons, who are bound to defend the 'ſame: And if the Pope would maintain this 'Error, 'twould be a pernicious Example to all 'Kingdoms.' With this Anſwer the Pope's

Lewis *goes into* England *with a great Army.* Agents depart, but unſatisfied; and *Lewis* firſt having diſpatch'd Commiſſioners to *Rome*, to declare his Right, and juſtifie his Undertakings, ſets forth from *Calis* with ſix hundred Ships, and eighty other Veſſels, and lands [c] at *Sandwich* with his Army. King *John* waited at *Dover* for his landing, with purpoſe to encounter him; but upon notice of his great Forces, and diſtruſting the Faith of his Mercenaries, forſook the Field [d]; and having committed the keeping of the Caſtle to *Hubert de Burgh*, flies firſt to *Winchester*, and after to *Gloceſter*, and leaves all to the Will of his Enemy *Lewis*; who, after he had gotten the Submiſſion of all *Kent*, (except of *Dover* Caſtle, which he never could obtain) he marched to *London*, where he is received by the Barons with great Joy; and upon his Oath to reſtore their Laws, and preſerve their Rights, hath Homage and Fealty done to him as their Sovereign Lord. To him alſo came the Earls *Warren*, *Arundel*, *Salisbury*, and *William Marſhall*, the younger, with many others, forſaking King *John*, and render'd themſelves to him. *Guallo*, the Pope's Agent, purſu'd *Lewis*; and tho' he paſſed through many Dangers by *Lewis's* Party, got to *Gloceſter*, ſhews King *John* the Pope's Care and Zeal for him, and in a ſolemn manner pronounces the Sentence of Excommunication againſt *Lewis*, and all his Adherents: Which, tho' it brought ſome little Comfort to *John* for the preſent, yet did his Enemy little or no harm, nor could confirm his hired Soldiers in their Fidelity to him: For ſoon after moſt of them left him, and either went over to *Lewis*, or return'd home with the Spoils they had gotten; yet was he not ſo utterly forſaken, but he had Forces enough to annoy, tho' not to encounter his Enemy, and ſome Miniſters at a diſtance from him, that ſtood firm to him. *Dover*-Caſtle held out with a ſmall Company againſt all the Forces *Lewis* could bring againſt it; and *Windſor*-Caſtle, with ſixty Men, ſtood out againſt all the Barons could do; and *Nottingham* and *Lincoln*-Caſtles made a reſolute Reſiſtance, and could not be gain'd. Nothing was effected almoſt, but the Ruine and Deſtruction of the open and undefended Country, and that in the moſt fruitful and plentiful parts of the Nation, *viz.* about *Gloceſter*, the Marſhes of *Wales*, *Lincolnſhire*, *Cambridgeſhire*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Eſſex*, *Kent*, and *London*, which were the Seat of the War. But this Miſchief, which had continued all that Summer, came to an end about the latter end of *October*, when a burning Fever ſeized upon this fiery King. The Cauſe of it was thought to be from the extream Grief he had conceiv'd by the loſs of his Carriages, which paſſing over the Sands between *Lin* and *Boſton*, were loſt [d], and was increaſed by a Surfeit of Peaches and New Ale, gotten at the Abby of *Swinſhead*; from whence he was convey'd in great Weakneſs to *Newark*, where, after he had receiv'd the Euchariſt, and taken Order for the Succeſſion of his Son *Henry*, he died in the one and fiftieth Year of his Age, having reigned eighteen Years, five Months, and four Days [e]. The Abbot of *Crocke-ſton*, a Perſon well skill'd in Phyſick, and at that time the King's Phyſician, disbowell'd him, and would no doubt have given notice to the World, had his Maſter (as it was afterward reported) been poiſon'd [f] by a Monk of *Swinſhead*-Abby;

His Death

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but

[a] This *French* Parliament unanimouſly declar'd, That *no King or Prince, by his ſingle Authority, had Power to give away, or make over his Kingdom, and thereby enſlave his People.*

[b] Daughter to *Eleanor* Queen of *Caſtile*, Wife to *Alphonſo* VIII.

[c] He landed at *Stanhore* in the Iſle of *Thanet* on the 12th of *May*, 1216.

[d] *Matt. Paris* writes, That the Earth open'd, and Men, Horſes and Carriages ſunk down into the Gulph. The Abbot of *Cogſhall* ſays, They were overtaken by the Tide in the Waſhes, and loſt in the Water and Quickſands.

[e] He dy'd on the 18th of *October*, 1216. He was elected King the 27th of *May*, 1199. He Reign'd therefore ſeventeen Years, four Months, and three Weeks; or reckoning from the Death of King *Richard* on the 6th of *April*, 1199. ſeventeen Years, ſix Months, and twelve Days.

[f] Mr. *Daniell* ſeems to be of Opinion, That the Relation that King *John* was kill'd by Poiſon, which is follow'd by moſt of our modern *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, as Mr. *Fox*, *Speed*, and *Fuller*, is forg'd, depending upon the Authority of *Matt. Paris*, who liv'd in thoſe Times, for the Truth of what he ſays. But ſince many ancient Hiſtorians, both Printed and Manuſcript, which are quoted by Mr. *Speed*, aſſert it, and *Paris* himſelf relates a Paſſage in King *Henry* his Son's Life, which intimates as tho' the King himſelf believ'd his Father was poiſon'd by the Monks, tho' perhaps he could get no clear proof of it; it is more reaſonable that *Matt. Paris* ſhould conceal ſo dangerous a Crime in the Son's Life, than the other Monks, who wrote afterward, ſhould ſo groſly bely their own Order by an Invention, which became ſo famous, that it muſt needs meet with great Contradiction. *Caxton* was the firſt that told the Story of his being poiſon'd, in *Engliſh*; and no Author who liv'd within ſixty Years of the time ever mention'd it. *Caxton* alſo writes, That the Monk poiſon'd himſelf to poiſon the King, drinking firſt of the ſame Bowl. *Walter Hemingford* relates, He was poiſon'd by a Diſh of Pears. And their Difference in the Report, adds to the Diſcredit of it.

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but the Writers of thoſe Times report no ſuch Matters.

He had by his Wife *Iſabel* (Daughter to *Aymer* Earl of *Angoliſm*) two Sons, *Henry* and *Richard*, and three Daughters, *Joanna*, *Eleanor*, and *Iſabel*. *Henry* ſucceeded him in his Kingdom; *Richard* was Earl of *Cornwall*, and crown'd King of the *Romans*, and had Iſſue, *Henry*, and *John* that dy'd Childleſs, *Edward* Earl of *Cornwall*, and others. *Joanna* the eldeſt Daughter, who was marry'd to *Alexander* II. King of *Scots*, dy'd without Iſſue. *Eleanor*, the ſecond Daughter, marry'd firſt to *William* the Mareſchal, and afterwards to *Simon* Earl of *Leiceſter*, by whom ſhe had theſe Children, *Henry*, *Simon*, *Almerick*, *Guy*, *Richard*, and *Eleanor*. *Henry* was ſlain before he had a Child; *Simon* was Earl of *Bigorr*, and the Founder of a Family of the *Mountford*'s in *France*; *Almarick* was firſt a Prieſt, and ſecondly a Knight; *Guy* was Earl of *Angleria* in *Italy*, and Founder of the Family of the *Mountfords* in *Tuſcany*, and of the Earls of *Campo Bacchi* in the Kingdom of *Naples*; *Richard* remain'd privately in *England*, and changing his Name from *Mountford* to *Wellesborn*, was the Original of the Family of the *Wellesborns* in *England*; *Eleanor* was brought up in *France*, but marry'd to *Lewin ap Griffith*, a Prince of *Wales*; *Iſabel* the youngeſt Daughter, was married to the Emperor *Frederick* II. and had Children; *Henry* was made King of *Sicily*; and *Margaret*, who was Wife to *Albert*, *Landgrave-Thurin*, dy'd in Child-bed after ſhe had been Empreſs ſix Years. He had two Natural Sons, *Jeffrey Fitz-Roy*, who tranſported Soldiers out of *France*, when *Hubert* forbad his Father to go thither; *Richard*, who marry'd the Daughter and Heir of *Fulbert de Dover* (who built *Childham*-Caſtle) and had Children by her, which branched into ſeveral good Families, and one Natural Daughter *Joanna*, who was marry'd to *Lewin* Prince of *Wales*, who had the Caſtles and Lordſhip of *Ellinſmore* with her.

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REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES *in the Reign of King* John.

IN the 3d Year of his Reign, about *December*, five Moons were ſeen in *Yorkſhire*, one in the Eaſt, the ſecond in the Weſt, the third in the North, the fourth in the South, and the fifth in the middle of 'em, having many Stars about it: Which Wonder was in thoſe days, obſerv'd to precede a violent Seaſon for Cold and Rain afterwards. The next Year the Floods were ſo high, that Bridges were thrown down, the Corn and Hay ſpoil'd, and Cattel and Men drown'd in ſeveral Places. In that which follow'd, after an extraordinary cold Winter, there happen'd *griſly Tempeſts*, terrible Storms of Thunder, Lightning and Hail, the Stones as big as Hens Eggs; Spirits were ſeen in the Air in the Shape of Birds, flying up and down with Fire in their Beaks, which they dropt on ſeveral Houſes, and ſet them on fire. *Holinſhead.*

[If theſe Miraculous Events are not true, they ſerve at leaſt to give us an Idea of the Superſtition and Ignorance of thoſe Times.]

In the 6th Year of his Reign, the Fiſhermen of *Orford* in *Suffolk* took a Sea-Monſter in the Nets, reſembling a wild Man in Shape. They preſented him to Sir *Barth. de Glanville*, Governour of the Caſtle of *Orford*, who kept him ſeveral Days. He was naked, and like a Man in all his Limbs and Members; he was hairy in thoſe Parts of the Body where Hair grows, except the Crown of his Head, which was bald; his Beard was long and rugged, and his Breaſt hairy; he greedily devour'd whatever Meat was ſet before him, Fiſh, or Fleſh, raw or boil'd; the raw he preſs'd in his hand, till he ſqueez'd out the Moiſture, and then he ſwallow'd it. He wou'd not, or cou'd not ſpeak; tho' to force him to it, the Knight's Servants ty'd him up by the Heels, and cruelly tormented him. He lay down on his Couch at Sun-ſet, and roſe at Sun-riſing. They carry'd him one Day to the Sea, and ſuffer'd him to go into it, having ſecur'd him from getting from them, as they thought, by ſpreading three rows of ſtrong Nets; but the Monſter div'd down below them all, paſt them, and came up again beyond them. He there ſhew'd himſelf to the Country Fellows that waited for him on the Shore; he pop'd up and down in the Water as if he mock'd them for ſuffering him to deceive them; and having ſported ſome time, when they gave him over for loſt, he voluntarily return'd to them: But two Months after he grew weary of Land, and watching his Opportunity ſtole away to the Sea. *Ralph*, Abbot of *Coggeſhall*, and *John Stow*, both tell this very odd Story; and *Caxton*, who wrote above two hundred Years ago, has it at large, but he places it in this King's Reign, and the two former Hiſtorians in the 33d of *Henry* the Second. If the Authority of theſe Writers can warrant for the Truth of it, 'tis the moſt remarkable Adventure that ever Hiſtory tranſmited to Poſterity.

In the Winter, this Year, there was a hard Froſt from *January* to *April*, which produc'd a Dearth, and in the next Year was a dreadful Storm of Wind, that blew down abundance of Houſes; and driving the Snow which then lay on the Ground about in Drifts, overwhelm'd great Numbers of Sheep and Cattel.

In the Year 1208, the 10th Year of this King, the Citizens of *London* had a Charter from him to chuſe their own Mayors, whom the King nam'd before himſelf; and on *Michaelmas-day* they choſe *Henry Fitz-Alwin*, who as *Stow* reports, had that Office in the firſt Year of *Richard* the Firſt, to be their Mayor. On the ſame Day, the Title of the Bailiffs of *London* was chang'd into that of Sheriffs, and *Peter Duke* and *Thomas Neal* were ſworn Sheriffs, the firſt who bore that Office under that Name in *London*.

In his 11th Year the Students at *Oxford* being terrify'd at the hanging of three of their Fellows, remov'd to *Cambridge* and *Reading*, and were not ſoon perſuaded to return to their old Univerſity. In the ſame Year one *Alexender Cementarius*, ſurnam'd *Theologus*, preach'd againſt the Pope's meddling with Temporal Affairs; affirming, No Power was granted to St. *Peter* but in Matters only relating to the Church.

In his 14th Year, on the 10th of *July*, St. *Mary Overy's* Church in *Southwark* was burnt with *London* Bridge, and a great Part of the City; three thouſand People were ſuppos'd to be burnt and drown'd in the Confuſion the Inhabitants were in upon the Fire taking both Ends of the Bridge at once.

Men Illuſtrious in Arms in his Time were

Robert Fitz-Walter, General of the Barons, *Euſtace Veſeie*, *Peter de Breauſe*, *William de Albanie*, *Hugh de Lacy*, famous Aſſertors of *Engliſh* Liberty. *William Marſhal* Earl of *Pembroke*, who was always on the King's ſide, and many other Barons who were on both ſides, animated by Paſſion or Intereſt, did brave things in the Civil War. *Jeffrey Fitz-Peter*, King *John's* chief Miniſter, was reckon'd one of the ableſt Politicians of his Age.

In his Time flouriſh'd alſo *Jeffrey Vineſauf*, *Gerwaiſe* of *Canterbury*, *William Petit* or *Parvus*, a Monk of *Newburgh* in *Yorkſhire*, *Roger Hoveden*, *Gervaiſe* of *Tilbury*, *Nicolas de Ely* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, *Radulphus de Diceto* Dean of St. *Paul's*, *Hugh White* of *Peterborough*, *John Gray* Biſhop of *Norwich*, *Walter* of *Coventry*, *Radulphus Niger*, *John* of *Oxford*, Hiſtorians; as alſo *John* of *Tilbury*, a *London* Divine, *John Braklow* a Benedictine Monk, *Stephen Langton*, who wrote the Life of *Becket*, and *Alain* Abbot of *Tewksbury*, *Heribert de Boſham*, *Joannes Carnotenſis*, and *William* of *Canterbury*, which laſt four joyn'd together to write the *Quadrilogium* of *Becket*. *Joſeph* of *Devonſhire* a Poet, *Simon Thurvay* a Philoſopher, of whom 'tis ſaid, that he was miraculouſly ſeiz'd with a Fit of Oblivion or Forgetfulneſs, and turn'd Fool, as a Judgment upon him for his high Opinion of his own Wit, and his Contempt of the Deity. *Hubert Walter*, and *Langton*, Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*; *Walter* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *Coleman* ſurnam'd *Sapiens*, *Simon Aſh*, *Richardus Canonicus*, *William Peregrine*, *Gervaiſe* of *Dover*, *John Hanvil*, *Nigell Woreker*, *Gilbert de Hoiland*, *Benet* of *Peterborough*, *Alexander* ſurnam'd *Theologus*, *Walter Mapis*, *Gilbert Leſley*, *Maurice Morgan*, *John de Fordham*, *William Leiceſter*, *Joceline Brackland*, *Roger* of *Crowland*, *John de St. Omer*, and *Adam* of *Barkin*, Divines and Mathematicians.

THE LIFE and REIGN OF HENRY III.

A. D. 1216. Reg. 1.

Hen. III. *crown'd King at* Gloceſter.

HENRY, the eldeſt Son of King *John*, a Child of about ten Years old, was immediately upon the Death of his Father crown'd [a] King of *England* at *Gloceſter*, *October* 28. nine Days after his Father's Death; and being, by Reaſon of his Age, unable to manage a Kingdom, eſpecially in ſuch Trouble, he was committed to the Care and Guardianſhip of the great Marſhal, *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, a Man eminent both for Courage and Council; who as he had been the grand Supporter of his Father in his Right, ſo was he the chief Preſerver of the Crown to this his Son. *Lewis* ſtill held his Hopes, and with his Party ſtood up as his Rival in the Kingdom, which this Loyal Earl made it his firſt Attempt to remove; and to that end, joyning with *Wallo* the Pope's Legate, the Biſhops of *Winchеſter*, *Bath*, and *Worceſter*, uſed all means to draw the Barons, and others the moſt powerful Men of their Party, to their new and natural King, from the [b] Excommunicated Stranger and his Adherents. The Propoſition was received with ſome Heſitancy at firſt, becauſe they had obliged themſelves by Oath to adhere to *Lewis*, tho' moſt of them thought it their Duty to return to their Allegiance, when their old King, the Cauſe of their Quarrel, was dead, and his Succeſſor gave them ſuch Hopes. But at length, obſerving the Inſolence of the *French*, and how *Lewis*, contrary to his Oath to them, had ſubjected all Places to Spoil and Plunder to enrich himſelf and his Nation, and it being diſcover'd to them by the Viſcount *Melun*, a *Frenchman*, upon his Death-Bed, that *Lewis* had vow'd utterly to extinguiſh [c] the *Engliſh* for their rebellious Humour, when he was compleat Maſter of the Kingdom;

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[a] He was not immediately crown'd King; the Earl of *Pembroke* brought him to *Gloceſter*, and ſummon'd the Barons, who were on the late King's ſide, to meet him there; when they were met, he made a Speech to them in behalf of the young Prince, and was oppos'd by the Earl of *Cheſter*: But at laſt they all agreed, that he ſhould be their King, crying (ſays the Author of this Paſſage) as if divinely inſpir'd, *Fiat Rex*, *Fiat Rex*; Let him be made King, Let him be made King. *Walter Hemingford Chron.* He was crown'd with a plain Circle or Chaplet of Gold, for want of a Regal Diadem.

[b] The Pope had been very zealous for King *John* in his Life-time, againſt *Lewis* and the Barons, and had Excommunicated them with wonderful Solemnity, to deter the People from joyning with them; and after his Death, *Wallo* the Pope's Legate us'd the ſame Methods to ſecure the Succeſſion to the young Prince *Henry*, cauſing *Lewis* and his Party to be anathematiz'd in all Churches every Sunday and Holiday, and interdicting *Wales* for aſſiſting him; in which, tho' the Pope ſhew'd his Good-will, yet the Spiritual Sword would have done this young Prince little good, had not the Temporal joyn'd with it, in the Hand of that Noble, Loyal, and Couragious Perſon, the Earl of *Pembroke*.

[c] Other Hiſtorians ſay, That *Lewis*, and ſixteen of his greateſt Lords, ſwore, That if he got the Crown of *England*, he would baniſh all thoſe that fought againſt their King, and ſeize their Eſtates; and the Viſcount *Melun* was one of them.

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P. Vanderbank Sculp
KING HENRY THE III.rd

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dom; they took up ſuch an averſion againſt him, that many of them relinquiſhed their ſworn Fidelity, and left him; as many more would have done, had it not been for the Fame of Inconſtancy, and the Danger of their Pledges which remained in *France*. Of thoſe that came over to

1217. *Henry* from *Lewis*, the chief Men were *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, the King's Uncle, who brought over a conſiderable Party with him; the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warren*; and *William* the Son and Heir of the Great Martial, who having been ſix Months in the Service of *Lewis*, more out of Policy than Diſaffection, return'd again to their Fidelity to their Natural King. Yet *Lewis* found Aſſiſtants enough to keep *London*, with all the Countries about, a whole Year after: So that the young King was obliged to remain about *Gloceſter*, *Worceſter* and *Briſtol*, till his vigilant and politick Miniſters could find out ways to break their united Forces, and draw them from their ſtrong Hold, the Head of the Kingdom. And this they did firſt by beſieging the Caſtle of *Montſorel* in *Lieceſterſhire*, which belonged to *Saer de Quincy*, Earl of *Wincheſter*, a principal Man of *Lewis*'s Party, to relieve which a conſiderable Body was ſent from *London*, and the adjoyning Parts, who after went to *Lincoln*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of that City, all but the Caſtle, which was defended againſt them for a whole Year by a Noble Lady named *Philippa*, a Woman of Maſculine Courage; tho' of what Family ſhe was, Time hath depriv'd us of the Knowledge.

Lewis and his Party overthrown.

The *French* Forces having here poſted themſelves, the Earl Marſhal, the Protector of the King and Kingdom, with his Son *William*, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Salisbury*, and *Cheſter*; the Earls of *Salisbury*, *Ferrers*, and *Albermarle*; *William de Albinet*, *John Marſhall*, *Jeffrey Lucy*, and many other Barons and great Captains, with all the young King's Army (which increas'd daily in their March) came to a Place call'd *Stow*, within eight Miles of *Lincoln*, where *Guallo* the Legate (to inſpire the Army with Courage and Reſolution) cauſed, upon the Confeſſion of their Sins, the Euchariſt to be adminiſter'd to them, and gave them a plenary Abſolution of all their Sins; and having afterward accurſed *Lewis*, with all his Adherents, as ſeparated from the Church, they ſet forward to beſiege the City, and aſſaulted it ſo violently on all ſides, that notwithſtanding they made a gallant Defence (in which the Earl of *Perch* was ſlain, valiantly fighting) the City was taken [a], and all their principal Men made Priſoners; of which theſe are named, *Saer* Earl of *Wincheſter*, *Henry de Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, *Gilbert de Gant*, made Earl of *Lincoln* by *Lewis*, *Robert Fitz-Walter*, *Richard Montfitchet*, *William Mowbray*, *William Beauchamp*, *William Maudit*, *Oliver Harcourt*, *Robert Creſſy*, *William Colevile*, *William de Ros*, *Robert de Ropſley*, and *Ralph Chanduit*, Barons, beſides four hundred Knights, or Men of Arms, with their Servants, Horſe and Foot; by which Victory the King gave *Lewis* ſuch a Blow, that it was the laſt Battel he ever fought in *England*. The Spoiles of the City, which fell to the King's Party, were very great, it being at that time a Place full of Rich Merchants; whom, while they pillaged, they term'd it in Deriſion *Lewis*'s *Fair*. Some of the Beſieged eſcap'd out of the Overthrow, but were moſt of them ſlain by the Country People in their Paſſage towards *London* to *Lewis*, who upon this Loſs ſends for more Men into *France*, and ſummons all his Party in *England* to *London*. The Earl Marſhal, with the young King, bend all their Forces immediately thither, intending either to aſſault the City in their Diſtraction and Trouble for their Loſs, or bring *Lewis* to ſome Agreement to relinquiſh the Kingdom. At their approach, the firſt being found difficult and dangerous, the latter was propounded; but would not at all be liſten'd to by *Lewis*, untill he had received the News, that his Recruits coming out of *France* were beaten by *Philip de Albenie* and *Hugh de Burgh*, with the Forces of the Cinque Ports; and then being void of all hopes of any future Succeſs, or ſtaying with Safety, he came to this Agreement [b], 'That upon the 'Payment of fifteen thouſand Marks for his Voy- 'age he would abjure his Claim to this Kingdom, 'and procure, as far as in him lay, that the King 'his Father ſhould reſtore the Provinces of *France*, 'which belong'd to the Kingdom of *England*; and 'when himſelf came to the Crown of *France*, to 'reſtore them in a peaceable manner, which he 'promis'd by Oath to perform. On the other ſide, *Henry* takes his Oath, and the Legate and Protector for him, 'to reſtore unto the Barons of this Realm, 'and all his other Subjects, all their Rights and 'Inheritances, with thoſe Liberties, for which 'the Conteſt between the King and People be- 'gan [c]. A general Pardon is granted, and all Priſoners releaſed on both ſides; *Lewis* is honourably diſmiſs'd, and attended as far as *Dover*, from whence he paſs'd out of *England* [d] about *Michaelmas*, two Years after his firſt arrival, having been received for the moſt of that time as King, and more likely to have eſtabliſh'd himſelf, and made a Conqueſt of the Kingdom, than the *Norman*, becauſe he was invited hither by a ſtrong Party, and maintain'd by others Arms: But God, who is the wiſe Diſpoſer of all things, order'd it otherwiſe, and ſav'd us from a foreign Enemy. Thus were the Deſtructions wrought among the *Engliſh* by the Violences and Oppreſſions of an unruly King again compoſed, and the Son, notwithſtanding the Father's Faults, received by the People, who are naturally given to love and obey their Princes, unleſs forced by Oppreſſion, and diſpair of Redreſs, to vindicate their own Rights and Privileges. In this Settlement *Guallo* was a chief Inſtrument, tho' more for his own Ends, and the Pope's Intereſt, than the real Advantage of the Kingdom; and ſo what he did was leſs worthy of Thanks or Reward: Yet, becauſe his Service was advantageous to the King, he was well paid for his Pains; and notwithſtanding the great Diſtreſs of the Kingdom, carry'd away with him to *Rome* twelve thouſand Marks.

A. D. 1217. Reg. 2

Lewis *his Agreement to depart the Kingdom.*

1218.

Wallo *rewarded for his Service.*

The Nation being thus eaſed of the principal Cauſe of her Diſturbance, began to hope for Days of Peace and Quietneſs; but this could not be effected, ſo long as many troubleſome Members, who had no way to live but in Wars and Confuſion, remain'd in it. For many of the Nobles, who had ſided with the King, being unſatisfied in their Expectations, and having no Eſtates to maintain their Greatneſs, fell to Mutiny,

An Expedition into the Holy Land, to eaſe it of Malecontents.

[a] On the 19th of *May*, 1217.

[c] The *Welſh*, who had aſſiſted *Lewis*, were not included in it, nor the Clergy, becauſe *Wallo* aſſum'd the Power of puniſhing them; which, having made ſtrict Enquiry after the Guilty, he did by Deprivation and Fines, *viz.* He fin'd the Biſhop of *Lincoln* a thouſand Marks to the Pope, and an hundred to himſelf, and others proportionably.

[b] On one ſide King *Henry*, the Legate, and the Marſhal met, and Prince *Lewis* and the Barons on the other, in an Iſland in the *Thames* near *Stains*, where the Peace was made on the 11th of *September*.

[d] Having firſt borrow'd five thouſand Pounds of the City of *London* to pay his Debts.

A. D. 1218. Reg. 3.

ſurprizing Caſtles and making Spoils in the Country; of which were the Earl of *Albemarle*[a], *Robert de Veypont*, *Fulke de Brent*, *Brian de Liſle*, *Hugh de Baliol*, and many others, but theſe were alſo appeaſed: And becauſe 'twas not likely they would continue long from Wars, who had always been bred in them, therefore an Expedition into the Holy Land was ſet on foot by the Protector, and *Ralph* Earl of *Cheſter*, *Saer de Quincy* Earl of *Wincheſter*, *William de Albany* Earl of *Arundel*, *Robert Harcourt*, and many others, ſent with great Forces thither; by which means, together with an Order, which was put out at the ſame

1219. time to command all Strangers, except Merchants, to depart the Land, the Nation was at once rid of all the troubleſome and burthenſome Members of it. Things being thus compoſed and ſettled by the Vigilance and Care of the Protector the

Earl of Pembroke dieth. Earl of *Pembroke*, the State receiv'd a freſh Calamity by his Death, which happen'd immediately after, to the great Loſs and Sorrow of the whole Kingdom, leaving behind him a great Name for his admirable Courage, Policy, and Love of his Country and King. [b] The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was immediately upon his deceaſe choſen Protector of the young King, and together with ſuch of the Nobility as he thought fit to joyn in Council with him, adminiſtred the Pub-

The King again crown'd. Firſt Parliament. lick Affairs of the Kingdom. While the King was under his Care, he was again crown'd[c], and had by a Parliament granted to him for Eſcuage

1220. two Marks of Silver of every Knight's Fee, for the Affairs of the Kingdom and the Recovery of his Dominions beyond the Sea, which was now deſign'd; and *Malleon de Savery* the *Poictovine*, with *William Longſword* Earl of *Salisbury*, ſent over into *Guien* to try the Affections of that People to the King of *England*, and found them inclinable to yield Obedience to him. The King of *France* alſo was requir'd to make Reſtitution of what he had uſurped from the *Engliſh* Crown, but returned Anſwer, 'That what he had got-
' ten by Forfeiture and Law of Arms, he would
' keep's 'To hold Friendſhip with *Scotland*, and ſecure Peace at home, *Joanna* the King's Siſter, was marry'd to *Alexander* King of *Scots*; and *Margaret*, *Alexander*'s Siſter[d], to *Hubert de Burgh* Chief Juſtice of *England*, and the Chief Perſon that manag'd the great Affairs of the Kingdom.

The Welſh rebel. At this time likewiſe the *Welſh* under their Prince

1221. *Leweline* revolted, and gave the Nation ſome Trouble and Charge, till not long after they were ſubdued wholly. *Hugh Lacy* alſo raiſed a Commotion in *Ireland*, but it was ſoon appeaſed by *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, Son to the late Great Marſhal; and ſo the Kingdom remain'd quiet for ſome Years, ſaving that *Fulke de Brent*, with certain Governours of Caſtles (the Dreggs of War) having fortified the Caſtles of *Bedford*, and ſome other Forts, committed ſeveral Outrages to the Diſturbance of the Peace, till they were taken by Aſſault.

The King come to Age of Management. The King being now arriv'd at Years of Underſtanding (*viz. An. Regn.* 7. and the 17th Year of his Age) was now in a Parliament aſſembled

1222. at *London*, by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Ste-*

Second Parliament. *phen Langton*, put in mind of his Oath made by himſelf, and taken by others for him at the Con-

A. D. 1222. Reg. 7.

cluſion of the Peace with *Lewis*, to confirm the Liberties of the Kingdom; for which there had been ſuch bloody Contentions with his Father, and without which the Peace now ſettled would not hold, adviſing him timely to prevent the miſerable Inconveniences of ſuch Conteſts, and ratifie their Ancient Laws and Liberties. Some of his Miniſters oppos'd the Propoſition (of whom one *William Brewer* a Counſellor was one) and urged, That his Promiſe and Oath was conſtrain'd, and ought not to be perform'd; but their Advice prevail'd not ſo far as to hinder it: For the King promis'd to ratifie them, and to that end twelve Knights, or other ſufficient Men, of every Shire were ſent into the Nation, and charged to examine the Laws and Liberties, which the Kingdom enjoy'd under his Grandfather, and return the ſame by a certian Day. This Delay ſhew'd too great a Compliance with thoſe that counſell'd him againſt it, and was look'd upon as a Shift by ſeveral of the Nobility, whoſe Affections towards him cooled upon this Denial: For preſently the Earls of *Cheſter* and *Albemarle*, with many other great Men and Officers, met at *Leiceſter* to conſult upon removing from the King *Hugh de Burgh*, Chief Juſtice, and other Officers about him, who were ſuppos'd to hinder this Motion. But the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with his Spiritual Power, and the reſt of the Nobility, who were careful to preſerve the Peace of the Kingdom, ſtood up in the Defence of the King, and would not ſuffer any violent Proceedings in that kind as yet; and ſo the Lords effected nothing at that time, but were conſtrain'd to come in and ſubmit themſelves. At this Parliament *His Reſumptions.* the King by an Act reſum'd ſuch Lands as had been alienated from the Crown by his Anceſtors[e], that he might have Revenue ſufficient to maintain his Kingly Dignity without preſſing his Subjects; but theſe were not enough to do it, for in the next Year another[f] Parliament was held at *Third Parliament.* *Weſtminſter*, wherein he requir'd the 50th part of all moveable Goods, both of the Clergy and Laity, for the Recovery of thoſe Countries in *France*, which *Lewis* the preſent King, contrary to his Oath and Promiſe, made in *England* before his Departure, with-held from this Crown: And tho' this Motion much concern'd the Honour and Dignity of the Kingdom (being the Inheritance of the King, and moſt of his Nobility, which no doubt they were very deſirous to recover) yet they would not grant this Subſidy until their Liberties were confirm'd; which in *The Liberties of the Nation confirm'd.* the end they obtain'd in the ſame Words and Form as King *John* had granted them in the two Charters aforeſaid, and twelve Knights or ſufficient Men were choſen in every Shire, and ſworn to part the old Foreſts from the new, and all ſuch Foreſts as had been made ſince, or Lands added to Foreſts, ſince the firſt Coronation of *Henry* II. to be diſforeſted and diſpoſed to ſuch Perſons as were the lawful Owners of them. Whereupon they were plowed, and improved to the great Comfort and Advantage of the Subjects, and Men better maintain'd by the Uſe of thoſe Lands, which before were left to the wild Beaſts, Induſtry making thoſe Places fruitful, which Pleaſure had cauſed to lie barren.

[a] They did not revolt till the Year 1221. *M. Paris.*

[b] *Peter de Rupibus.* For Queen *Iſabel* was marry'd to *Hugh le Brun*, Earl of *March*, in *France*, and other Kindred he had, none fit to manage ſo great a Charge.

[c] On the 17th of *May*, 1220. By *Stephen Langton.* [d] Theſe Marriages were not celebrated till the Year 1221.

[e] The Reſumptions began in the Year 1224. and were not done by Authority of Parliament. The King began with the Earl of *Cheſter*, and demanded Reſtitution of certain Lands that had formerly belong'd to the Crown, the Earl being too weak to ſtand out againſt the King, now the Nation was in Peace, reſign'd them, and other Barons follow'd his Example. *Hol.* p. 205.

[f] In this Parliament the Barons granted the King the Wards and Marriages of their Heirs, which prov'd what it was call'd at firſt by ſuch as had a large Proſpect into the Conſequences of things, *Initium Mali.*

A. D 1225. Reg. 10.

Two Years were theſe Liberties enjoy'd by the Kingdom with general Peace and Content, where the King called a Parliament at *Oxford*, and there declaring himſelf to be of Age and free from a Guardianſhip, to diſpoſe of the Affairs of the Kingdom, he diſannuls and cancels the Charter of Foreſts, as being granted in his Nonage, when he had no Power of himſelf or Seal, and therefore of no Force, and cauſes Proclamation to be made, That the Clergy and all others, that would enjoy their Liberties, muſt come and have their Charters renew'd and confirm'd again under his new Seal; for which they were forc'd to pay, not according to their Abilities, but as the Chief Juſtice *Hugh de Burgh* pleaſed, who bore the Blame of the Fact, and the Hatred of all the People; but this bred a new Inſurrection of the Nobility againſt the King upon this Occaſion. *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, the King's Brother, had the Caſtle of *Barkamſted* belonging to his Earldom, which the King ſeiz'd upon without the Earl's Conſent, and put it into the Cuſtody of one *Walleran*, a *Dutchman*. The Earl returning out of *Gaſcoigne* with Forces, fluſh'd with Honour, ſeizes upon his Caſtle, and turn'd out *Walleran*. The King hearing it, commands his Brother to reſtore the Caſtle to *Walleran*, which he had given him for his good Services, or depart the Kingdom. The Earl anſwers, *That he would do neither, without the Judgment of his Peers*; and ſo departed to his Houſe, leaving the King much diſturb'd at his Anſwer. *Hugh de Burgh*, Chief Juſtice, fearing a Diſturbance of the Peace, adviſes the King to apprehend the Earl, and commit him to cloſe Cuſtody; but the Earl either gueſſing at the Effect of the King's Anger, or having notice of his Deſign, flies preſently to *Marlborough*, where he finds *William* Earl *Marſhal*, his Friend and Confederate by Oath, with whom he went to *Stamford*. While he remain'd here, the Nobility, who were lately under a great Diſcontent for his cancelling of their Liberties and Charters, flocked to him, and ſeem'd to abett his Quarrel. The Heads and Leaders of them were the Earls of *Cheſter*, *Gloceſter*, *Warren*, *Hereford*, *Warwick*, *Ferrers*, and many others, who being attended with a conſiderable Force of arm'd Men, ſend to the King to adviſe him to deſiſt from injuring his Brother, of which they accus'd *Hugh de Burgh* of being the Cauſe and not himſelf, and require Reſtitution to be made immediately of the Liberties of the Foreſts, which he had lately cancell'd at *Oxford*; which if he refus'd to do, they would compel him to it by the Sword. The King, to avoid this impending Danger, appoints them a Day to meet them in a[a] Parliament at *Northampton*, where they at length came to an Agreement; and the King to ſatisfie his Brother, reſtor'd to him his Caſtle, and gave him beſides, his Mother's Dower, and all the Lands that the Earls of *Britain* and *Bologne* held in *England*, and ſo the Parliament was diſmiſs'd. After the Diſſolution of this Parliament, there was a Motion made for the Holy War, which found ſo great Entertainment in that credulous and zealous Age, that ſixty thouſand able Men are ſaid to have undertaken that Voyage under the Command of *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *William* Biſhop of *Exeter*.

The King revokes the Charter of Foreſts.

Fourth Parliament.

The Nobility revolt.

1226.

Fifth Parliament.

About this time the King receiv'd a freſh Invitation by *Hugh le Brun* Earl of *March*, who had marry'd his Mother, from the Nobles of *Gaſcoigne*, *Poictou*, and *Normandy*, to come over in Perſon into *France* to recover his Right, upon the great Alterations which happen'd there on this Occaſion. *Lewis* VIII. the Son and Succeſſor of *Philip* II. being dead, after his great Siege of *Avignon*, and his War with the *Albingenſes* in *Provence*, left his Son *Lewis*, a Child of twelve Years old, to inherit his Throne; who being too young to manage the Affairs of a Kingdom, his Mother *Blanch* took the Regency of it upon her in his Minority. This Action ſo diſcontented the Princes of the Blood, that they rebell'd, as holding it both diſhonourable and dangerous, that a Woman and a Stranger ſhould by the Counſel of the *Spaniards* (whom ſhe entertain'd and preferr'd above the Natives of the Kingdom) govern all according to her Pleaſure, and therefore joyn'd in a League againſt her. The Chief of them were *Philip* Earl of *Bologne*, the King's Uncle by Father ſide, *Robert* Earl of *Champaigne*, *Peter de Dreux* Duke of *Britain*, and *Robert* Earl of *Dreux* his Brother, and with them *Hugh* the Ear of *March* took part, being inſtigated to it by his Wife the late Queen of *England*, who was angry with the Queen Regent for requiring her Huſband to do Homage to her Son *Alphonſo* lately made Duke of *Poictou*, by which ſhe thought her Greatneſs would be much leſſen'd, and drew in his Brother the Earl of *Luſignan* into that Conſpiracy: But not thinking themſelves able to oppoſe the Power of the Queen, they invited the King of *England* over to aſſiſt them. *Henry* readily accepts their Deſires; and having ſupply'd himſelf with Money for this Occaſion, by exacting great Sums of the Clergy, and [b] City of *London* for their Liberties; and by taking a third part of all the Goods of the *Jews*, paſſed over with a great Army, lands at *St. Maloes* [c], and is there met by many Nobles of *Poictou*, who with the Earl of *Britain* did him Homage, and aſſiſted him in making great Preparations to obtain his Provinces, which had been gotten from his Father by the King of *France*. The Queen Regent raiſes a powerful Army to ſtop the Proceedings of the King of *England*, and much Miſchief was done by both ſides in *Poictou*, *Xaintonges*, and *Angoumois*, as well to their Friends as Enemies; but at length they were both weary of their fruitleſs Quarrel, and came to a Peace. The King of *England* having expended a great Maſs of Treaſure, and loſt divers of his Nobles and valiant Men in this Expedition, returned home; bringing with him the Earl of *Britain*, and many of the chief Men of *Poictou* to receive their promis'd Reward, for which farther Sums muſt be wrung from the poor People of *England*. And firſt to the Earl of *Britain*, by whoſe Counſels he was now chiefly directed and diſſuaded from a Mariage with the King of *Scots* Siſter, which he had entertain'd with great diſlike of his Nobility, he gave five thouſand Marks, and to the *Poictovines* the Preferments which he got by diſplacing his Officers, Receivers, and ſuch as he thought fit to call to an account, and caſt out under a Pretence of defrauding him; of whom the chief were *Ralph Bretton*, Treaſurer of his Chamber, whom he impriſon'd and fin'd; and *Hugh de Burgh* his Chief Juſtice, who had been a principal Man with him, was caſt out of his Office, and *Stephen de Segrave*, a worſe Miniſter

A. D. 1227. Reg. 12.

The King invited to recover his Dominions in France.

1230.

Henry *calls his Officers to account.*

[a] At this Parliament it happen'd, that *Fulke de Brent* took Judge *Braibrooke* in his Circuit, and impriſon'd him in *Bedford* Caſtle, which was look'd upon as ſo bold an Affront to the Juſtice and Authority of the Nation, that as ſoon as it was known to the King and Parliament, they all went down in Perſon, beſieg'd the Caſtle; and having after three Months Siege taken it, levell'd it with the Ground, baniſh'd *Fulke*, hang'd his Aſſiſtants, and ſo freed the Judge. This Parliament met the 3d of *Auguſt*, 1227.

[b] He gave the Citizens at this time a Privilege of paſſing Toll-free thro' all *England*.

[c] On the 3d of *May*, 1230.

A. D. 1228. Reg. 13.

Hugh de Burgh's Fall.

Miniſter a great deal for the Kingdom put in: But no ſooner was this great Man fall'n under the King's Diſpleaſure, but whole Loads of Accuſations were brought againſt him. The Citizens of *London* charge him with the Murther of one *Conſtantine*, who was ſlain in a Riot in St. *James's* Fields ſome Years before, and crave Juſtice for his Blood. Others bring all the Crimes that Malice could invent or urge againſt him: So that to avoid the Rage of his Enemies[a], he was forced to fly to the Church of *Merton* for Sanctuary, but the Sacredneſs of the Place could not protect him from his Enemies; for being purſu'd by arm'd Men he was drawn out by Force, and committed to Priſon. This Breach of Privilege of Sanctuary being heard of by the Biſhop of *London*, in whoſe Dioceſs it was; he made his Complaint to the King, and prevail'd ſo far with him, that *Hubert* was brought back again to the ſame Chapel. But this would not ſecure him from the King's Diſpleaſure; for the King commanded the Sheriffs of *Hartford* and *Suſſex* to ſet a ſtrong Guard about the Chapel, that no Suſtenance could be brought to him, and ſo ſtarv'd him into a Compliance: So that he came out and ſubmitted himſelf to the King's Mercy, and by him was ſent Priſoner to the *Deviſes*; and his Money, then in the Cuſtody of the Templars, ſeiz'd upon for the King's Uſe, as ſtol'n out of the Exchequer. *Walter*, Biſhop of *Carliſle*, was put out of his Office of Treaſure, and *William Rodon*, Knight, deprived of his Place of Marſhal of the King's Houſe, and all the Counſellors, Biſhops, Earls, and Barons of the Kingdom, were removed for Diſtruſt, and Strangers put into their Places; *Peter*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and one *Peter de Rivalis* being blam'd as the Authors of theſe Changes.

The Lords combine for the Defence of the Kingdom. and refuſe to come to a Parliament at Oxford.

Theſe injurious and arbitrary, Actions in the King ſo exaſperated the Nobility, that many of them under the Command of *Richard* Earl Marſhal enter'd into a League for the Defence of the publick Liberties, boldly ſhewing the King 'his Error, and unadviſed Actings, in preferring 'Strangers to be the chief Officers about him to 'the Diſgrace and Injury of his own Natural 'Subjects, contrary to their Laws and Liberties; 'and telling him, That unleſs he would reform 'theſe Abuſes, whereby his Crown and Dignity 'was in imminent Danger, they would with-'draw themſelves from his Council. The Biſhop 'of *Wincheſter* return'd them Anſwer; That it 'was lawful for the King to employ what Stran-'gers he pleas'd, about him, for the Defence of 'his Crown and Kingdom, that he might by 'that means bring his proud and rebellious Sub-'jects to their Duty and Allegiance. This Reply bred ſuch Diſſatisfaction in the Lords, that they went away in great Anger, and vow'd, That in a Cauſe of that general Concern to all *Engliſhmen*, they would ſpend their Lives. The King fearing what might follow, immediately ſent for whole Legions of *Poictovins*, and withal ſummon'd the Lords to a Parliament in *Oxford*, to try whether they would come or no to it; but the Lords ſeeing themſelves deſpiſed at Court, and not thinking it ſafe to venture themſelves among ſuch Multitudes of Strangers as the King had about him, refuſed to come; nor would be perſuaded to it by a ſecond and third Citation. Aud now the Signs of a publick Breach became ſo evident, that *Robert Bacon*, a Preaching Friar, from the Pulpit in a grave Diſcourſe, and *Roger Bacon* in a jeering way, told the King plainly, That he would make Shipwrack of his Kingdom, if he did not avoid what the Seamen chiefly feared, *Petra & Rupes* wittily alluding to the Advice of *Peter de Rupibus*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, by whom he was miſled at this Juncture. But the King proceeded in other Methods, and call'd another Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and ſummon'd the Lords to it; but they dealt now more plainly with him, and ſent him word, *That they would not come, unleſs he would remove the Biſhop of* Wincheſter *and the* Poictovins *from his Court; which, if he refuſed to do, they would expel him and his evil Counſellors out of the Realm, and create a new King.* Theſe bold Threats, which ſounded harſh in the King's Ears, cauſed him to require of all his Nobility Pledges of their Allegiance by a certain Day, and to iſſue out his Writs to all, who held any Lands of him by Knights Service to repair to him at *Gloceſter*; which being both refus'd by the Earl Marſhal and his Confederates, the King without the Judgment of his Court, or their Peers, proclaim'd them Outlaws, and ſeiz'd upon their Lands, which he gave to the *Poictovins*, and ſent out his Writs to attach their Bodies in any Place of his Kingdom.. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to weaken the Earl Marſhal's Party, drew away from them the Earls of *Cheſter* and *Lincoln* by a Gift of a thouſand Marks, and the King by his Kindneſs won from them his Brother the Earl of *Cornwall*. The Lords being a little weaken'd by thoſe Loſſes, withdrew into *Wales*, and there ſtrengthen'd their Party by a Confederacy with *Lewelin*, and the other, great Men of that Country; who with *Hugh de Burgh*[b], who was then lately eſcaped out of the *Deviſes* Caſtle, took an Oath one to another, that they would not come to any Agreement with the King. The King, ſoon after their Departure, purſues them with an Army into *Wales*, engages them, but with ſo much Loſs, that he return'd with great Diſhonour to *Gloceſter*; and tho' he ſought to recover it by new Recruits of Strangers, yet he miſs'd of Succeſs. And now Force being found uſeleſs, another Stratagem was invented to heal the Difference, by ſending a Friar of the Order of *Minors*, to confer with the Earl Marſhal, and perſuade him to come in and ſubmit to the King's Mercy, who was inclinable to pardon him, reſtore him to his Eſtate, and give him ſo great a part of *Herefordſhire* beſides, as ſhould maintain him in great State and Grandure. The Fryar preſſed him very earneſtly to ſubmit, telling him, That as it was his Duty, ſo 'twould be his Advantage and Safety: But the Earl being nothing moved told him, That the King's

A. D. 1228. Reg. 13.

Sixth Parliament. 1232. Reg. 17.

The King unſucceſsful againſt the Lords.

Tenders of Peace rejected.

2 Promiſes

[a] Mr. *Daniel* delivers this Story of *Hubert*'s taking Sanctuary very confuſedly and untruly; for the Sanctuary at *Merton* was not a Chapel, but the Abby-Church, nor was it in the Dioceſs of the Biſhop of *London*, nor was *Hubert* taken out of the Sanctuary at *Merton* by Force: But the Courſe of this Affair was thus; *Hubert* having fled to Sanctuary to the Abby-Church at *Merton* in *Surrey*, the Citizens of *London* would have taken him by Force from thence, and were marching in a Body of twenty thouſand thither, but were countermanded by the King; and ſo *Hubert* abode ſafe there. After ſome time *Hubert* left Sanctuary at *Merton*, and endeavour'd to get to *Bury* to his Wife. The King having Intelligence of it, ſent Sir *Godfrey Crancumb* and his Soldiers to intercept him in his Paſſage; of whom *Hubert* ſeeing himſelf in Danger, took Sanctuary again in *Brentwood* Chapel in *Eſſex*, but Sir *Godfrey* took him from thence by Force. *Roger* Biſhop of *London*, in whoſe Dioceſe it was, complain'd to the King of Sir *Godfrey*'s Breach of Sanctuary, and procur'd that *Hubert* was return'd to the Chapel again; but being guarded by the Sheriffs of *Hartford* and *Eſſex* (not *Suſſex*) ſo that no Proviſion could be brought to him, he was forc'd to yield himſelf to the King's Mercy. This Event happen'd in the Year 1232.

[b] King *Henry* fought the *Welſh* about *Michaelmas*, and *Hubert de Burgh* was in Sanctuary in the Church of the *Deviſes* on the 15th of *October*, as appears by the King's Letter (on the Record of the *Tower*) to the *Good Men of Wiltſhire*, informing them, That he had ſent *Ralph de Mowbray* and *Ralph de Norwich*, his Juſtices, to take *Hubert de Burgh*'s Abjuration of the Kingdom, if he would not come out of the Church and ſtand to the Law, and if he would do neither, to guard the Church and ſtarve him there.

A. D. 1232. Reg. 17. Promiſes could not be depended upon ſo long as he had thoſe evil Counſellors about him, who intended only Miſchief to all Loyal Subjects. The Fryar farther urged the Danger he was in from the King's Power: But the Earl concluded, That he fear'd no Danger, and never would relinquiſh the Juſtice of his Cauſe to yield to the King's Will, which was guided by no Reaſon, and was the Cauſe of ſo much Injuſtice; for he valu'd Right and Honour more than all Worldly Poſſeſſions. This Negotiation therefore proving ineffectual, the War went on furiouſly on both ſides with an Effuſion of Blood, all the Borders of *Wales* as far as *Shrewsbury* being laid waſt.

The Earl Marſhal ſlain in Ireland *by Treachery.*

But at length a way was found to draw the Earl Marſhal into *Ireland* to defend his Eſtate there, which being very large, was ſeiz'd upon and ſpoil'd by the King's Commiſſion: And here in recovering of his Eſtate, he loſt his Life by Treachery, to the great Grief both of his Enemies and Friends; to whom the King diſown'd his Commiſſion, to excuſe himſelf from the Blame of his Death. Two Years theſe Diſturbances continu'd in the Nation, when the King called a

Seventh Parliament.

Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, wherein the Biſhop gravely adviſed the King, from the Conſideration of his Father's Example, and the Miſchief of theſe civil Diſſentions, to come to an Agreement with his People, and remove thoſe Strangers and others from his Perſon, who were the Cauſe of

1234. theſe Troubles, and made him diſaffected to his Subjects, and beſought him to govern his People by his own Subjects and Laws, as other well-govern'd Nations do, otherwiſe they would proceed with Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures both againſt his Counſellors and himſelf. The King ſeeing now no way to compaſs his Deſigns, yields and conſents to call home his Lords out of *Wales*, and to reſtore them to their Places and Eſtates, to remove all the Strangers from him, and call his new Officers to an Account; whereupon the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Peter de Rivallis*, and *Stephen Segrave*[a], took Sanctuary, but upon Mediation, and the Payment of great Fines, were reſtor'd to their Liberty, dearly paying for their two Years Preferment.

1235. Iſabel *the King's Siſter marry'd to the Emperor.*

The King having thus ſettled Affairs in Peace, gave his Siſter *Iſabel* to the Emperor *Frederick* II. who ſucceeded *Otho* in the Empire, and was Grandchild to *Frederick Barbaroſſa*. The Archbiſhop of *Cologne* and Duke of *Lorain* were ſent for her; ſhe was conducted to *Sandwich* by the King, with a thouſand Horſe, and was married at *Wormes*. *Henry* gave the Emperor with her thirty thouſand Marks, beſides an Imperial Crown[b], and other Ornaments of great Value, to furniſh out which he had two Marks upon every Hide of Land, and propounded to himſelf great Advantages by the Alliance; but this Emperor was engag'd in ſuch continual Wars

1236. abroad, with four Popes ſucceſſively (*viz. Innocent* III. *Honorius*, *Innocent* IV. and *Gregory* IX.) who endeavour'd to extort from him his Hereditary Countries in *Italy*, with his Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, beſides the Troubles he underwent at home by Excommunications, that he was not able to aſſiſt his Friends. He left a Son and Succeſſor *Conradus*, but with him dy'd all his Imperial Power in *Italy*. He had one Son by *Iſabel* King *Henry*'s Siſter, to whom he gave the Kingdom of *Sicily*, and a thouſand Ounces of Gold; but he liv'd not to enjoy them. The next Year *Henry* himſelf marry'd *Eleanor* the Daughter of *Raymond* Earl of *Provence*, an Alliance neceſſary by reaſon of ſome private Promiſes made to her Father, but in it ſelf diſadvantageous, having no Dower with her and many poor Kindred to depend upon her: However, there was no Conſideration of theſe Circumſtances at firſt. The Marriage was ſolemniz'd with great Magnificence[c], and ſoon after a Par-

Eighth Parliament.

liament call'd to meet in the *Tower*[d]; but becauſe the Lords were not willing to aſſemble there, it was remov'd to a Place of greater Freedom. In this Parliament, after many things propounded for the Good of the Kingdom, it was order'd, That ſuch Sheriffs as were found guilty

Sheriffs remov'd for Corruptions

of Bribery ſhould be diſplac'd, and Men of abler Eſtates and Integrity ſhould be put in, who ſhould take an Oath, To receive no Gifts, but of Proviſion, and that but moderately. In it alſo he removed *his* Steward, and ſome other of his Counſellors, and offer'd to take the Great Seal from the Biſhop of *Chicheſter his* Chancellor; but the Biſhop refus'd to deliver it, alledging, That it was entruſted to him by the Common Council of the Kingdom, and without the Conſent of the ſame he would not reſign it; and having carry'd himſelf well in his Office, he was much favour'd by the People. *Peter de Rivallis*, and *Stephen Segrave*, were again received into Favour, a great Argument of the mutable Temper of this King, which begat no good Opinion of him among his People. At this time alſo he would have revok'd ſome Grants, by the Pope's Authority, which he had made formerly; becauſe they were done, as he pretended, without the Conſent of the Church, and beyond his Power, which increaſed the Diſpleaſure of the People, before taken up againſt him.

Ninth Parliament.

In the twenty firſt Year of his Reign another Parliament was held, or rather the ſame met by Adjournment at *London*, where in Conſideration

1237. of his own and Siſter's Marriage, he requir'd a 30th Part of the Moveables both of the Clergy and Laity: But he met with great Oppoſition from the whole Aſſembly, who recounted the ſeveral Taxes he had already receiv'd of 20th, 30th, and 40th Parts; and alledged, That it was unreaſonable to ſuffer a King, who never did any good to the Kingdom, either by driving out or ſubduing an Enemy, or enlarging its Dominions, but had rather leſſen'd it and made it ſubject to Strangers, to extort ſo many great Sums from his People. The King hearing this, and being deſirous to pacifie this general Murmur, promiſed by Oath, That he would never injure the Nobles of the Kingdom, if they would relieve his preſent Wants, ſince he had exhauſted his Treaſure by the Marriage of his Siſter and himſelf; but they plainly reply'd, 'That both were 'done without their Advice, and they ought not 'to bear the Puniſhment of that, which was not 'their Fault. Yet after four Days Conſultation, the King having promiſed to uſe the Counſel of his Natural Subjects only, and granted them an inviolable Obſervation of their Liberties, under pain of Excommunication, he had the thirtieth part of every Man's Moveables granted him (reſerving to them their ready Money,

A Tax refuſed the King, but after granted upon Conditions.

[a] They took Sanctuary not to avoid their Accounts, but to avoid the impending Storm which was coming upon them for procuring a Commiſſion to ſeize the Earl Marſhal's Eſtate in *Ireland*; in the Defence of which he loſt his Life.

[b] She was marry'd to the Emperor about *March* 1235. and in *May* 1236. an Agent came from her Husband to demand the Money which was promis'd him with the Princeſs *Iſabel*; for notwithſtanding the Tax, it ſeems 'twas not then paid.

[c] On the 14th of *January* 1236.

[d] The Aſſembly or Parliament was ſummon'd to meet at *London*, and at the opening of the Seſſion the King remov'd to the *Tower*; but the Lords refuſing to come thither, he was forc'd to go back to his Palace at *Weſtminſter*.

A. D. 1237. Reg. 21.

ney, Horſe and Armour for the Service of the Common-wealth.) For the Collection of this Subſidy, four Knights of every Shire, and one of the King's Clerks were appointed, and ſworn to deliver it, after they had gather'd it, either to ſome Abby, or Caſtle, to be reſerved there; that if the King failed in the performance of his Grants, it might be reſtored to the Country from whence it was collected. Before this Parliament broke up, the King, to ſhew the Reality of his Intentions in performing that Promiſe, which he had frequently repeated, of uſing the Counſel of his own Subjects only, cauſed the Earls *Warren* and *Ferrers*, with *John Fitz-Jeffrey*, to be ſworn his Counſellors; but after it was diſmiſſed, he neither gave the Kingdom ſatisfaction concerning Strangers, nor obſerved ſuch a method in levying the Tax as was eaſie and convenient for his Subjects. For he cauſed Men's Eſtates to be over-valued, and made *William Valentine*, the young Queen's Uncle, his Chief Counſellor; invited over the Earl of *Provence*, a poor Prince, to ſhare

1238. in his Treaſure; marry'd *Simon de Monford*[a], a *Frenchman*, ſecretly to his Siſter *Eleanor*, (Widow of *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, Great Marſhal) and by the Right of his Mother *Amice*, Daughter of *Blanchman* Earl of *Leiceſter*, made him Earl of that County. Theſe Actions of the King much incenſed the Nobility, and all the King's Subjects in general, and put them into a new Com-

A Commotion of the Nobility. motion, of which *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, the King's Brother, an ambitious Youth, and Heir apparent to the Crown, was choſen the Head; it chiefly concerning him (as they ſaid) to preſerve the Good of the Kingdom, and remove all deſtructive Grievances from it. *Richard* accepts this Employment, and going to the King, repreſents the Diſcontents of his People to him, and reproves him for his laviſh Expence of his Treaſure upon Strangers, his heavy Exactions from his People, his impious Gains made of the Vacancies of Arch-biſhopricks and Biſhopricks, Abbies, Earldoms, Baronies, Wardſhip, and Monaſteries; and yet his Treaſure, which ſhould be the ſtrength of his Nation, empty. Moreover, he objected to him his Obſequiouſneſs to the *Roman* See, and his Fondneſs of the Pope's Legate, without whoſe Advice and Conſent he would do nothing: So that he ſeem'd perfectly the *Pope*'s *Feudary*, which troubled his People at the Heart. The King upon this plain and ſevere Remonſtrance of his Brother, fearing a Rebellion (after he had try'd the Affections of the *Londoners*, and found them averſe to him, and by the Pope's Legate ſought to draw his Brother over to him in vain) call'd a

Tenth Parliament. Parliament at *London*, where the Lords came arm'd, both for their own defence, and to conſtrain the King (if he refuſed) to obſerve his former Promiſes, and reform his Courſes. In this Meeting, after ſeveral Debates, the King (having ſworn) refers the whole Controverſie to the Determination of certain Grave Men of his Kingdom, and Articles between both Parties are drawn, ſealed, and publickly ſet up, with the Seals of the Legate, and ſeveral great Men. But before any thing was agreed, *Simon de Monford* and the Earl of *Lincoln* having made their Peace with the Earl of *Cornwall*, he grew cold in the Buſineſs; and the other Earls being diſcouraged by his Indifferency, fell off from that Enterpriſe, and ſo nothing was effected, but the Miſeries of the Kingdom continu'd as they had been.

A. D. 1238. Reg. 22.

Shortly after this, the King being diſpleas'd with *Gilbert* Earl of *Pembroke* (the third Son of *William* the Great Marſhal) ſhut him out of his Court at *Wincheſter*, whereupon he retired into the North. And to ſhew his Inconſtancy in diſpoſing his Favours, he removed *Simon Norman*, the Maſter of his Seal, yea, as he was call'd, Maſter of the King, Court, and Kingdom, took his Seal from him with diſgrace, and gave it to the Abbot of *Eveſham*. Likewiſe he turn'd his Brother *Jeffrey*, a Knight-Templar, out of his Council, becauſe they would not yield to grant to *Thomas* Earl of *Flanders*, the Queen's Uncle, a Groat upon every Sack of Wool; in which Action, tho' they loſt the King's Favour, yet they regain'd the good Opinion of the Nobility and People of the Nation, who having often deſired their Removal from the King's Council, as corrupt Officers, were found by this Deed better Friends to the Kindgom than they were imagined; and proved, that Officers under bad Princes are not many times ſo faulty as the World thinks them. But notwithſtanding this, the King granted to the Earl of *Flanders* three hundred Marks to be paid annually out of his Exchequer.

King Henry removes ſeveral Officers.

1239. Reg. 23.

Beſides the great Exactions of this King, the Biſhop of *Rome*, to maintain his Wars againſt the Emperor, extorted great Sums from the Kingdom through the permiſſion of the King; which ſo encouraged the Pope, that he was ſo bold as to ſeize upon their Poſſeſſions, ſending over three hundred of the *Roman* Clergy, and commanding by his Mandate that they ſhould be preferr'd to the firſt Benefices that fell, which much amazed the Clergy in general, and eſpecially *Edmund* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who foreſeeing that theſe Encroachments upon the Liberties of the Church would tend to his diſgrace and damage, who ſhould withſtand it, gave over all, and retired into the Abby of *Pontiniac* in *France*, to ſpend his Life in Contemplation; but before his departure, he gave eight hundred Marks to the Pope as a Ranſom for his Church[b]. But the other Clergy bore not the Pope's Uſurpations ſo cowardly; for beſides their open and daily Exclamations againſt the Pope's Avarice, they made[c] as ſtrong an Oppoſition to his Rapine as they could; and that they might do it the moſt effectually, they repair to the King, and repreſent it to him, how prejudicial and derogatory it was to his Regal Power, and Liberty of the Kingdom, to ſuffer ſuch Proceedings, which none of his Predeceſſors would ever endure, and would be of dangerous Conſequence to his Succeſſors. The King, either not apprehenſive of the Miſchief, or content to joyn with the Pope to puniſh and awe his Kingdom, not only refers all to the Legate, but offers to deliver up the chief Oppoſer

The Pope's Encroachments upon the Kingdom.

2

[a] Younger Son of *Simon* Earl of *Montfort* in *France*, who left the *French* Court in Diſguſt, by reaſon of ſome Diſpute with the Queen-Regent, Mother of *Lewis* the Ninth; the King himſelf gave him in Marriage to his Siſter, and this Name and Family grew very Great afterwards in *England*.

[b] He was Canoniz'd by the Council of *Lyons*.

[c] The Students in *Oxford*, griev'd and incens'd at the Oppreſſions of the Church, aſſaulted the Legate's Houſe in his abode there, and kill'd his own Brother; for which Fact the Univerſity was Interdicted, and could not be releas'd from that Inflidion but by thirty Students going Barefoot to the Legate's Houſe from St. *Paul*'s, which was a Mile. *Matt. Paris* writes, He was honourably receiv'd by the Scholars, and that the Occaſion of the Quarrel was this: A poor *Iriſh* Student begging Alms at the Kitchin-Door of *Oſney*-Abby, where the Legate lay, his Cook threw a Ladle full of Boiling Water in his Face; a *Welſh* Parſon or Clerk ſeeing this, and having a Bow in his Hand, ſhot the Legate's Cook through the Body with an Arrow, and a Fray enſu'd between his Servants and the Scholars; the King ſent Earl *Warren* with ſome Soldiers to aſſiſt the Legate, the Earl brought him off; and with much ado the haughty Prelate was prevail'd upon to accept of the ſlaviſh Submiſſion the Scholars were forc'd to make him.

A. D. 1239. Reg. 23.

The Clergy oppose the Pope's Actions.

posers of the Pope's Impositions to him; which so encouraged the Pope's Legate, the he more peremptorily urges them to supply the Pope's present Wants, and calls a Convocation at *London* for effecting the same. The Clergy, tho' deserted by the King, yet stood stoutly to the Privileges of their Nation, and told the Legate, 'That the 'Contribution now required of them by the Pope 'for the Destruction of the Emperor, and the 'Effusion of Christian Blood, was unlawful; he 'not being an Heretick, nor condemn'd as such 'by the Judgment of the Church, tho' Excom-'municated: That it was against the Liberties 'of the Church of *England*, being required under 'pain of Ecclesiastical Censure, as a thing of Ser-'vitude and Compulsion: That they had here-'tofore given a Tenth to the Pope, upon Condi-'tion that he should not exact any thing of them 'for the future, lest it be drawn into a Custom; 'for as much as *Binus actus inducat consuetudinem:* 'That they should create an Enemy to them-'selves by it, and hinder their Passage to *Rome* 'through the Emperor's Dominions: That they 'should impoverish the King by it, who had ma-'ny Enemies, and could not live without War 'long, which would not be safe for the Kingdom: 'That the Church having made divers Contri-'butions for the furnishing out many Noblemen 'for the Holy War, was so poor as hardly to be 'able to sustain it self: That General Contri-'butions were to be made by a General Coun-'cil, *&c.* These Reasons somewhat stagger'd the Legate; but not daring to desist from his attempt, he first won the most powerful Opponents with Promises of Preferment, after which the rest were forced to yield: And so the Pope prevail'd in this business by Treachery, and Division of the Council.

Edward *the Prince born.*

The King about this time had a Son born[a], whom he named *Edward*; and *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, having also issue, was at this time allow'd by the Nation to undertake the Cross, (which he was deny'd before) with whom his Uncle *William Longsword* Earl of *Salisbury*, and many other Noblemen, joyn in the Expedition. After their departure, *Peter* of *Savoy*, another of the

1241. Queen's Uncles comes into *England*, is feasted sumptuously, Knighted, and made Earl of *Richmond*, besides many Gifts bestow'd on him out of the *Jews* Pockets, who were compell'd by the King that Year to pay twenty thousand Marks: and *Boniface*, the Son of *Peter* of *Savoy*, the Queen's Nephew, was made Archbishop of *Canterbury*. After this the King made another Expedition into

Henry *gains* Wales.

Wales, which had often put him to great Charge and Trouble, but all in vain, so long as *Lewellin* the Prince or King of *North-Wales* liv'd; but he being dead, his two Sons, *David* and *Griffin*, among whom his State was divided, fell into Quarrels one with another, and so made themselves a Prey to their common Enemy. For *David* calling *Henry* to his assistance, did him Homage for his own part to assist him to conquer the other; and so without Labour or Charge (for *David* paid the Charges of his Journey) he became Master of that which he could not purchase before with much Blood.

Henry *goes again into* France *to recover his Dominions.*

The Earl of *March*, with his Wife, the Queen Dowager, and many other great Lords of *Poictou*, sollicit the King again to undertake an Expedition into *France*, to recover his Dominions there, and by their Assurances of Success, so prevail'd with him, that he resolves upon it, and moves it to a Parliament for their Assistance: But the De-

Eleventh Parliament

sign met with a general Oppsition, it being alledg'd, 'That it was a great Expence, and the 'last Attempt was very prejudicial to the King-'dom; and besides, That it was unlawful to 'break the Truce made with the King of *France*, 'who was now too strong for them to do any 'good, *&c.* Yet these Arguments did not deter many of the Nobility from listening to it, being allur'd by fair Promises, and hopes of Recovery of their Estates; and so the Action was resolv'd on, and an Aid demanded for it. But a Motion for Money, after so many Taxes as this King had from the beginning of his Reign, was very distasteful, and begat nothing but a fresh Memory of the heavey Impositions of Carucage, Hydage, Escuage, Escheats, Amercements, and several parts of their Moveables, which the King had received of them, besides the Exactions of the Pope, and their Expences for the Holy War, they would grant no more, especially considering, that the thirtieth part of their Moveables, which was levy'd about four Years before, and laid up in the Castles, and not to be deliver'd out but by the allowance of four Peers, could not be spent, the King to their knowledge having had no necessary occasion to employ it for the Publick. The King seeing this, comes in Person to the Parliament, and in a most submissive manner craves their Aid at this time; shewing them a Letter from the Pope to persuade them. But all he could do prov'd in vain, they had vow'd not to yield to any Sollicitations, and so they held out. Whereupon the King was forced to get what he could of private Men, either by Loan or Gift; with whom he found so much Interest, as that he carry'd over with him thirty Barrels of Money; and so taking the Queen along with him, he went over into *France*, leaving the Government to the Archbishop of *York*, having contracted for his greater Security an Alliance with the King of *Scots*, by the

1242. Marriage of his Infant Daughter *Margaret* to his eldest Son *Alexander*, to whom he committed the Government of the *Marches*. This second Expe-

His ill Success in France.

dition was as unsuccessful and unfortunate to him as the first; for in it he spent all his Treasure upon Strangers, discontented the *English* Nobility, (who for that reason left him) and being deceived by the *Poictovines*, whom he trusted, was after an whole Year's stay forced to make a dishonourable Truce[b] with the King of *France*; nor could return home, till he had received Provision out of *England*, and a Tax of Escuage to defray the Charges of his Passage.

1243. After his return he imposed another Tax upon the *Jews* for their Redemption[c], requires a Contribution of the *Londoners*, and was visited by his Wife's Mother, the Countess of *Provence*, who bringing with her her Daughter *Zanchia*, was sumptuously Feasted, and a Marriage shortly after solemnized between the young Lady and *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, the King's Brother, whose Wife was lately dead, and himself returned from the Holy Wars. The old Countess at her departure was presented with many Rich Gifts, besides the four thousand Marks which she had yearly from the King, upon an Agreement, that he should after her decease have the Earldom of *Provence*: which yet she disappointed him of soon after her return home, giving the same with her youngest Daughter *Beatrix* to *Charles* the *French* King's Brother, who was after King of *Naples* and *Sicily*: So that she liv'd to see all her four Daughters Queens, *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall* being elected King of the *Romans*.

A Tax imposed upon the Jews *and* Londoners.

[a] On the 16th of *June*, 1239. [b] For which he was to pay five thousand Pound Sterling every Year. *M. Paris.*
[c] He took from one Jew, *Aaron* of *York*, four Marks of Gold, and four thousand Marks of Silver.

A. D. 1244. Reg. 28.

After theſe large Expences of the King's in Marriages and Entertainments, there happen'd an occaſion for farther Supplies for the neceſſary Defence of the Kingdom againſt the Inroads of the *Scots* and *Welſh*, who now revolted. The King had now no way to raiſe Money but by the Parliament, which was therefore aſſembled at *Weſtminſter* this Year, *Anno Regn.* 28. and the King's juſt Occaſions urged and preſſed upon them, but nothing could be effected without an Aſſurance of a Reformation, and the due Execution of Laws, tho' the King came to it in Perſon; and to this end it was inſiſted on, That four of the moſt grave and prudent Peers ſhould be choſen *Conſervators of the Kingdom*, and being ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy Council, ſhould ſee Juſtice duly adminiſtred, the Treaſure frugally and wiſely expended, and always attend upon the King: That the Lord Chief Juſtice, Lord Chancellor, two Juſtices of the Benches, and two Barons of the Exchequer, ſhould be choſen by the Parliament: That as their Office was publick, ſo ſhould their Election be. But while theſe things were debating, the Enemy of Mankind, and the Diſturber of Peace, the Devil (ſaith *Matt. Paris*) hinder'd the Accompliſhment of them by the coming of one *Martin*, a new Legate from the Pope, with a larger Power to exact Money upon the Kingdom than ever, which he ſuppoſed was now moulded ſo, as to yield to any thing; but he ſoon found himſelf miſtaken: For the Parliament gave him a bad Reception, and ſent him home with this unpleaſant Meſſage: 'That the Kingdom was poor, 'and involv'd in Wars: That the Church was in 'debt, and not able to give any thing: That 'theſe Impoſitions were of ill Conſequence to 'the Kingdom, which would thus ſeem expoſed 'to the Pope's Pleaſure; and therefore ſince a 'General Council was ſhortly to meet at *Lyons*, 'if the Church wanted any Relief, it is fit it 'ſhould be done by a General Conſent in that 'Council.' And indeed the Parliament were encouraged the rather to give this Anſwer to the Pope at this time, becauſe they had received Letters from the Emperor *Fredericke*, which were read in the Aſſembly, deſiring, 'That the Pope 'might have no Supplies out of *England*, which 'were only to uphold him in his Oppreſſion of 'the Empire, whoſe Cities and Caſtles he had, 'contrary to all Juſtice and Piety, ſeized; and 'to detain them from him, had proceeded againſt 'him in all foul and hoſtile ways, to excommunicate and make War againſt him: That he had 'referred his Cauſe to the Arbitration of the 'King of *England* and *France*, and the Barons 'of both Kingdoms, and hoped that they would 'not take part with his Enemy, whom he had 'made his Judges: Adding, in the Concluſion, 'That if the King would be adviſed by him, he 'ſhould free his Kingdom from that unjuſt Tribute which *Innocent* III. and other Popes had 'laid upon it.' The Interpoſition of this Affair took up ſo much time, that nothing was done in this Parliament more, beſides a Tax granted to the King for the Marriage of his Daughter, twenty Shillings of every Knight's Fee, and that with much Unwillingneſs, and a Repetition of all his former Taxes. Having obtained it, he undertook an Expedition againſt *Alexander* King of *Scots*, and commanded all his Barons, both Laymen and Eccleſiaſtick, which held any Lands of him *in Capite*, to attend him with all Military Proviſions, and *Thomas* Earl of *Flanders*, with ſixty Knights, and an hundred Servants, came over to aſſiſt him; which was taken ill by the Barons, becauſe it ſhew'd, that the Strength of the Kingdom was not thought ſufficient for that Action; but it was ſuddenly ended by a fair Concluſion of a Peace with that King, who is highly commended by the Writers of theſe Times for a Virtuous Prince. Being arrived at *London* again, he calls another Parliament in the Winter, and moves for a Tax to enable him to go againſt the *Welſh*, and pay his other Debts, which, as he urged, were ſo great, that he could not ſtir out of his Chamber for the Clamour of ſuch as he ow'd Money to for Wine, and other Neceſſaries of his Houſe; but they told him unanimouſly to his Face, they would grant him nothing. Whereupon he fell upon violent Courſes to ſupply his Wants, *viz.* He quarrel'd with the *Londoners*, and made them pay fifteen thouſand Marks: He gives a Commiſſion to one *Paſſeleve* his Clerk to enquire out all ſuch as had encroached upon his Foreſts, and fine them ſeverely; which he did with ſo much Rigour, that tho' he undid many of the King's Subjects, he filled the King's Treaſure, and had gotten himſelf a Biſhoprick, as a Reward of his Fidelity, (*viz.* the Biſhoprick of *Chicheſter*) but that the Biſhops oppoſed the King in it.

The Scotch *and* Welſh *revolt. Twelfth Parliament.*

The Pope ſends again for Money into England.

His Expedition againſt the Scots.

A. D. 1244. Reg. 28.

Thirteenth Parliament.

His violent ways of raiſing Money.

And now, that the King might be acquainted with the State of the Nation, and the Oppreſſion of the Popes, it was appointed, that an Enquiry ſhould be made throughout the Kingdom, what Revenues the *Romans* and *Italians* had out of *England*; and it was found, that they received ſixty thouſand Marks, which was more than the yearly Revenues of the Crown of *England*; which ſo moved the King, that he cauſed the ſame to be repreſented to the General Aſſembly at *Lyons*[a], with other the Pope's Exactions. This Complaint (with the ill Uſage of his Legate *Martin*) ſo angred the Pope, that he is ſaid to have utter'd theſe words; *It is high time that we make a quick End with the Emperor, that we may cruſh theſe petty Kings*, (*viz.* of *France* and *England.*) *For if the Dragon be once appeaſed or deſtroyed, the leſſer Snakes will ſoon be trodden down.* This impious Speech from a Mouth which ſhould have utter'd nothing but Words of Peace and Charity, gave great Offence, and awaken'd thoſe Princes to ſecure themſelves; but chiefly the King and Clergy of *England*, who were always moſt forward to vindicate the State and Church from his Oppreſſion: For upon the Pope's rejecting the Conſideration of the Grievances of *England*, particularly deliver'd to him by the King's Procurators at this Council at *Lyons*, and deſpiſing the King's Meſſage, (*who*, he ſaid, *began to Frederize*) it was peremptorily ordain'd, under great Penalty, That no Contribution of Money ſhould be given to the Pope by any Subject of *England*; and the [b] King ſo ſtrenuouſly oppoſed theſe Exactions, as gave ſome Hopes that they would not ceaſe. But being of a timorous and fickle Temper, he ſoon gave over the Purſuit of what he had bravely begun; and ſo the Pope continued his Rapine. And tho' through the Exclamations of the Clergy he promiſed

An Enquiry into the Pope's Revenues in England.

1245.

An Order againſt the Pope's Exactions.

1246.

[a] An Elegant Epiſtle was written to the Council of *Lyons* in the Name of the General Body of the Kingdom; which Epiſtle was carry'd to the Aſſembly by the Earl *Roger Bigod*, *John Fitz-Jeffrey*, *William de Cantilupe*, *Philip Baſſet*, and other Barons, who, having no ſatisfactory Anſwer from the Council, made a ſolemn Oath or Proteſtation, That they would never pay, nor permit to be paid to the *Roman* See, that deteſtible Tribute granted by King *John*.

[b] The King himſelf gave the Parliament a Liſt of thoſe Grievances which the Kingdom laboured under, and which requir'd a ſpeedy Redreſs. 1. That the Pope extorted great Sums of Money from his Subjects without his Aſſent. 2. That he depriv'd Patrons of their Right of Preſentations to Benefices by his Proviſions. 3. That he oppreſs'd his Subjects by inſufferable Penſions, by requiring Appeals, by diſpenſing with Oaths, Cuſtoms and Grants, and the King was zealous to have them reform'd by Law.

A. D. 1246. Reg. 31.

miſed never to ſend any more Legates into *England*, yet he employ'd other Miniſters, under the Name of Clerks, who had the ſame Power, and wrought as miſchievous things in this Realm.

The Queen's Friends provided for.

And as the Church, ſo alſo the State, found great Cauſe of Complaint. For *Peter de Savoy*, Earl of *Richmond*, brought over ſeveral young Virgins to be marry'd to the King's Wards, young Noblemen of *England*, of which *Edmond* Earl of *Lincoln* had one, and *Richard de Burgh* another; and the ſame Year three of the King's Brothers, by Mother ſide, *viz. Guy de Luſignan*, *William de Valence*[a], and *Athelmer* Clerk, were ſent over to be provided of Eſtates and Preferment in *England*. *Thomas* of *Savoy* alſo (ſome time Earl of *Flanders*, in Right of his Wife) came with his Siſter *Beatrix*, Counteſs of *Provence*, the Queen's Mother, and they were greatly Treated and Gifted at the Expence of the People. Theſe things were alſo repreſented to the King by the Parliament, which met in *London* in *Candlemas*-Term, and boldly reproved the King for his Breach of Promiſe (upon his requiring another Supply) having vow'd and declar'd (at the Grant of the laſt Tax) by his Charter, 'That he would never 'injure the State again in that kind: They 'blame him alſo for taking up Proviſions of 'Wine, Dyet, Silks, *&c.* of the Sellers againſt 'their Will, to the great Diſcouragement of 'Merchandize: That his Judges went their Circuits under a Pretence of doing Juſtice to fleece 'the People; and *Robert de Paſſeleve* had extorted great Sums from ſuch as border'd upon his 'Foreſts, and therefore they wonder'd he could 'deſire any Relief from the Commons he had 'ſo much impoveriſh'd, and adviſe him to take 'what he wanted of his Favourites, and reſume 'the old Lands belonging to the Crown. They 'reprove him alſo for holding the Biſhopricks 'and Abbies in his Hands vacant, contrary to 'the Liberties of the Church, and his Oath made 'at his Coronation. Laſtly, They all complain'd 'in general, that the Chief Juſtice, Chancellor 'and Treaſurer, were not made by the Common 'Council of the Kingdom, as they had been in 'the Time of his Predeceſſors, as was convenient 'they ſhould; but ſuch were advanced to thoſe 'places of Truſt, as wholly ſought how to pleaſe 'him, and profit themſelves, without regarding 'the Advantage of the Kingdom. The King patiently endured all this Reproof, and gives them Promiſes of Redreſs, in hopes to obtain his Deſires; but nothing was granted, becauſe they were reſolv'd to ſee how the King would behave himſelf towards them firſt, and accordingly obey and ſatisfie him; and after many Debates they were prorogu'd till *Midſummer*. But this Delay produced no good Advantage: The King grew more harſh and ſevere to his People, inſomuch that at the next Seſſion he made a Speech to them to this Effect: 'Would you curb your King and 'Lord at your pleaſure, and impoſe a ſervile 'Condition upon him? Will you proudly deny 'him that which every one of you hath Power 'to do? It is lawful for every one of you to 'take whoſe Counſel he pleaſes, and for every 'Maſter of a Family to prefer whom he pleaſes 'to any Office, and remove him from it as he 'will; and will you raſhly deny your Lord and 'Sovereign to do the like? Servants ought not 'to judge their Maſters, nor Subjects their Prince, 'or hold them to Conditions: For the Servant is 'not above his Lord, nor the Diſciple above his 'Maſter. Neither is he your King, but Servant, 'who muſt ſubmit to your Pleaſure." Wherefore he anſwers them plainly, That he would not remove the Chief-Juſtice, Chancellor, or Treaſurer at their Deſire; and ſo he replied to their other Objections, requiring poſitively a Tax, which he ſaid concern'd their Right as well as his: And ſo the Parliament broke up in great Diſcontent. The King being now left to furniſh his own Wants, ſold all his Plate and Jewels, being told, That as Rivers return'd to the Sea, ſo they would revert to him again. The City of *London* bought them; which, when the King heard, he inveigh'd againſt it[b], and ſought all ways to draw the Trade from it.

1247.

Fourteenth Parliament.

The Parliament reprove the King.

1248.

A. D. 1248. Reg. 32.

The King's mean ways of getting Money.

The *Chriſtmas* following he paſſed without any Royal Magnificence, meanly requiring New-years Gifts of the *Londoners*; and ſhortly after, writes to them imperious Letters to aid him with Money, which at length with much unwillingneſs they conſented to do, to the Sum of twenty thouſand Pound; for which, the next Year after, he craved Pardon of them, ſending for them to *Weſtminſter*-Hall. And notwithſtanding his continual taking up all Proviſions for his Houſe, yet he ſo leſſen'd his Hoſpitality, (introducing, ſay they, the *Roman* way of Living) that it was held very diſhonourable, and unuſual to the *Engliſh* Magnificence of their Kings. Then, whereas he could obtain nothing of his Parliament, he either ſends for, or writes to every Nobleman apart, declaring his Poverty, and that he was bound by a Charter in a Debt of thirty thouſand Pound to thoſe of *Burdeaux*, and the *Gaſcoignes*, ever ſince he was laſt in *France*; notwithſtanding which, he required nothing of them, but in Favour; which, where he found, he would return the like. But he could obtain nothing of them, no more than of the Biſhops, to whom he addreſſed the ſame Requeſts. By much Importunity he got an hundred Pound of the Abbot of *Ramſey*; but the Abbot of *Borough* deny'd him the like Sum, tho' the King told him, That it was more Alms to give him, than to a Beggar that went from Door to Door. The Abbot of St. *Albans* was more yielding, and gave him ſixty Marks. To ſuch a lowneſs did the Neceſſities of the King, through his own Laviſhneſs, bring him. But tho' his own Subjects felt not the weight of his Wants, yet the Jews did, whom he always polled at every low Ebb of his Fortunes. One *Abraham*, who was found delinquent, was forced to pay ſeven hundred Marks for his Redemption. *Aaron*, another Jew, proteſted, That the King had ſince his Voyage into *France* taken from him at times thirty thouſand Marks of Silver, beſides two hundred Marks of Gold, which he had preſented to the Queen. And in like manner he uſed many other of the Jews.

His Exactions on the Jews.

1249.

The King grows ſevere.

The Lords meet again at *London*, and urge the King with his Promiſe made to them, That the Chief Juſtice, Chancellor and Treaſurer ſhould be conſtituted by the General Council of the Kingdom; but by reaſon that *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall* was not preſent, which was thought to have been on purpoſe, they could not obtain their Deſire; ſo that the Diſcontents of both ſides ſtill remained, to the great Diſtraction of the Nation, and great Struggings were on both parts. But tho' the King could get nothing for himſelf, he was very zealous to gain ſomething for others, eſpecially to prefer his Brother *Athelmar* to the Biſhoprick of *Durham*; and to that end, endeavours all he could to perſuade the Covent to chuſe him. But he could not prevail, becauſe of his Youth and Inſufficiency: Wherefore he tells them,

1250.

The King prefers his Brother Athelmar

[a] He was marry'd to the Daughter of *Guarin de Muntgenſil*, and created Earl of *Pembroke*.
[b] Saying, *On my Conſcience the City of* London *were able to purchaſe the Treaſure of* Auguſtus.

A. D. 1250. Reg. 34.

That he would keep it eight or nine Years in his hands, till he was grown to a greater Age. Shortly after the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter* became void, and thither he immediately ſends his Agents to prepare the Monks of that Cathedral to elect his Brother; and that he might not meet with a Denial from them, he went down thither in Perſon, enters the Chapter-Houſe, as a Biſhop or Prior, gets up into the Preſident's Chair, begins a Sermon, and takes this Text, *Juſtice and Peace have kiſſed each other*; and thereupon uſes theſe Words, 'To me and other Kings, and to our 'Princes and Judges, who are to govern the Peo- 'ple, belongs the Adminiſtration of Judgment 'and Juſtice. To you, who are Men of Religion 'and Piety, Peace and Tranquility: And this 'Day I hear that you have for your own Ad- 'vantage been favourable to my Requeſt, and 'ſo Juſtice and Peace have kiſſed each other. 'I was angry once with you for oppoſing me in 'the Election of *William Rale*, your late Biſhop, 'a Man that I lik'd not; but now I am Friends 'with you for this Election, and will both re- 'member and reward your Kindneſs. As by a 'Woman came the Deſtruction of the World, ſo 'by a Woman came the Remedy. I to ſatisfie 'my Wife, who was deſirous to prefer her Uncle '*William Valentine*, diſquieted and damnified 'you; ſo now being willing to advance my 'Brother by the Mother, will reconcile my ſelf 'to you, *&c.* Conſider, that in this City I 'was born, and in this Church baptiz'd; and 'therefore you are bound to me in a ſtraighter 'Bond of Affection, *&c.* Then he commended the high Birth and good Parts of his Brother, and what Honour and Benefit they would have by electing him, but concluded with ſome Threatnings: So that the Monks ſeeing him thus to require the Biſhoprick, thought it in vain to deny him, and *Athelmar* is elected; but with this Reſervation, If the Pope allow'd thereof. Soon after happen'd the Memorable Cauſe of Sir *Henry Bath*, [a] one of the Judges of this Kingdom, and a great Counſeller to the King; who having gotten a great Eſtate in his Place by Bribery and Corruption (for he is ſaid to have gotten 200*l. per Annum* in one Circuit) was at length accuſed by Sir *Philip D'arcy* of Injuſtice in his Office, and Treaſon; which ſo incens'd the King, that in the Parliament holden about this Time at *London*, Proclamation was made, That every Perſon that had any Action or Complaint againſt Sir *Henry Bath*, he might come in and ſhould be heard; whereupon one of his Fellow Judges accus'd him of acquitting a Malefactor for a Bribe. But Sir *Henry* was ſo ſtrong in Relations and Friends, who were at hand ready arm'd for his Reſcue, that the King ſaw he could not be puniſh'd openly; and therefore he breaks out into a Rage, and ſaid, That whoſoever would kill *Henry de Bath*, ſhould be acquitted for that Deed. But this Heat was ſoon after allay'd, by the Mediation of the Earl of *Cornwall* and Biſhop of *London*, who urging the Danger of the Time, and the Diſcontents of the Kingdom, and that his ſevere Proceedings with one that had ſerv'd him in ſo great Buſineſs, would diſcourage others from ſerving ſuch a Maſter; who upon malicious Accuſations would forſake them, whoſe Places are ever expos'd to Detraction, ſo prevail'd with the King, that Sir *Henry* upon the Payment of two thouſand Marks, was reſtor'd to his former Place and Favour. The King keeping his *Chriſtmas* at *York*, the Marriage between *Alexander* King of *Scots* and *Margaret* his Daughter was ſolemniz'd there with very great Coſtlineſs of Apparel and Proviſion, the Archbiſhop giving ſixty fat Oxen to be ſpent at one Feaſt, and four thouſand Marks for other Charges, which ſhews that the Poverty of the Church was not ſo great as was pretended, ſeeing the Churchmen could find Money to ſhew their Greatneſs, tho' they deny'd it at other times [b].

A. D. 1251. Reg. 35.

Margaret *the King's Siſter marry'd.* 1252.

The Pope, and *Alphonſus* King of *Caſtile*, ſollicite the King to undertake the Croſs, the latter offering to accompany him in Perſon to reſcue the King of *France*; who having empty'd his Country both of his Treaſure and Nobility, was taken Priſoner by the Sultan, and kept in miſerable Captivity, out of which he could not eaſily be redeem'd; becauſe the Money, which with much Difficulty had been collected for his Ranſome, was loſt in a Tempeſt at Sea. This made the Captive King ſeek other means, and offer the King of *England* to reſtore *Normandy*, if he would undertake to reſcue him; which tho' the Nobility of *France* took ill, and blam'd the Weakneſs of their King for; yet upon the Pope's Sollicitation, and a Grant of a Tenth both of the Clergy and Laity for three Years to come, the King of *England* undertakes the Croſs; yet rather to get the Money (which had it been collected, would have amounted to 600000 *l.*) than to perform the Journey, which he ſaw was nothing but a politick Device of the Pope's to impoveriſh his Kingdom, and the other Princes of *Europe*, that he might enlarge his own Power and Dominion. However the King, as if his Deſign had been real, firſt ſummon'd the *Londoners* to *Weſtminſter*, and there by the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Chicheſter* declares his Intention to them, who added their Exhortations to the People to attend him, but few were moved by their Perſuaſions; only three Knights, and they of no great Note, are nominated, whom the King embrac'd, kiſs'd, and call'd Brethren, checking the Backwardneſs of the *Londoners* in ſo pious an Action, and ſwearing to ſet forth on *Midſummer-Day*. After this, the Parliament was call'd at *London* to confirm the Tenth granted by the Pope, not by the People; and the Biſhops Conſent in this ſo pious a Work was firſt requir'd to induce the reſt, but they abſolutely refus'd the ſame: Which Example the Lords ſo cloſely follow'd, that the King in a Rage drove them out of his Chamber. Then the King tries to perſuade them to it ſeverally, and firſt began with the Biſhop of *Ely*, and in a mild manner tells him, 'How many Favours he had 'receiv'd from his hands, and how forward he 'had formerly found him to ſupply his Occa- 'ſions, and therefore intreats him now to give 'a good Example to others. The Biſhop re- 'ply'd, 'That he was glad, that he had at any 'time done him good Service; but in this he be- 'ſought his Highneſs not to expect a Compli- 'ance, ſince he thought it a diſhoneſt Act to 'recede from the Univerſal Determination of 'the Nation, and therefore diſſuades him from 'that Journey by the Example of the King of 'France, on whom he ſaw the Judgment of God 'fall'n for robbing his People to enrich his Ene- 'mies, who were grown fat with the vaſt Trea- 'ſure that Chriſtian Princes had tranſported thi- 'ther." The King hearing this poſitive Anſwer of the Biſhop, commanded his Servants in a great Paſſion to thruſt him out of his Palace; and judging

Sir Henry Bath's *Cauſe.* 1251.

Fifteenth Parliament.

Sixteenth Parliament.

[a] He was a great Lawyer, and the King's Favourite, yet his Maſter refus'd to take Bail for him when he was arreſted.

[b] When this Marriage was ſolemniz'd, King *Henry* wou'd have had the *Scots* King to do him Homage for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as he had done for *Lothian* and other Places, which he held of the King of *England*; but *Alexander* evaded it, and King *Henry* was not in Circumſtances to oblige him to do it.

A. D. 1252. Reg. 36.

ing by him what he was to expect of the reſt, fell to his old Courſes of raiſing Money by Violence and Extortion. During this Parliament (an ill time for Suitors) *Iſabel* Counteſs of *Arundel*, a young Widow, came to him about a Ward detain'd from her by reaſon of a ſmall parcel of Land held of the King *in Capite*, which depriv'd her of her Wardſhip for the reſt. The King gave her a ſharp Anſwer, and turn'd away from her: Whereupon ſhe ſaid to him, 'My Lord, Why 'turn you away your Face from Juſtice, that 'we can't obtain our Rights in your Court? You 'are God's Vicegerent, but you neither govern 'your ſelf nor us wiſely, but ſhamefully oppreſs 'your Nobles and the Kingdom. To this Speech the King reply'd in Diſdain, 'Lady Counteſs, Have 'the Lords made you a Charter to be their Advocate, and ſent you, being an eloquent Speaker, 'to defend their Cauſe? No, Sir, ſhe ſaid; I 'have no Charter, but that which your Father 'and you made, and have ſworn ſo often to obſerve, that you might get Money from your 'Subjects, but you do unworthily tranſgreſs. 'Where are the Liberties of *England* ſo often 'granted and bought? I though a Woman, and 'with me all your Natural Subjects, appeal 'againſt you to the Tribunal of the moſt High 'Judge to avenge us. At theſe words the King being diſturb'd, ask'd her, 'If ſhe expected no 'Favour from him, being his Kinſwoman? She ſaid, 'How can I hope for Favour from you, 'when you deny me Right? I appeal to Chriſt 'againſt thoſe Counſellors of yours, who have 'infatuated and bewitch'd you for their own 'Gain. As boldly, tho' in fewer words, did the Maſter of the Hoſpital of *Jeruſalem* at *Clerkenwell* reprove him; who coming to complain of an Injury done them againſt their Charter, the King told him, 'That the Biſhops, but eſpecially 'the Templars and Hoſpitallers, had ſo many 'Liberties and Charters, that their Riches made 'them proud, and their Pride mad; and 'tis beſt 'for them, that thoſe things which were unadviſedly granted ſhould be revok'd; alledging, 'That the Popes had often recall'd their Grants 'by a *Non-obſtante*, and why might not he diſannul thoſe Charters, which his Predeceſſors 'had inconſiderately granted? The Prior anſwer'd, 'God forbid you ſhould do as you ſay: 'So long as you obſerve Juſtice, you may be a 'King, but if you violate it, you will ceaſe to 'be a King. The Fryars, call'd *Minors*, when he ſent them a Load of Freeze to cloath them, ſent it back again, with this Meſſage; 'That he 'ought not to give Alms of what he had extorted 'from the Poor, nor would they accept of ſuch 'an abominable Gift. Such Affronts did this King meet withal from his Subjects, whoſe Duty ſhould have taught them more Manners to a worſe Prince; but when Princes have once loſt the Love of their People, and their Reputation, every one will be ready to ſhake off their Power, and put off all Reverence to them.

The Counteſs of Arundel's Suit and Speech.

The Reproof given the King by the Maſter of the Hoſpital at Clerkenwell.

The Inſolencies of Strangers.

This ill Behaviour of the *Engliſh* to the King harden'd him every Day more and more againſt them, and made him encourage the Inſolencies of Strangers againſt his People; who proud of the King's Favour, were ready enough to gratifie his Anger, in committing many Roits and Oppreſſions upon them. Thus *William de Valence*, an hot and fiery Youth, going from his Caſtle of *Hartford* to a Park of the Biſhop of *Ely*'s, which lay near his Mannour of *Hatfield*; he deſtroy'd the Game, and after entring the Biſhop's Houſe, where he found no other Drink but Ale, he caus'd the Cellar-door to be broken open by his Attendants, and when they had drank their fill, let out the reſt upon the Floor. The Biſhop Elect of *Wincheſter* alſo did great Wrongs to an Official of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Guy de Luſignan* being entertain'd by the Abbot of St. *Albans*, violates all the Laws of Hoſpitality and Civility, and many others did the like Injuries to the *Engliſh*; inſomuch, that their general Complaint was, 'Our Inheritance is given to 'Aliens, and our Houſes to Strangers, which notwithſtanding the King ſought the more to prefer: For a Daughter of *Guy de Luſignan* Earl of *Angoleſm*, is marry'd to *Richard* (or *Gilbert*) *de Clare* Earl of *Gloceſter*, an eminent Man, and much lov'd of the Nobility, learn'd in the Laws, and a great Patriot of the Rights of the Subject; from which this near Alliance to the King could not keep his Hands, but he would ſtill defend the Liberties of the Nation. The King promis'd to the Earl five thouſand Marks for a Dower, and ſought to borrow it of many, but could not; wherefore he again compels the *Londoners* to contribute a thouſand Marks.

A. D. 1252. Reg. 36.

The People of *Gaſcoigne* being about to revolt, unleſs a ſpeedy Remedy were taken, the King cauſed general Muſters to be made, and gave order, That whoever could expend 13 *l. per Annum*, ſhould furniſh out an Horſe for that Expedition. This, with the extream Wants of the King, occaſion'd another Parliament, wherein the States wiſely conſidering, that all their Oppoſition did no good, the King's Wants muſt be ſupply'd one way or other; and that it was heavier for private Men to do it, than for the Kingdom in general, agreed to relieve him rather by the uſual way, than force him to thoſe extravagant Courſes he took: Yet upon Condition, that he would reform the Government, and ratifie their ancient Laws and Charters, which (after fifteen Days Conſultation about the Way of raiſing a ſufficient Sum for this Expedition, which was at length agreed to be done by a Tenth from the Clergy for three Years, and three Marks of every Knight's Fee) was done after the moſt ſolemn Manner, and with as much Ceremony as Religion and State could deviſe; for the King, with all the Chief Nobility, and Biſhops in their Robes, and with Candles burning in their Hands, being aſſembled, the Charters granted by King *John* his Father were openly read, and the terrible Sentence of Excommunication being pronounc'd againſt all the Breakers of the ſame in theſe Words; '*Autoritate Dei Omnipotentis*, &c. they all threw down their Candles, which lay ſmoaking on the Ground, and all cry'd out, 'So 'let them who incurr this Sentence, be extinct 'and ſtink in Hell. And the King, who laid his Hand on his Breaſt all the while the Sentence was read, ſaid with a loud Voice, 'As God 'ſhall help me, I will, as I am a Man, a Chriſtian, 'a Knight, a King crown'd and anointed, inviolably obſerve all theſe things. And at this the Bells rung out, and all the People ſhouted for Joy: So that never Laws were publiſh'd with more Ceremony than theſe, except thoſe of God himſelf from Mount *Sinai*; and if Prayers could have procur'd the ſame Thundrings and Lightnings, it ſhould have been done to make them reverently to be obſerv'd, and the Breach of them formidable. After this, the Buſineſs of *Gaſcoigne* was readily taken into Conſideration, being the thing that requir'd their preſent Care; which to underſtand, we muſt look back a little to the Original. The King, by the Counſel of the Lords, had twenty ſeven Years before this, freely granted to his Brother *Richard* all that Province of *Gaſcoigne*, which thereupon receiv'd him as their Lord, and ſwore Fealty to him.

The People of Gaſcoigne ready to revolt.

Seventeenth Parliament.

The Charters ſolemnly ratified. 1253.

The Buſineſs of Gaſcoigne.

The

A. D. 1253. Reg. 37.

The Queen, after the King had a Son by her, ſolicits him to revoke his Grant to his Brother, and confer it upon his eldeſt Son *Edward*, which he immediately did. But *Richard*, tho' he were depriv'd of the Poſſeſſion, would not yield to forego his Right; ſo that when the King was laſt in *Gaſcoigne*, the People were doubtful whom to attend. The King therefore in great Diſpleaſure commands his Brother to reſign his Charter, and renounce his Right; which he refuſing to do, the King commanded the People of *Burdeaux* to take him and impriſon him; but they conſidering his Greatneſs, and the Mutability of the King's Temper, would not venture to do it till he promiſed them a large Reward of Money; by which the Earl perceiving he was in danger, eſcaped from *Burdeaux*, and got into *England*. The King after his departure aſſembles the Nobility of *Gaſcoigne* at *Burdeaux*, where having much inveigh'd againſt his Brother, as a covetous Oppreſſor, and promiſed them not only a better Governor, but thirty thouſand Marks, (which they required him to confirm to them by his Charter and Oath) he nulled the Charter of Donation to his Brother, and takes their Homage and Fealty to himſelf. In which, tho' they pleaſed him, yet by holding him to the Performance of his Oath, they afterward loſt his Love; and to be reveng'd of them, he ſent *Simon Montfort*, Earl of *Leiceſter*, a rough and warlike Man, to curb their Pride, gave him a Charter for ſix Years, and furniſhed him with ten thouſand Marks, that he might execute his Command the better. *Montfort* by his ſevere Management ſo diſcontented the People of *Gaſcoigne*, that they after three Years Sufferings ſend over the Archbiſhop of *Burdeaux*, with other great Men, to complain of his hard Dealings, and accuſe of ſeveral heinous Crimes, who were heard before the King and Council. *Montfort* is ſent for over to anſwer for himſelf; but was ſo abetted and befriended by the Earl of *Cornwall*, and the Lords his Friends, that the King taking the People of *Gaſcoigne*'s part, more to curb his Nobles, than in favour to them. *Montfort* in an undutiful manner upbraided the King with his Expenceful Service and Breach of Promiſe, gave him the Lye, and threaten'd to make him repent of that Action, if his Regal Dignity did not protect him, called him no Chriſtian, with many like Abuſes; which cauſed the King to tell him, That he repented that he had admitted him into *England*, and ſo much preferred him. The *Gaſcoignes* after this were ſent for privately by the King, who comforted them, and encouraged them againſt *Montfort*, whom he told them he would ſend over again to his Charge with clipt Wings, that they might be reveng'd of him; and confirmed the State of *Gaſcoigne* to his Son *Edward*, whom he promiſed ſhortly to ſend over to them, wherewith they were well pleaſed; and having done him Homage, depart. The Effect of this Contrivance was but bad. *Montfort* returns in Flames, plagues the *Gaſcoignes*, and they in like manner him; but he by his great Alliance in *France*, got ſo many Forces, as overmatch'd that People, and ſo ſpoil'd their Eſtates. The People being thus oppreſſed by a powerful Army, ſend over their Complaints again; alledging, That unleſs they were ſpeedily reliev'd, they muſt of neceſſity put their Country into ſome other hands to protect them. In this State was *Gaſcoigne* at the meeting of this Parliament. Wherefore the King, as ſoon as he obtain'd the Supply (laying aſide his *Eaſtern* Deſign) goes over with three hundred Sail of great Ships, and lands at *Burdeaux* in *Auguſt*, in the 38th Year of his Reign, having firſt depoſed *Simon Montfort* from his Government, and made void his Charter by Proclamation. *Montfort* retires, and is offer'd Entertainment by the *French*, but refuſes it. Before Winter the King had pretty well appeaſed the Country, and taken thoſe Caſtles which had long held out againſt him, and the late Governor. For they having put themſelves under the Protection of the King of *Spain*, who was a near Neighbour, to maintain the Factions of the Country, the King was forced to be more quick in diſpatching that Affair; and the rather, becauſe the King of *Spain* pretended a Title to *Acquitain*; of whom, that *Henry* might be the more ſecure, he ſends to him to treat of a Marriage between Prince *Edward* and his Siſter *Eleanor*; to which the King of *Spain* willingly conſented. After this the King kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Bourdeaux*, whither the Queen ſends him a New-years Gift of five hundred Marks; and the next Summer ſhe went over to him with the Prince, and the Marriage was ſolemnized at *Bourges*, where the King of *Spain* Knighted the Prince, and by his Charter quits his Claim to *Aquitain* for him and his Heirs for ever. The King of *England* alſo inveſts the Prince and his Wife therein; and beſides, gives him *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Briſtol*, *Stamford* and *Grantham*; which being diſpatch'd, the King prepares for his Return, having conſumed all his Treaſure in theſe Journeys, which was reckon'd 2700000 *l.* [a] more than all the Lands which he had in thoſe Countries were worth, had they been ſold right out; which, when he was told of, he deſired it might not be publiſhed to his Diſgrace. The Seas being dangerous in the Winter, the King obtains leave of the King of *France* (lately releaſed from his Captivity) to paſs through his Country homeward; and in his Paſſage goes to *Paris* with a Retinue of a thouſand Horſe, beſides Sumpters and Carts, where he ſtaid eight Days, and was magnificently feaſted by the King of *France*, which he returned with equal Charge and Pomp, in reſpect to the two Queens with him, and the Counteſſes of *Cornwall* and *Provence*. About *Chriſtmas* the King arriv'd in *England*, and was preſented by the *Londoners* with an hundred Pounds in Silver, which being receiv'd without Thanks, they gave him a piece of Plate of double the Value, which had a more kind Acceptance, though it could not excuſe them from greater Sums afterwards.

A. D. 1254. Reg. 38.

Montfort *depoſed.*

King Henry *keeps his* Chriſtmas *at* Burdeaux.

The main Buſineſs of the King after his arrival being to recruit his Treaſure, and eaſe himſelf of his Debts, which he had by his Prodigality contracted, and now lay heavy upon him, he ſtudied all ways to raiſe Money. And firſt he begins to ſupply himſelf for the preſent with Loans, and borrows great Sums of the Earl of *Cornwall* upon Pawn. The *Londoners* were alſo compelled to pay him three thouſand Marks for ſuffering a Priſoner to eſcape; and the poor *Jews* are again ſqueez'd, and then let out to farm to the rich Earl of *Cornwall* to make the beſt of them. At length he calls a Parliament in *Eaſter* Term, of which he expected large Contributions to his Wants; but inſtead of that, he meets with nothing but Complaints of Breaches of their Charter, and other Grievances from them, who inſiſted upon their pretended Rights of chuſing the Chief Juſtice, Chancellor and Treaſurer: About

His ways to raiſe Money.

Eighteenth Parliament. 1275.

S. Montfort *made Governor of* Gaſcoigne, *who manages ill.*

2 which

[a] *Matt. Paris* ſays, 'Twas 20700 l. and 30000 Marks, ſpent on his *Poictovin* half Brothers. He begg'd ſome that told him of it, not to mention it any more: *Oh, for the Head of God* (his Oath) *ſay no more of it, leſt the very Relation make Men wonder, and ſtand amaz'd.*

A. D. 1247. Reg. 41.

which things, when there had been much Debate to no purpose, the Parliament was adjourn'd to *Michaelmas*, without any Grant of Money to him; because, as was pretended, many Peers were not summon'd according to the Tenure of *Magna Charta*. But tho' the King got no Supplies, he had fresh Occasions for Charge. *Thomas* Earl of *Savoy*, the Queen's Brother, is at War with the City of *Thuren*, and must be supply'd with Money by the King and Queen, and *Boniface* Archbishop of *Canterbury* his Brother. The Bishop of *Toledo* Elect, the King of *Spain*'s Brother, came over, with other Great Men of that Nation, stay at the King's Charge, and are richly presented. Shortly after *Eleanor*, the Prince's Wife, visits the King with a Multitude of *Spaniards*; and she must be met, and received by the *Londoners* in a costly Manner, and is after much Feasting sent home with rich Presents. The Pope sends the Bishop of *Bononia* with a Ring of Investiture to *Edmund*, the King's second Son, for the Kingdom of *Sicily* (with which *Innocent* IV. had deluded the King himself before) and he also was sent back with great Rewards. Then arrives *Rustandus*, with Power to collect the Tenths of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, for the use of the Pope and King, and absolve the King from his Oath for the Holy War, upon Condition that he should come to destroy *Manfred* the Emperor *Frederic*ke's [a] Son, who was now in Possession of the Kingdom of *Sicily* and *Apulia*, and put his Son *Edmund* in that Kingdom; which the King was so pleased with, that he vow'd to go presently upon that Expedition; being encouraged to it by a Report, that *Manfred*, had received a Defeat by the Pope's Power in *Apulia*, which proved false; for *Manfred* had conquer'd the Pope's Army, and was established in his Government by the general Consent of the *Sicilians*, who were angry with the Pope for giving away their Country without their Consent to Strangers. But *Rustandus* could not obtain that he came for of the Clergy, (tho' he got a rich Present at *York* of the King) who protested, That they would rather lose their Lives and Livings, than yield in this thing either to the Will of the Pope or King, *who*, they said, *were as the Shepherd and the Wolf, who combined to destroy the Flock.*

The King's Charges great.

The Complaint of the Merchants of Gascoign.

The King this Year keeps his *Christmas* at *Winchester*, and here the Merchants of *Gascoigne*, who had their Wines taken from them by the King's Officers, without due Satisfaction for them, complain of it to the Prince, who was now their Lord, and tell him, 'That they had better Trade 'with *Sarazens* and *Infidels*, than the *English*, if 'they were thus used.' The Prince addresses himself to his Father, and begs a Redress; but was so far from gaining it, that he brought the Storm upon himself. For the Officers having prepossessed the King, that their Complaints were false and unjust, he brake out in a great Rage at the Prince's Motion, and said, 'That his own 'Bowels, his Son, afflicted and opposed him, as 'his Brother had done; and the Miseries of his 'Grandfather *Henry* II. were come upon him.' But this Passion being allay'd by his Council, he gave order, That those Injuries should be redressed. However, the Prince fearing future ill Effects of his Father's Displeasure, enlarged his Train, and rod with two hundred Horse for his Guard. While the Prince, who was very young, rash, and unexperienced, remained in *England* with a Train of Strangers, most of them of no Estates, and of youthful and violent Spirits (said to be more ravenous than the Crew which *Lewis* brought with him out of *France*) many Outrages were committed to the great Trouble of the King's Subjects; for they made every thing a Prey that they could get into their Power; yea, and the Prince himself is said upon the Road to have caused the Ear of a young Man to be cut off, and one of his Eyes put out, whom he met travelling about his Business; which foul Act made many to have no good Opinion of his Disposition, and fear what he would after prove. But long Experience in Travel, and an innate Nobleness of Mind, so suppressed his Vices, that he after proved a very worthy Prince. But for the present he suffered some Disgrace for his youthful Follies; which the *Welsh* not having that Patience to endure as the *English* had, broke out into open Rebellion against him, who was then their Governor. He craved the Assistance of his Father, Mother, and Uncle *Richard*, to suppress them: But the King's Treasure was gone over the *Alps* with *Edmund*, the Queen's to the Duke of *Savoy*, and Earl *Richard* had lent more already than he could get again; and so nothing was done, but only a rough Message sent him, That 'twas his Princedom, and he must find Ways to defend it. But the King used all the Shifts he could to supply his own everlasting Wants. He comes himself into his Exchequer, and with his own Voice order'd, 'That 'every Sheriff which appeared not yearly in the 'Octaves of S. *Michael* with his Money, as well 'of his Farms, as of Fines and other Dues, for 'the first Day he should be fined five Marks, for 'the second ten, for the third fifteen, and for 'the fourth at the King's Pleasure. In like manner, that all Cities and Free-Towns, which answer by their Bailiffs, should be fined for the 'same Defaults, and the fourth Day to lose their 'Freedom. Besides every Sheriff throughout 'England was fined five Marks, because they 'did not distrain within their Countries all that 'held ten Pound Land *per Annum*, and came 'not to be made a Knight, or freed by the King.' Then he fell to the Examination of Measures for Wine and Ale, Bushels and Weights, which brought him in some small Sums; and every Year he had a Quarrel with the *Londoners* for one thing or another, and got something out of them. Thus by various ways supporting his great Charge.

Welsh rebel against the Prince.

Richard Earl of Cornwall made King of the Romans.

But now happen'd a Business, which as it took up some time, so it was look'd upon by all the World as advantageous to the *English*, *viz.* The Election of *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall* to be King of the *Romans*, by the general Consent of all the Electors [b], who sent for him to receive that Crown. It was first debated in the Council, whether he should accept of the Offer: Some, who thought his Presence necessary for the Affairs of this Kingdom, were against it, and dissuaded him from it by the Examples of two lately elected to that Dignity, *Henry Landgrave* of *Turing*, and *William* Earl of *Holland*, who were miserably destroyed: But others, of which the King himself was one, persuaded him to it, judging him too great for a Subject, and very useful if a foreign Prince: This the Earl yielded to, tho' with a seeming unwillingness. But the *German* Writers (who are best Witnesses of their own Affairs) give a different Account of it, and say, That after the Murther of the Earl of *Holland* the Electors were divided about a Successor; some were for their old Custom of electing a Native, others were for a Stranger, who might support their declining State, which was most politick, and at last prevailed. But in this they had some Difference about the Competitors, *Alphonsus* King of *Spain*, and *Richard* Earl

[a] His Natural Son.

[b] The Elector of *Treves*, and several other Princes, opposed his Election.

A. D 1257. Reg. 41.

of *Cornwall*, who offer'd them large Sums for it. In the Concluſion *Richard*, who was neareſt in Perſon and Money readieſt, was preferr'd and crown'd at *Aquiſgrave*[a]. He behav'd himſelf, ſay they, with great Tyranny and Severity to thoſe who had oppos'd his Election, thinking thereby to confirm himſelf in his Power, but it proved contrary: For having conſum'd his Riches by purchaſing their Votes, and by giving great Gifts afterward, he was forſaken and diſpoſſeſs'd by his Subjects, and forc'd to return into *England* to his Brother *Henry*, who was then in War with his Nobles. Thus they deliver it, but in our Hiſtories we find it thus: Before the Earl departed out of *England*, the Earl of *Gloceſter* and Sir *John Manſell* were ſent into *Germany* to try their Affections towards him, who return'd well ſatisfied of the Buſineſs; and ſhortly after the Archbiſhop of *Cologne* came to conduct him over, and the Earl beſtow'd five hundred Marks on him towards his Charges, and a rich Mitre ſet with precious Stones. This Prince, the Earl of *Cornwall*, is reported to have been able to expend an hundred Marks a Day for ten Years, beſides his Revenues in *England*. The *French*, and eſpecially the King of *Spain*, were much diſpleaſed with this Choice, and complain'd to the Pope and King of *England*, that he was ſupplanted by the Earl, *Spain* pretending that he was firſt elected: But he being a Philoſopher, and ſtudious of Mathematicks (which he reviv'd in *Europe*) he was drawing Lines when he ſhould have drawn his Purſe, and ſo loſt his Hopes, and *Richard* ſtept in before him [b].

And ſent for over.

About the time that Earl *Richard* departed out of *England*, while the Kingdom was yet in its Jollity for this new Promotion, the King calls a Parliament to ſet forward another, of his Son *Edmund*; whom bringing forth to them in an *Apulian* Habit, he thus ſpake to the Aſſembly. 'Behold, my good Subjects, here my Son *Edmund*, 'whom God of his Grace hath called to the Dignity of Regal Excellency, how worthy is he of 'your Favour, and how inhumane will it be in 'you, in ſo important an Affair, to deny him 'your Counſel and Aid? And then he ſhews them, how by the Advice and Kindneſs of the Pope, and the Church of *England*, he had for the attaining of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, bound himſelf under a Covenant of loſing his Kingdom of *England* in the Sum of an hundred forty thouſand Marks; That he had obtain'd a Tenth of the Clergy for three Years to come of all their Benefices, to be valu'd at the full Rate, without Deduction of Expences, unleſs very neceſſary, beſides their Firſt-fruits for three Years; which Declaration was not very pleaſant to the Clergy, as may be judg'd from their former Grumblings. Nevertheleſs, after ſome inſufficient Excuſes for their Poverty, they promis'd, upon the uſual Condition, That *Magna Charta*, and the Liberties of the Kingdom ſhould be finally eſtabliſh'd, which had been ſo often bought before, fifty two thouſand Marks, tho' this ſatisfied him not. Wherefore the next Year he ſummons another Parliament at *London*, wherein he preſs'd them hard for ſuch Supplies as might enable him to pay his Debts to the Pope; but the Lords tell him plainly, 'That they would not yield to pay him any 'thing, and if he had without their Conſent, 'unadviſedly bought the Kingdom of *Sicily*, and 'was cheated, he ſhould impute it to his own 'Weakneſs, and have taken Example by his 'Brother; who when it was offer'd him by the 'Pope's Agent, abſolutely refuſed it, becauſe it 'lay ſo far off; ſo many Nations were between, 'the Pope full of Cavils, the People unfaithful, 'and the Pretender powerful, *&c.* Then they 'repeated their own Grievances, how that he 'had broke his Promiſes, contemning both the 'Keys of the Church, and the Charter he had 'ſolemnly ſworn to obſerve; how inſulting his 'Brethren, and other Strangers were, againſt 'whom no Writ, by his own Order, was to paſs 'in any Cauſe whatſoever out of Chancery; 'That their Pride was intolerable, eſpecially of '*William de Valence*, who had given the Lye to 'the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and was not puniſh'd for it 'upon Complaint; That they abounded in Riches, 'and kept him ſo poor, that he could not ſuppreſs the ſmall Forces of the *Welſh*, who waſted 'the Borders of *England*, but going the laſt Year 'againſt them, return'd with Diſhonour.' The King hearing this, grew ſenſible of his Fault; and being urg'd with Neceſſity humbled himſelf, and told them, 'That he had indeed been 'ſeduc'd by ill Counſel, but promis'd by Oath, 'which he took upon S. *Edward*'s Tomb, to re'form all theſe Errors.' But the Lords not knowing how to hold this ever-changing *Proteus* (as *Paris* ſays) got the Parliament to be adjourn'd till S. *Barnabas*'s Day, and then to aſſemble at *Oxford*. In the mean time, the Earls of *Gloceſter*, *Leiceſter* and *Hereford*, the Earl Marſhal *Bygot*, *Spencers*, and other great Men, enter into a Confederacy, and provide Force ſufficient to effect their Deſires; whilſt the King put to great Straights for Money, procures the Abbot of *Weſtminſter* by Promiſes of great Preferments, to give him a Deed ſeal'd with the Seal of the Covent for three hundred Marks[c], to encourage others to do the like; which he ſent by ſome truſty Officers to the ſeveral Monaſteries with his Letters, and his ſaid Deed, to effect. But all the Art and Threats that they could uſe, could not bring them to yield to ſuch Deeds. They were told, That their King was Lord of all they had, and therefore they ought readily to offer a ſmall part for the Supply of his Wants; but they reply'd, That they acknowledg'd the King Lord of all they had, but it was to defend and enrich, not to deſtroy and undo them. So the Officers return'd without Succeſs, and the King was diſappointed; and the Prince, who ſhar'd in the Miſeries of his Father's Wants, forc'd to mortgage the Towns of *Stamford*, *Braham*, and many other Places, to *William de Valence*; that out of his Stores he might ſupply his Father and himſelf with Money, which prov'd the Breach of all Love and Favour between them.

Nineteenth Parliament.

The King deſires Money to furniſh out Edmund *his Son to be King of* Sicily.

1258.

A. D. 1258. Reg. 42.

The Nobility enter into a Combination.

And now drew on the Time for the Parliament's meeting at *Oxford* in an hot time, but the Diſcontents of the Nation, which burſt out then into furious Flames, were much hotter than the Seaſon. The Lords appear'd with a very great Train, as for War, which indeed they pretended to be deſign'd againſt the *Welſh*, and landing of Foreigners at the ſeveral Ports; but the Orders given by them to the *Londoners* to keep their Gates ſhut, and the Aſſociation under Hands, and with Oaths which they had enter'd into one with another, proved ſome other Deſign. At the Opening of the Parliament they began to call for their former Liberties, and require ſtrictly the Obſervation of them, according to the King's Oath formerly made, That the

The Lords in Arms at Oxford.

[a] He was crown'd at *Aix la Chapelle* in *May*, 1257.
[b] 'Tis ſaid he carry'd over 700000 *l.* with him into *Germany*, an immenſe Sum in thoſe Times.
[c] He oblig'd his Convent for 2500 Marks. *M. Paris.*

A. D. 1258. Reg. 42.

Chief-Juſtice, Chancellour, and Treaſurer ſhould be choſen by the People; That Twenty-four Conſervators of the Kingdom be appointed, twelve by the Election of the King, and twelve of the Lords, and many things elſe which they imagin'd to be for their Security. The King ſeeing their Strength, and obſerving after what manner they requir'd theſe things, ſwears ſolemnly again to the Confirmation of them, and cauſes his Son the Prince to take the ſame Oath. But the Lords were not thus ſatisfied, the King's Brethren, all the *Poictovines* and Strangers muſt be preſently remov'd, and the Kingdom clear'd of them; and this they would have all the Peers of the Nation to ſee done: But the Prince, Earl *Warren*, and *Henry* the eldeſt Son of *Richard*, now King of the *Romans* [a], ſtrongly oppos'd it, the laſt refuſing to take his Oath without his Father's Leave: Whereupon the reſt told him, 'That if his Father would not joyn with the Ba-'rons in this Caſe, he ſhould not hold a Furrow 'of Land in *England*. In the end, the King's Brethren, and all their Followers, are deprived of their Eſtates, and baniſh'd by Proſcription under the King's own hand, directed to the Earls of *Hereford* and *Surrey*, with a Charge not to ſuffer them to paſs either with Money, Arms, or Equipage, other than as the Lords appointed; and after their departure, he enjoin'd the City of *Briſtol* and other Ports, not to permit any Strangers or Kinſman of his to enter the Kingdom, unleſs they behav'd themſelves as both he and the Lords ſhould like. The *Poictovines* flying to *Bologne* in *France*, ſent to King *Lewis* to beg a ſafe Paſſage through his Country into *Poictou*; but by the *French* Queen's means, who had heard they had diſgrac'd her Siſter of *England*, they were deny'd, and *Henry* Son to the Earl of *Leiceſter* is ſent to incenſe the *French* againſt them. And now, as Envy is always ready to thruſt headlong, ſuch as are falling, the *Poictovines* have all the Miſchiefs laid to their Charge imaginable. The Sickneſs and Death of divers great Men, which happen'd ſoon after this fatal Parliament, are imputed to Poiſons made and given by theſe Gentlemen, and ſome executed, as *Walter Scoyny*, the Earl of *Gloceſter*'s Steward, becauſe his Maſter and his Brother had been dangerouſly ſick, though they could prove nothing againſt him. *Elias*, a converted *Jew*, aſſerted, That the Poiſon was prepar'd in his Houſe, but it was when he was a Devil, not a Chriſtian: Every Man that had receiv'd any Wrong by theſe great Men, put up their Complaints, and are heard with Aggravations of their Inſolence and Injuſtice. *Guido de Rochfort*, a *Poictovine*, to whom the King had given the Caſtle of *Rocheſter*, is baniſh'd, and all his Goods confiſcated; *William Buſſey*, Steward to *William de Valence*, is committed to the Tower of *London*, and cruelly uſed as an Inſtrument of his Maſter's Inſolencies; *Richard Gray*, whom the Lords had made Captain of *Dover* Caſtle, is ſet to intercept whatever the *Poictovines* carried that way to convey out of *England*, who took a great deal of Treaſure from them, and the Elect of *Wincheſter*, beſides great Sums which they had put in the new Temple, all which were ſeiz'd into the King's Hand. And that the People in this Execution of Juſtice, as 'twas thought, tho' much Wrong was done under that Umbrage, might not think themſelves forgotten, the new Chief Juſtice *Hugh Bygot* the Marſhal's Brother (who was choſen by the Parliament) procures, that four Knights in every Shire ſhould inquire into the Oppreſſions of the Poor, done by thoſe great Men, and certifie the ſame under their Hands and Seals to the Barons, that Redreſs might be made. Moreover Order was taken, 'That from thenceforth no Man 'ſhould give any thing (but Proviſions) for 'Juſtice, or to hinder it, but the corrupter and 'corrupted to be grievouſly puniſh'd. But notwithſtanding this Care for the Publick, yet the Lords oppreſs'd the King's Tenants that dwelt near them, and became *Totidem Tyranni*: For they furniſh'd the chief Forts of the Kingdom with Garriſons of their own, ſworn to be faithful to the State, and to the like Aſſurance of all the Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Coroners, and other publick Officers, inquiring by Oath into the Behaviour of many Commiſſioners; and to make their Cauſe the more popular, they gave it out, that the King's Neceſſities muſt be ſupply'd out of the Peoples Eſtates, and that he would not want while they had it: Whereupon the King iſſues out his Proclamation, declaring, 'That 'whereas certain malicious Perſons had falſly 'and ſeditiouſly reported, that he deſign'd un-'lawfully to charge his Subjects, and ſubvert 'the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, and 'by ſuch falſe Suggeſtions, drew the Hearts of 'his People from him; he deſir'd them not to 'give Credit to ſuch Diſturbers of their Peace; 'becauſe he was reſolv'd to defend all Rights 'and Cuſtoms belonging to them; and that they 'might be aſſur'd of it, he had cauſed theſe his 'Letters to be made Patents.

Strangers to be baniſhed.

The Poictovines *cruelly uſed in their departure.*

The Lords uſurp the Royal Power.

1259.

And now *Montford*, *Gloceſter*, and *Spencer*, who had by the late Conſtitution of the Twenty-four Conſervators of the Kingdom, gotten the whole Management of all things into their hand, forc'd the King to call a Parliament at *London*, where the whole Authority of the Twenty-four was devolv'd upon them, and Order taken, That three of them at the leaſt ſhould always attend at Court to diſpoſe of the Cuſtody of Caſtles, and manage other Buſineſſes of the Kingdom, to direct the Chancellor, Chief-Juſtice and Treaſurer, and all other Officers both great and ſmall; and beſides, oblige the King to looſe them from their Obedience whenſoever he broke his Charter. In this State and Condition was the Kingdom, when there came Intelligence to the Lords, that *Richard* King of the *Romans* was coming over into *England*; which being not expected, gave them grounds to ſuſpect, that he was ſent for by the King to come over with an Army to overthrow their Conſtitution, as King *John* had done: Whereupon they ſent to him to know the Cauſe of his coming, and require an Oath of him before he landed; that he would do nothing prejudicial to their Eſtabliſhment newly made in the Kingdom. But the King of the *Romans* gave them a ſtern Anſwer and Refuſal, ſaying, 'He had no Peer in '*England*, being the Son and Brother of a King, 'and therefore was above their Power; and if 'they ſaw it neceſſary to reform the Kingdom, 'they ought firſt to have ſent for him, and not 'ſo preſumptuouſly attempted a Buſineſs of ſo 'great Importance without him. The Lords, upon the hearing of this Anſwer, ſent down a Force to guard the Ports, and came down well arm'd, and attended to encounter him if neceſſary; but finding his Train ſmall, *viz.* only his Queen, two *German* Earls, and eight Knights, they permitted him to land upon his Promiſe of taking their Oath, which they propounded to him; but would not permit him nor the King, who alſo came down

Twentieth Parliament.

Richard King of the Romans comes into England.

[a] The Judges alſo making ſome ſhew of Oppoſition, incurr'd the Odium of the People ſo much, that they would not admit them to do their Office in their Circuits.

A. D. 1258. Reg. 42.

down to meet him, to enter into *Dover* Caſtle. At *Canterbury* they brought him into the Chapter-houſe, and the Earl of *Gloceſter* ſtanding forth in the midſt, called out the Earl, not by the Name of *King*, but *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, who in a reverent manner came forth, and took his Oath in this form: 'Hear all Men, that I *Richard* Earl 'of *Cornwall* do here ſwear upon the Holy Evan-'geliſts, to be faithful and diligent to reform 'with you the Kingdom of *England*, which hath 'by the Counſel of wicked Perſons been hereto-'fore much diſorder'd; be an effectual Aſſiſtant 'with you to expel the Rebels and Diſturbers of 'the ſame: And this Oath I will inviolably ob-'ſerve under the penalty of loſing all the Land I 'have in *England*. *So help me God.* By this means the Lords endeavour'd to joyn this Earl to them, ſuppoſing that his Power was greater than it really was; which at length they found to be nothing but an airy Title. For having in two Years conſumed all thoſe vaſt Riches which he had gather'd with great frugality in many, he return'd home poor, and forſaken of the *Germans*, without any Means to truſt to, but what he had in *England*.

Richard takes an Oath impos'd by the Lords.

1259. *The King ſeeks to recover his Power of the Lords hands.*

Upon the Earl's return into *England*, the King takes heart, and ſought all means to recover his Power, which the Barons had retrench'd; and to that end firſt of all ſends his Ambaſſadors to *Rome* to procure an Abſolution from his forced Oath made to them, and then ſends into *Scotland* to the King, and Queen his Daughter, for Aids to be ready upon occaſion. And that he might not be diverted in his Deſign by the King of *France*, he makes an abſolute Reſignation of his Right to the Dutchy of *Normandy*[a], and the Earldoms of *Anjou*, *Poictou*, *Turene*, and *Main*; for which he was to receive of the King of *France*[b] three hundred thouſand Pounds (ſome ſay Crowns) of *Anjovine* Money, and to be ſecured in the Enjoyment of all *Guien* beyond the River *Garonne*, all the Country of *Xantonge* as far as the River *Charente*, the Countries of *Lamoſin* and *Quercy*, for him and his Succeſſors, doing their Homage and Fealty to the Crown of *France*, as a Duke of *Aquitain*, and a Peer of that Kingdom. The Lords likewiſe, on the other ſide, ſeek all ways to ſtrengthen their Aſſociation, by keeping each other to their Oaths, and Obſervation of their Orders, which was very hard for them to do, being of ſeveral Inclinations, and ſometimes at odds among themſelves. For the Earl of *Leiceſter*, (a chief Leader of the Faction) finding the Earl of *Gloceſter* a little ſtaggering, told him plainly, 'That he cared 'not to live with Men of ſuch mutable and un-'certain Tempers, as my Lord of *Gloceſter* ſeem'd 'to be; who, as he was the moſt eminent, ſo he 'was the moſt obliged to ſtand to what had been 'undertaken for the good of the Kingdom. By theſe Heats he incenſed many, being animated in them by *Walter* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Robert* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who enjoyned him upon Remiſſion of his Sins to proſecute the Cauſe unto Death; affirming, 'That the Peace of the Church 'of *England* could never be eſtabliſhed but by 'the Material Sword. Many alſo were drawn by various Temptations to leave them, eſpecially after [c] the King of *France* had given his Sentence againſt them, being choſen an Arbitor in the Quarrel; for tho' he allowed the Confirmation of King *John*'s Charter, yet he condemned all the Proviſions of *Oxford*; which, tho' they pretended to be grounded upon the Charter, yet it much advantaged the King's Cauſe, and made them thought unlawful; ſo that many diſpenſed with their Oaths, and left their Party: Among whom were *Henry* the Son of the Earl of *Cornwall* (on whom the Prince had beſtow'd the Honour of *Tickhill*) who coming to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, told him, 'That he would not be againſt 'his Father the King, nor his Allies; but added, 'My Lord, I will never bear Arms againſt you, 'and therefore I crave leave to depart. The Earl chearfully replied: 'My Lord, *Henry*, I am 'not ſorry for your Departure, but for your In-'conſtancy; Go, return with your Arms, and I 'fear them not at all. This Example was followed by *Roger de Clifford*, *Roger de Leiborn*, *Haymo Le-Strange*, and many others, who were won by Gifts, to forſake the Barons. Shortly after this *Roger Mortimer*, who was for the King, begins the Quarrel about three Years after the Parliament at *Oxford*, entring into the Lands of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and ſpoiling all before him, becauſe the ſaid Earl combining with *Lewellin* Prince of *Wales*, had ſent Forces to ſeize upon *Mortimer*'s Lands in thoſe parts. The Prince joyns with *Mortimer*, and ſurprizes the Caſtle of *Brecknock*, with other places of ſtrength, which he delivers into his Cuſtody. The Earl of *Leiceſter* recovers the Town and Caſtle of *Gloceſter*, and forces the Citizens to pay a thouſand Pounds for their Redemption; then goes with his Army to *Worceſter*, where he poſſeſſed himſelf of the Caſtle; and ſo went to *Shrewsbury*, and ſo comes about to the Iſle of *Ely*, conquers the ſame, and became very powerful. The King not being fully ready for him, and fearing leſt his approach to *London* ſhould prove prejudicial to him, mediates for a Peace, and obtains it upon theſe Conditions: 'That all the King's Caſtles ſhould be put into 'the keeping of the Barons; That the Proviſions 'of *Oxford* ſhould be inviolably obſerved; That 'all Strangers by a certain time ſhould depart 'the Kingdom, except only ſuch as by a general

1261.

Diſſentions among the Lords, and ſeveral deſert them, and go over to the King.

A. D. 1263. Reg. 45.

The beginning of the War with the Barons.

1264.

[a] The Earl of *Leiceſter* proteſted againſt this Reſignation in right of his Wife, who, as K. *Henry*'s Siſter, had a Title expectant.

[b] *Henry* is ſaid to have repented of this Bargain, tho' under vaſt Neceſſities, and never to have taken the Money.

[c] The Reference made to the King of *France*, which Mr. *Daniel* gives no Account of, and ſo leaves this part of the Hiſtory, concerning the Breach between the King and his Barons, in the dark, was thus: Soon after the arrival of the King of the *Romans* in *England*, *Henry* aſham'd of his too eaſie Condeſcenſions to the Barons Encroachments upon his Prerogative, eſpecially by the late Proviſions of *Oxford*, calls a Meeting in the ſame City, and declar'd plainly to his Lords, 'That for 'as much as he evidently ſaw, that they ſought not the Kingdom's, and his, but their own advantage, and went about to ſubject 'the Regal Authority to their Wills, he would no longer be rul'd by them or their Council, but provide ſome way to ſecure 'his Dignity from them. The Lords, as reſolute to hold what they had, as zealous to get it, boldly Anſwer, 'That they 'would hold to the Proviſions at *Oxford*, and maintain them to their Lives end: And ſo were departing. But the Biſhops ſeeing what would enſue, interpos'd between the King and Barons, and perſuaded them to refer the Controverſie to the King of *France*, which both Parties agreed to; yet did not ceaſe to make Preparations for their own Defence on both ſides. The King of *France* gave Sentence wholly for the King, and therefore the Quarrel ought to have ended, tho' it did not. Some Lords indeed came over to the King upon it; but the Earl of *Leiceſter* had a ſtrong Party ſtill, which held out againſt King *Henry*. Some other Authors ſay, The Barons were ſo far from referring the Matter to the *French* King, that when *Lewis* the Ninth propoſed to have the foreign Lords, who had been baniſh'd by Procurement of the Barons, reſtor'd to their Places and Eſtates, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, in the Names of the *Engliſh* Lords, reply'd, 'That they were not ob-'liged to give any Account of what had been done in *England* in the Court of *France*, but only in that of their own 'Prince, and that only by Judgment of their Peers, (*Annals of St.* Auguſt. *and a Manuſcript Hiſt. in the* Cottonian *Library.*) Yet afterwards, by the Perſuaſion of the Biſhops, the Lords conſented, that *Lewis* ſhould be Arbitrator of their Differences; and the King of *France*, who was after his Death canoniz'd for his Piety, gave this Sentence, the 3d of *Febr.* 1263. 'That the Proviſions of *Oxford* were null and void; that notwithſtanding the ancient Laws and Conſtitutions, 'the King might nominate his Chief Juſtice, Chancellor, Treaſurer, and all other Officers of the Kingdom; and that Fo-'reigners were as capable of Offices and Dignities in *England*, as the Natives.

'Conſent

A. D. 1263. Reg. 48.

'Conſent ſhould be judged faithful, and profita-
'ble for the ſame. All this he granted to get time only to greaten his Party. The Prince had fortified *Windſor*-Caſtle, well victual'd it, and put in Strangers to defend it; himſelf marching to *Briſtol*, where in a Quarrel between his Men and the Citizens, he had the worſt; and was forced to ſend for the Biſhop of *Worceſter* (a conſiderable Man on the Barons ſide) to protect him, and conduct him back. When he came near *Windſor*, he got into the Caſtle, which the Earl of *Leiceſter* was come to beſiege; and being about *Kingſtone*, the Prince met him to treat of a Peace; but the Earl refuſing it, lays Seige to the Caſtle, which was ſurrender'd to him; and the Strangers being turn'd out, were ſent into *France*. The King to get a little more time, calls another Parliament at *London*, wherein he gained many Lords to his Party; with whom, and the Prince, *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, *Henry* his Son, and *William de Valence*, with the reſt of his Brethren, he marched to *Oxford*, where ſeveral Lords of *Scotland* came to his aſſiſtance, *viz. John Comin*, *John Baliol*, Lord of *Gollaway*, *Robert Bruce*, and others, as alſo ſeveral of the Northern Barons, as *Clifford*, *Peircy*, *Baſſet*, &c. From *Oxford* with all his Forces he marched to [a] *Northampton*, where he took *Simon Monfort* the younger, with fourteen other great Men, Priſoners; and from thence he paſſed to *Nottingham*, laying waſte the Eſtates of the Barons which lay in thoſe parts. The Earl of *Leiceſter* draws towards *London* in the mean time to gain that City, as of greateſt Importance, and ſeeks to ſecure *Kent*, and the Ports; but the King, to ſtop his proceedings, ſends Relief to the Caſtle of *Rocheſter*, which was then beſieged; and was ſo ſucceſsful, that the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Gloceſter*, in behalf of themſelves and their Party, write to the King, humbly proteſting their Loyalty, and declaring, *That they oppoſed not him, but ſuch only as were his and the Kingdom's Enemies.* The King returns them anſwer, *That they were the Diſturbers of his Kingdom, and Enemies of his Perſon, and ſought the Deſtruction of both, and therefore defies them.* The Prince alſo and Earl of *Cornwal* ſent [b] their Letters of Defiance to them. The Barons, notwithſtanding this, diſtruſting their Strength, and unwilling to put all to the hazard of a Battel, ſend the Biſhops of *London* and *Worceſter* to mediate for a Peace. The thirty thouſand Marks to the [c] King for the Damages done in theſe Wars, ſo that the Statutes of *Oxford* might be obſerved. But this yielding Grant procured them no advantage, being interpreted as an Argument of their own Weakneſs and Diſtruſt; and the King, ſecure of Victory, would hearken to no Propoſals of Peace, offering Earl of *Leiceſter* ſeeing that there was a neceſſity of venturing the Fortune of a Battel, and being a Man ſkilful in ſuch Affairs, ſtudies to ſupply the want of Hands with Wit; gets ready ſooner than was expected, and having placed his Soldiers very advantageouſly upon the ſide of an Hill, near *Lewis*, (his Men wearing white Croſſes to denote the Juſtice of his Cauſe) offer'd to give the King Battel; which he, confident in his own Power, as readily embraced. The Battel was very bloody, but the Victory fell to the Earl of *Leiceſter*; *Simon de Monfort*, and the King, Prince, Earl of *Cornwal*, and his Son *Henry*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Hereford*, and all the *Scotch* Lords, taken Priſoners. The Earl *Warren*, *William de Valence*, *Guy de Luſignan*, the King's Brethren, with *Hugh Bigod* the Earl Marſhal, ſaved themſelves by flight; and five thouſand were ſlain in the Combat. The Earl of *Leiceſter* for a Year[d] and a half kept his Royal Priſoners in his Power, and carry'd the King about with him to countenance his Actions, till he had gotten all the ſtrongeſt Caſtles of the Kingdom into his Hands. He ſeem'd now a King, even of Kings, and *England* wholly his, when on a ſudden Providence made way for a Change, to humble proſperous Rebellion ſeveral ways The Prince made his eſcape out of *Hereford* Caſtle, and got a Party to recover his Father's Loſſes; which yet was deſpicable in the Eyes of the great Earl, till an addition was made to it by his own Party upon this occaſion: The Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Glocêſter* coming to make a Dividend of their [e] Gains by Victory, according to the Agreement of their Confederacy, fell into a ſharp Debate; and *Glocêſter* taxes *Leiceſter* (as Fortune often makes Men forget themſelves) of 'neglecting the common 'Good to promote his own private and particular 'Intereſts, in that he took to himſelf the benefit 'and diſpoſal of the King's Caſtles, aſſumed the 'Power of the Redemption of Priſoners as he 'pleaſed; and to prolong the buſineſs, would not 'uſe the means of a Parliament to end it. This Charge incenſed *Leiceſter*, but more angred his Sons, who, exalted with their Father's Greatneſs, behav'd themſelves with ſtrange Inſolence to him; which *Gloceſter* took ſo ill, that he left him, and betook himſelf to the Prince, to whom he carry'd over a great Party with him, by which he was enabled to gain many places of Strength in *England* and *Wales*. The Earl of *Leiceſter*, to ſtop the proceedings of this mighty Prince, (who was now with his Army about *Worceſter*) encamps in a Plain near *Eveſham* to give him Battel; and as the Prince's Forces drew up to him, obſerving their orderly approach, he ſaid to his Followers: *Theſe Men come on bravely; they learnt it not of themſelves, but of me.* And ſeeing himſelf likely to be beſet and overpower'd with Numbers, he adviſed his Friends, *Hugh Spencer*, *Ralph Baſſet*, and ſeveral others to ſhift for themſelves; which, when he ſaw they refuſed to do, he ſaid, *Let us commit our Souls to God, for our Bodies are theirs*; and ſo undertaking the main ſtreſs of the Battel, periſhed in it; and with him were ſlain his Son *Henry*, and eleven other Barons, with many thouſands of common Soldiers [f]. At the time of the Earl's Death there happen'd ſo terrible a Thunder, Lightning, and Darkneſs, as affrighted them more than their terrible Slaughter. And thus dy'd the great Earl of *Leiceſter*, the worthieſt Man of his Time, had he been as good a Subject; yet ſo much honoured by the People after his Death, that they would have worſhipped him as a Saint, if the ſucceeding Kings would have permitted it. This Battel delivered the Captive King, and rid him of his Goaler, *Monfort*, whom he hated, and long feared, more than any Man living. After his Deliverance, the King, with the victorious Prince, who had redeemed both him

A. D. 1264. Reg. 48.

1265.

Twenty firſt Parliament.

The King's Party increas'd.

The Barons ſeek a Peace.

The Battel of Lewis, *in which the Barons had the Victory.*

The Battel of Eveſham, in which the Prince overthrew the Barons.

[a] In this Skirmiſh with the Barons, it is ſaid, That thoſe Students, which the King had ſent from *Oxford*, when he entred that City, were the ſtrongeſt Party which fought againſt him; which ſo angred the King, that he made a Reſolution to hang all of them that were taken, and was hardly diſſuaded from it by his Lords.

[b] The Copies of theſe Letters of Defiance may be ſeen by the curious Inquirer in Mr. *Fox*'s *Acts and Mon.* p. 301, 302.

[c] The King was at the Abby of *Lewis* in *Suſſex* at this time, and the Lords about ſix Miles diſtant from it.

[d] The King of the *Romans*, and *Henry* his Son, the Earl impriſon'd in the Tower, Prince *Edward* in *Wallingford* Caſtle, but the King he carry'd about with him were ever he went in Triumph.

[e] The Earl of *Gloceſter* claim'd his ſhare of the Ranſom-Money paid by the Priſoners, and particularly demanded the King of the *Romans*, and *Henry* his Son, who ſurrender'd themſelves to him at the Battel of *Lewis*.

[f] This Battel was fought on the 4th of *Auguſt*, 1265.

A. D. 1265. Reg. 49.

Twenty Second Parliament. In which the Barons that rebelled were depriv'd of their Eſtates, and Londoners *of their Liberties.*

and the Kingdom, went to *Winchester*, and call'd a Parliament; in which all who adher'd to *Simon Monfort*, were depriv'd of their Eſtates, which were conferr'd upon others at the King's Pleaſure. The *Londoners* had their Liberties taken from them [a], *Simon* and *Guy de Monfort*, the Sons of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, with the diſſeized Barons and others, who had eſcap'd the Battel of *Eveſham*, took and defended the Iſle of [b] *Ely*. The Caſtle of [c] *Killingworth* was defended by the Servants of the late Earl, tho' it were in the Heart of the Kingdom, and maintain'd a Seige of half a Year againſt the King and his Army; but in the end, their Victuals failing, yielded upon Condition, 'That they ſhould depart with 'their Lives, Members, and Goods ſafe: And thus concluded this Rebellion. 'And it is wor-'thy of our Obſervation, That we find no Exe-'cutions of Men put to Death, except in open 'Battel, in all theſe Combuſtions; or any No-'bleman dying on the Scaffold, either in this 'King's Reign or any other ſince the Conqueror, 'which is now almoſt three hundred Years. Only in the 26th Year of this King, *William Marſk* the Son of *Jeffrey Marſk*, a Nobleman of *Ireland*, being condemn'd for Piracy and Treaſon was hang'd, headed and quarter'd, which is the firſt Example of that kind of Puniſhment, which we read in our Hiſtories.

After this Parliament at *Winchester*, the King marches with an Army againſt the diſſeized Barons and their Adherents, who were many deſperate Perſons ſtrongly linked together; but being come to *Northampton*, *Simon* and *Guy de Monfort*, by the Mediation of Friends and Promiſes of Favour, came and ſubmitted themſelves to the King; who at the Requeſt of the Earl of *Cornwall* their Uncle, and the Lord *Philip Baſſet*, had reſtor'd them to their Eſtates: But *Gloceſter* and ſome others, who doubted their Affections, perſuaded the King to keep them under [d]; ſo that they were forc'd in the end to flie the Kingdom and make their Fortunes, the elder in *France*, and the younger in *Italy*, where they raiſed two great Families. Their Mother was baniſh'd ſoon after the Battel of *Eveſham*: 'She 'was a Lady of great Worth, the Daughter and 'Siſter to a King, culpable only by her For-'tune; who being ſpoil'd of her Coronet of mi-'ſerable Honour, betook her ſelf to a Religious 'Life, and dy'd a Nun at *Montarges* in *France*. Three Years the diſſeized Barons held out in thoſe Fortreſſes of the Kingdom, where they could beſt defend themſelves, making many Sallies to the great Damage and Vexation of the King's Subjects. At length Conditions of Surrender are propoſed, but the King's Council was divided concerning them. *Mortimer*, an eminent Man, and much in Favour with the King, who was poſſeſs'd of many diſſeiz'd Barons Eſtates, opppoſes their Reſtoration to them, alledging, 'That it is a great piece of Injuſtice to have that 'taken from them again, which the King had 'for their Labour and Fidelity beſtow'd on them, 'and was forfeited by them for their Treaſon 'and Rebellion, and therefore they would hold 'what they had. *Gloceſter*, and twelve more, who were empower'd to ſettle the Peace of the State, ſtood for a Reſtoration, and his Friends with him; but not obtaining his Deſign as he expected, he takes up new Diſpleaſure, retreats from Court, refuſes to come to the King's Feaſt on S. *Edward's* Day [e], and ſends Meſſengers to warn the King, 'To remove Strangers from his 'Council, and obſerve the Proviſions of *Oxford*, 'according to his laſt Promiſe made at *Eveſham*, 'otherwiſe that he ſhould not marvel, if he 'himſelf did what he pleaſed. Thus Victory could not ſettle Peace in theſe factious and diſcontented Times; wherefore it was thought fit to have recourſe at laſt to a Parliament, the ſureſt way to cure theſe Diſtempers, and accordingly one was call'd at *Bury*, whither all Perſons who held Lands by Knights Service were ſummon'd to appear with ſufficient Horſe and Armour, to ſubdue thoſe depriv'd Malecontents, who contrary to the Peace of the Kingdom held the Iſle of *Ely*. From hence *John de Warren* Earl of *Surrey*, and *William de Valentia*, are ſent to perſuade the Earl of *Gloceſter* (who had gotten an Army on the Borders of *Wales*) to come peaceably to the Parliament; which tho' he refuſed, yet he gave the Earls thus much under his Hand and Seal, 'That he would not ever take up Arms 'againſt the King or his Son *Edward*, but de-'fend himſelf, and purſue *Roger Mortimer* and 'his other Enemies, for which he pretended, 'that he took up Arms. After this, the Buſineſs of the Parliament went on, and the firſt Demand was made by the King and the Legate, 'That 'the Clergy ſhould grant a Tenth for three 'Years to come, and for the Year paſt ſo much 'as they give the Barons to defend the Ports 'againſt the landing of Strangers. To this they anſwer'd, 'That the War, which was begun up-'on ill Motives, and yet continu'd, made it 'more neceſſary to deliberate of ſettling the Peace 'of the Kingdom, than to ſet on foot ſuch De-'mands, that this Parliament might prove for 'the Benefit of the Nation and not Damage, as 'the extorting Money for them would prove, 'ſince the Land had been ſo miſerably haraſs'd 'by War, as that it would ſcarce ever recover 'it. 2. Then it was requir'd, That the Clergy 'ſhould be tax'd by Lay-men, according to the 'true Value of their Revenues. They anſwer, 'Twas no reaſon, but unjuſt, that Lay-men 'ſhould collect Tenths which they would never 'conſent to, but would have the ancient Valua-'tion to ſtand. 3. Then it was requir'd, That 'they ſhould pay the Tenths of their Baronies 'and Temporalties, according to the utmoſt Va-'lue. They anſwer'd, That they were impo-'veriſh'd by their Attendance upon the King in 'his Wars, and that their Lands lay waſt by 'reaſon of them. 4. Then it was requir'd, That 'the Clergy ſhould in lieu of a Tenth, give 'amongſt them thirty thouſand Marks to diſ-'charge the King's Debts, contracted for *Sicily*, '*Calabria*, and *Apulia*. They anſwer, They 'would give nothing, becauſe thoſe Expences 'were not converted to his own, or the King-'dom's Benefit. 5. All this being deny'd, de-mand is made, 'That all Clergy-men that held 'Baronies, or other Temporalties, ſhould ſerve 'the King in his Wars They anſwer, They 'were not to fight with the Material, but Spiri-'tual Sword; That their Baronies were given 'them as Alms. 6. Then it was requir'd, That 'the whole Clergy ſhould diſcharge the 9000 *l.*

A. D. 1267. Reg. 51.

Twenty-third Parliament.

Guy and Simon de Monfort *ſubmit to the King.*

New Troubles revive.

The Clergy withſtand all Impoſitions.

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[a] The Lord Mayor, and forty of the Principal Citizens, were thrown into Priſon. The King gave the Eſtates of ſixty of the moſt Eminent Citizens to his Favourites, and requir'd fifty thouſand Marks Compoſition of the reſt, which on their humble Submiſſion and Petition he forgave.

[b] The Iſle of *Axholm* in *Lincolnſhire*, as ſome think.

[c] *Kenelworth*, more properly in *Warwickſhire*.

[d] *Simon Monfort* was to have five hundred Marks a Year Penſion, on which Conſideration he agreed to leave the Kingdom; but afterwards he fell off from his Agreement, and joyn'd with the Privateers of the Cinque Ports.

[e] At this Feaſt *Ottobon*, the Pope's Nuntio, ſat above the King.

which

A. D. 1267. Reg. 51.

'which the Biſhops of *Rocheſter* and *Bath*, and 'Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, were bound for to the 'Pope's Merchants for the King's Service, when 'they were at *Rome*. They anſwer, They ne- 'ver conſented to any ſuch Loan, and therefore 'were not bound to diſcharge it. 7. Then the Legate from the Pope requir'd, 'That they ſhould 'thro' the whole Kingdom exhort Men to take 'the Croſs for the Holy War. To this they ſaid, 'That the Nation was almoſt conſum'd already 'by the Sword; and if they ſhould put Men up- 'on this Action, the Nation would not be able 'to defend it ſelf, but be a Prey to Strangers. 8. Laſtly, It was urg'd, 'That the Clergy had 'ſworn to yield to all the King's Demands by 'their Oath at *Coventry*, where they ſwore to 'aſſiſt him in all they could. They anſwer, 'That when they took that Oath, they meant 'no more than ſpiritual and wholſome Counſel. So the King met with Denials only in this Parliament, and obtained nothing of the Clergy.

The Barons who were depriv'd of their Eſtates hold Ely *againſt the King, though ſolicited to ſubmit.*

The Legate alſo ſent certain Perſons to the diſinherited Lords, which held the Iſle of *Ely*, to ſolicit them, 'To return to the Faith and 'Unity of the Church, their Duty and Allegi- 'ance to the King, according to the Proviſion 'made at *Coventry*, for redeeming their Eſtates 'from ſuch as held them by Gift from the King 'for ſeven Years Profits, and to leave off their 'Robberies. The Lords return'd this Anſwer to the Legate, 'That they retain'd the Faith, 'which they receiv'd from their Catholick Fa- 'thers, and paid Obedience to the *Roman* Church, 'as the Mother-Church of all Chriſtians, but 'would not ſubmit to the Covetouſneſs and cruel 'Exactions of thoſe that govern'd the ſame: 'That they accounted themſelves unjuſtly diſin- 'herited of their Lands, left them by their Pre- 'deceſſors, who had purchas'd it by Conqueſt: 'That they had formerly taken an Oath to de- 'fend the Kingdom and Holy Church, the Bi- 'ſhops thundring out Excommunications againſt 'ſuch as oppos'd them, and they were ready to 'venture their Lives to make good that Oath; 'and ſince they made War for the Safety of the 'Kingdom and Holy Church, they ought to live 'upon the Goods of thoſe Enemies who kept 'their Eſtates from them: That the Legate 'ought to ſee their Eſtates reſtor'd, that they 'might not be forc'd to prey upon others: That 'the Spoils they had taken were not ſo great 'as was reported, but that the Prince commit- 'ted great Robberies, and laid them on their 'Party to make them odious; wherefore they 'deſir'd the Legate not to give Credit to ſuch 'Reports, becauſe if any among them had done 'ſuch things, they themſelves would have pu- 'niſh'd them for it. Farther, they declar'd to 'the Legate, That he had taken out of the 'Kingdom the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *London*, 'and *Chicheſter*, Men of great Caution and deep 'Judgment, whereby the Council of the King- 'dom was much weaken'd to the great Danger 'of it; wherefore they adviſed him to take Care 'of the Reformation of the ſame, and that they 'might be reſtor'd to their Lands without Re- 'demption: That the Proviſions of *Oxford* might 'be obſerv'd: That they might have Hoſtages 'ſent to them into the Iſle to hold the ſame 'peaceably for five Years to come, until they 'could ſee how the King would perform his Pro- 'miſes. Thus did theſe Lords treat with the King, not as reduc'd to the loweſt Ebbs of Fortune, but as Men of Power to capitulare, being elevated either with the Opinion of their Cauſe, or Hope of their Party. But this Stubbornneſs of theirs ſo exaſperated the King, that the next Year he gather'd a very great Army, beſets the Iſle: So that they were confin'd to it, and Prince *Edward* with Bridges made of Boats enter'd it in ſeveral Places, and compell'd them to yield. In the mean time the Earl of *Gloceſter*, with his Army which he had gather'd upon the Borders of *Wales* to aſſiſt them, came up to *London* and were receiv'd by the Citizens [a]: But the Legate, who then reſided in the Tower, ſo prevail'd with him, that he ſurrender'd himſelf up to the King's Mercy, and by the Mediation of the King of the *Romans* and Lord *Philip Baſſet*, was reconcil'd upon [b] Condition, that he ſhould forfeit [c] twelve thouſand Marks if he ſhould raiſe any Commotions again. Having ſettled things thus at Home, the King goes with his Army into *Wales* againſt Prince *Lewellin*, for aſſiſting *Simon Monfort* and the Earl of *Gloceſter* in their late Rebellions againſt him; but his Wrath being appeaſed by a Gift of 32000 *l.* Sterling, a Peace was concluded between them, and four Cantreds of his Country reſtor'd to him by the King, which had been taken away by the War. And here was an end of the firſt Barons Wars in *England*, wherein both ſides got nothing but Trouble and Vexation to themſelves; and whilſt the one ſtruggled to do more than they ſhould, and the other leſs than he ought, both Parts ſuffer'd heavily, according to the uſual Fate of ſuch National Conteſts and Differences.

The Prince forces the Barons in Ely to ſubmit.

Earl of Gloceſter ſubmits.

The next Year after this Pacification, the Legate *Ottobon* ſigns with the Croſſado both the King's Sons *Edward* and *Edmund*, the Earl of *Gloceſter*, with many other Noblemen, whom by his earneſt Sollicitation he had induced to undertake the Holy War, with the King of *France*; who notwithſtanding his former Misfortune in this Action, would again adventure in it, either to recover his Honour, or merit another World. Prince *Edward* wanted Money to furniſh himſelf and Company out, and therefore borrow'd thirty Thouſand Marks of the King of *France*, for which he mortgag'd *Gaſcoigne* [d] to him, which might ſeem a Piece of Policy rather than Piety in this King, to engage an active Prince in foreign Wars, to keep his own Dominions in quiet at home. And now, while this Preparation is in hand, King *Henry* is labouring to ſettle his Kingdom in perfect Peace, and reform thoſe Extravagancies the War had bred, cauſing by his Proclamation Stealth of Cattel to be made a Capital Crime; and the firſt that ſuffer'd for it was one of *Dunſtable*, who had ſtollen twelve Oxon from the Inhabitants of *Colne* [e], and being purſu'd to *Redburn*, was by the Bailiff of S. *Albans* (according to the King's Proclamation) condemn'd and beheaded. And the ſame Year the King aſſembled his Parliament at *Marlborough*, where the Statutes bearing that Title were Enacted [f].

1269.

Prince Edward and others go to the Holy War.

Twenty-third Parliament at Marlborough.

[a] He was admitted into the City by Order of the Nuntio, whom he had deceiv'd with his fair Pretence of Loyalty.

[b] The King alſo promis'd, 1. That he would do nothing without the Conſent of nine Counſellors, or two Parts of them, choſen by the Nation. 2. That the Church ſhould be Reform'd. 3. That all his Officers in his Court ſhould be *Engliſhmen*. 4. That all their Party ſhould be pardon'd. And, 5. That the old Cuſtoms of the Realm ſhould be obſerv'd.

[c] *Mat.* of *Weſt.* writes, That he only gave ten thouſand Marks Security, that he would no more make War againſt the King.

[d] *Riſhanger*, the Continuator of *Mat. Paris*'s Hiſtory, ſays, he only mortgag'd the Revenues of *Bourdeaux*, and the Charter or Deed of Agreement between King *Lewis* and Prince *Edward* witneſſes, that the Money was to be rais'd out of the Cuſtoms of the City of *Bourdeaux*.

[e] *Colney*, belonging to the Abby of St. *Albans*, *Cony* in *Hertfordſhire*.

[f] It appears by the Title of the Statutes of *Marlbridge* in *Pulton*'s Edit. of Statutes, that the Parliament of *Marborough* was holden in the fifty-ſecond Year of this King's Reign, *Anno* 1268. tho' Mr. *Daniel* and Dr. *Brady* place it in the following Year.

Neaſ

A. D. 1271. Reg. 55.

Near two Years it was after the Prince had undertaken the Croſs, before he ſet forth in that Expedition; a time long enough to have alter'd his Reſolutions, if they could have been ſhaken, for going on with ſo hazardous an Enterprize; but ſo ſtrong were his Deſires, that no Worldly Reſpects could deter him from it, otherwiſe he had Diſcouragements more than enough to have done it. His Father *Henry* was aged, and broken with Labour and Troubles, ſo that the Kingdom, if not at preſent, yet ſhortly muſt need his Perſon to govern it. His Wife *Eleanor*, who reſolved it, ſeems to accompany him in all his Fortunes, was newly with Child. The King of *France*, who with two of his Sons, the King of *Navarr*, and a mighty Army, was gone before, and by the way beſieged the City of *Tunis* in *Africa*, (then in the Poſſeſſion of the *Sarazens*, who much infeſted *Chriſtendom*) died of the Peſtilence, that raged in his Army, and with him one of his Sons, and many of his Nobility; whereby their Deſign was utterly quaſh'd. *Charles* King of *Sicily*, Brother to the King of *France*, who came to aſſiſt him [a], loſt the greateſt Part of his Navy in his return Home. Yet ſuch was the undaunted Courage of this Prince, that all theſe ſad Examples of other Calamities, would not deter him from proceeding; but he ſet forward for the Holy Land. In his Paſſage many of his own People were deſirous to return Home; at which the Prince being angry, ſmote upon his Breaſt, and ſwore, *That if all his Followers forſook him, he would yet enter* Ptolemais, *or* Acon, *tho' only with his Horſe-keeper* Fowin. By which Speech they were encouraged to go on with him. But his Coſin *Henry*, Son to the King of the *Romans*, obtains leave of him to depart, and was loſt on Shoar in *Italy*, where he found, what he ſought to avoid, Death; being ſlain in the Church of *Viterbo* at Divine Service, by his own Coſin-German *Guy de Monfort* (Son to *Simon* late Earl of *Leiceſter*) in Revenge of his Father's Death. The News of this barbarous Murther haſten'd the Death of the King of the *Romans*, his Father, who died ſhortly after [b]. *Henry* himſelf ſurviv'd not his Brother long, for he dy'd [c] the next Year [d], in the 65th Year of his Age, and 56th of his Reign: A time ſo full of remarkable Contingents, partly through the Inconſtancy of the Prince, and partly through the Pride and Impatience of a ſtubborn Nobility, that it takes up a tenth Part of the Hiſtory from the *Norman* Conqueſt [e].

The Prince's undaunted Reſolution in going to the Holy War.

He had by his Wife *Eleanor* ſix Sons, of which only two [f] ſurviv'd him, *Edward* and *Edmund*; the reſt, *viz. Richard*, *John*, *William*, and *Henry*, dy'd young; and two Daughters [g], which liv'd to be marry'd; *Margaret* the eldeſt was marry'd to *Alexander* III. King of *Scots*, and *Beatrix* to *John* I. entitled *Duke of Britain*.

A. D. 1272.

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES *in the Reign of* Henry *the Third.*

IN the 5th Year of his Reign two Impoſtors were crucify'd for giving out, they were both of them the Meſſiah, or Chriſt; and two Women were Executed, the one for pretending to be the Virgin *Mary*, and the other *Mary Magdalen*.

In the 6th Year there was a dreadful Tempeſt of Thunder, Lightning, and Rain, in *February*, which threw down ſeveral Churches, and rooted up Trees. This was follow'd by extraordinary Rains; and that by a Dearth, another violent Tempeſt, an Earthquake, a prodigious Storm of Wind, Inundations, and a Comet. *Hol.*

In his 17th Year, it Thunder'd for fifteen Days together. The next Year began with terrible Tempeſts of Thunder, Rain and Floods, which ſpoilt the Fruits of the Earth.

In *April*, 1233. *Matt. Paris* affirms, There appear'd four falſe Suns in *Worceſterſhire* and *Herefordſhire*. The true Sun was of a red Colour, with a great Circle of Chryſtalline Colour, whoſe Circuit ſeem'd as large as the Kingdom of *England*; from it ſides went forth certain half Circles, in whoſe Sections the four falſe Suns appear'd. The true one was in the Eaſt, it being about ſeven in the Morning, the Air clear, and the Sky ſerene. The Biſhop of *Hereford* and Sir *John Monmouth* ſaw and witneſs'd to this Wonder. In *June*, near the Sea-ſide, two huge Dragons were ſeen fighting in the Air; after a long diſpute, the one vanquiſh'd the other, and drove him into the Sea; and the Conqueror following him, they were both no more ſeen. The ſame Year there was a Dearth, which was preceded by an Earthquake. *Hol.*

In his 20th Year, according to *Matt. Paris*, the moſt credible Hiſtorian of thoſe Times, near *Rock*-Abby in the *North* two Troops of arm'd Men ſeem'd to riſe out of the Earth, and to engage with Spear, Shield, Sword, and Banners diſplay'd; they wou'd ſometimes tilt as at a Turnament of Triumph, and the Country People beheld them at a little diſtance wounding and unhorſing one another. What was moſt ſtrange was, the Graſs of the Ground where there appear'd to give Battle ſeem'd trodden down, and Prints of Feet remain'd there. The ſame Sight was ſeen more apparently in *Ireland*. This Year was full of Prodigies, Thunder, Lightning, Floods, *&c.* which deſtroy'd abundance of People and Cattel.

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[a] Prince *Edward* overtook the King of *France* at the Siege of *Tunis*, and with his Army ſoon brought the City to offer a Capitulation. *Edward* refus'd to hearken to it, as contrary to their Vow; the Kings of *France* and *Sicily* accepted it, and ſo it was ſurrender'd upon theſe Articles. 1. That all Chriſtian Captives ſhould be releas'd. 2. That the Chriſtian Religion ſhould be freely profeſs'd and preach'd in that City. 3. That the King of *Tunis* ſhould pay their Charges: And, 4. Hold his Kingdom of the King of *Sicily*, as Tributary. But the Misfortunes that befel theſe two Kings ſoon after, were imputed to their Breach of Vow; and ſo much the more, becauſe Prince *Edward*, who oppos'd them, eſcap'd any ſuch Calamity.

Walter Hemingford, p. 590. affirms, The Prince ſail'd directly from *Sicily* to the Holy Land, taking *Cyprus* in his way. Moſt Authors agree that he was not at the Seige of *Tunis*.

[b] *Henry*, before his Death, conſtituted the Earl of *Gloceſter* Ruler of the Kingdom in his Son's abſence, if he return'd not before his Death, and ſwore all the Peers to accept and obey his Son *Edward* for their King, tho' he were at his Death out of the Kingdom.

[c] He dy'd on the 20th of *November*, 1272.

[d] The King of the *Romans* and King *Henry* dy'd in the ſame Year, the former in *April*, 1272. the latter in *November*.

[e] His Reign may very well take up a tenth part of the Hiſtory, ſince 'tis almoſt a fourth part of the Time from the *Norman* Invaſion.

[f] The two eldeſt.

[g] He had three Daughters by his Queen, *Margaret*, *Beatrix*, and *Katherine*, who was born in *November*, *Anno* 1253. and dy'd at five Years of Age.

On

On the 16th of *June*, 1239. the 23d of this King's Reign, Prince *Edward* his eldeſt Son was born. Before his Birth-day there appear'd a new Star in the Heavens for ſeveral Days together. It was carry'd with a ſwift Courſe through a long Circuit of Air; it ſeem'd ſometimes to bear Fire along with it, and ſometimes to leave Smoak behind it. In the next, there was a great Battel of Fiſh at Sea; the Conſequence of which was, that eleven Whales were caſt on the Shoar, and appear'd to be dead of ſome Wounds they had receiv'd. *Matt. Paris* tells this Story. Not long after, a great Sound was heard at one time in all parts of *England*, as if it had been the Noiſe of Mountains fall'n into the Sea.

In the 26th Year the Sun was Eclips'd in a terrible manner; and two Years afterwards ſo many Stars ſeem'd to fall in one Night, that (ſays *Hollinſhead*) if there had ſo many fall'n indeed, there wou'd have been none left in the Sky.

In his 32d Year, a dreadful Earthquake happen'd on the 14th of *February*, and the Sea, for a long Tract near the Coaſt of *England*, ceas'd to ebb and flow near three Months together. The next Year the Town of *New-Caſtle* was deſtroy'd by Fire; and an Earthquake threw down ſeveral Steeples and Houſes in *Somerſetſhire*.

On the 1ſt of *October*, in his 34th Year, the Moon appear'd red and bloated, which was the Preſage of a Storm of Wind, ſo violent, that the Sea flow'd twice without ebbing, and in the Night ſeem'd to burn: Soon after an Earthquake was felt at St. *Albans*. In the following Year, the Chimney of the Chamber where the Queen and her Children were, was blown down by a terrible Storm, and her whole Appartment (at *Windſor*) ſhaken and torn; Oaks in the Park were rent aſunder, and turn'd up by the Roots; and all was accompany'd with ſuch Thunders and Lightnings, as had not been heard or ſeen in the Memory of Man.

In *May*, the New Moon appear'd three Days before her time; and the Sun, Moon and Stars, for fifteen Days ſucceſſively, ſeem'd of a red Colour. A Dearth, and a Murrain among Cattel follow'd this Prodigy. In his 38th Year, the New Moon in *February* was ſeen four Days before the Courſe of her Time. In his 39th Year, a Ship was ſeen in the Air at St. *Albans*; and in his 40th, a Comet.

In his 52d Year, the two Companies of Goldſmiths and Taylors of *London* fought, and ſeveral were kill'd on both ſides. The Sheriffs appeas'd the Tumult, and thirteen of the moſt Mutinous of them were hang'd. As were thirty Citizens of *Norwich* in the laſt Year of his Reign, for quarrelling and fighting with the Monks of that City.

Hollinſhead has many more Miracles, Prodigies, and extraordinary Sights, in his Hiſtory of King *Henry* the Third: But we have reported enough to let the Reader ſee, that the Seaſons were as much diſtracted as the Times, and that Nature ſeem'd to be diſturb'd in all her Productions during the Reign of this weak Prince; who had, however, many brave Subjects, and govern'd a People that ſhew'd they might have been Great and Happy, had their Prince known how to have made them ſo.

Men Famous in his Days for their Valour and Wiſdom were,

Simon Earl of *Leiceſter*, and his Sons *Simon* and *Guy Montfort*, *Gilbert de Clare*, the Earls of *Cheſter* and *Gloceſter*, *Roger Mortimer*, great Warriors, *Hubert de Burgh*, and *Stephen Langton*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Maſters in Politicks.

In Learning the moſt Eminent were,

Robert Curſon, made a Cardinal for his Knowledge of Divine and Humane Letters, *Gervaiſe de Melkelie*, *Albricius* of *London*, *Hugh Kirkſtead*, *Richard* of *Ely*, *Peter Hexham*, *John Giles*, an excellent Phyſician; *Caducan*, a Welſhman, Biſhop of *Bangor*; *Alexander*, Author of ſeveral Treatiſes in Divinity, Philoſophy, and Humanity, both in Proſe and Verſe, *William Lanthony*, *Peter* of *St. Saviour*, a Canon of *Trinity-Houſe* near *London*; *Alexander Hales*, an excellent Divine, *Thomas Aquinas*'s and St. *Bonaventure*'s Maſter; *Ralph* Abbot of *Coggeſhal* in *Eſſex*; *Alexander Eſſebienſis*, who wrote an Epitome of our *Engliſh* Annals; *Matthew Paris*, a Monk of St. *Albans*, whom the Biſhop of *Carliſle* calls *One of the moſt renown'd Hiſtorians of this Kingdom*; his Hiſtory comes down to the Year 1259. in which he dy'd; *Alexander Neckam*, *Robert Bacon*, *John Shipſhed*, and *Robert* of *Gloceſter*, who wrote a Rhiming Chronicle; *Ralph* Earl of *Cheſter*, and *Henry Bracton*, both learned in the Laws of *England*; *Roger Bacon* the Aſtronomer, thought to be a Conjurer by the vulgar ſort of People; *Richard* ſurnam'd *Medicus*, an excellent Phyſician; *Alexander Wendock* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, *Edmund Rich*, *Robert Rich*, *John Blund*, *Richard* ſurnam'd *Theologus*, *Walter* of *Eſham*, *Ralph Fresburne*, *Laurence Somercot*, Cardinal *Somercot* his Brother, Dr. *Nicholas Fernham* a Phyſician, *Simon Langton* Brother to Archbiſhop *Langton*, *Richard Fiſaker*, *Simon Stokes*, *John* of *Kent*, *William Skirwood*, *Michael Blaunpain*, *John Goddard*, *Vincent* of *Coventry*, *Aubery de Vere* a learned Baron, *Richard Wick*, *John* of *Baſingſtoke*, *Roger Waltham*, *William Sepingham*, and *Robert Groſteſt* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who had a long Diſpute with Pope *Innocent* IV. *Johannes d Sacro Boſco*, who wrote of the Sphere, and is made an *Engliſhman* by *Leland* and *Bale*, but Sir *James Ware* puts him among the *Iriſh* Writers.

THE

THE LIFE and REIGN OF EDWARD I.

A. D. 1272. Reg. 1.

Edward *proclaimed King, tho' in the Holy Land.*

IMmediately after the Death of King *Henry*, *Edward* his Son was proclaim'd King by the Order of all the Chief Biſhops and Peers of the Kingdom, who for that purpoſe met in the New Temple, and there all ſwore their Fidelity to him; tho' at that time they knew not whether he were alive or dead. But till they were certified of the Truth of either, they proceeded to ſettle and ſecure the Government, cauſed a new Seal to be made, and appointed fit Miniſters and Officers for the Management of his Treaſure, and Preſervation of the Peace, while he remain'd in *Paleſtine*, where he raiſed the Seige of *Acon*, which was ready to yield to the *Sarazens*, and did many other extraordinary Acts of Valour againſt the Infidels [he [a] was dangerouſly wounded in three Places of his Body with a poiſon'd Knife by a treacherous Aſſaſſin, of which Wounds, when no Medicine could cure him, his loving Wife Queen *Eleanor* extracting the Poiſon by ſucking them, perfectly healed them.] When he had continu'd three Years in the Holy Lands, and underwent many Dangers without any great Effect, ſaving, that he had well manned and fortified *Acon*; being diſappointed of Aids which he expected, he reſolv'd upon his return home, and firſt ſailing [b] to *Sicily*, he was ſplendidly feaſted and entertain'd by *Charles* the King of that Iſland. From thence he ſail'd to *Italy*, where in his Paſſage by Land through that Country he receiv'd all imaginable Expreſſions of Honour and Reſpect from [c] the Pope and other Princes of that Nation. At his Entrance into *Savoy*, at the Foot of the *Alps*, he was met by many of the Nobility of *England*, and there challeng'd by the Earl of *Chablown* [d], (a valiant Warriour) to a Tournament; in which, tho' it may ſeem beneath his Dignity ſo lightly to hazard his Perſon, yet the Greatneſs of his Valour would not ſuffer him to refuſe the Combat, tho' with a Perſon much beneath him; and thereupon engaging with him, ſo over-match'd him both in Skill and Strength, that the Earl was forc'd to yield to him. From hence he came down into *France*, where he was magnificently receiv'd, and entertain'd by King *Philip* III. ſurnam'd, *The Hardy*; to whom he did Homage for all his Territories he held of that Crown [e]. Leaving *France* he went into *Acquitain*, where he ſpent ſome time in ordering his Affairs, and then [f] after ſix Years abſence returns into *England* and receives the Crown, three Years after he was firſt [g] proclaim'd King, from the hands of *Robert Kilwarby*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Sept.* 1275, and with him his Royal Conſort Queen *Eleanor*, there being preſent at this Solemnity his Mother Queen *Eleanor*, *Alexander* King of *Scots*, and *John* Duke of *Britain*, who had marry'd his two Siſters.

A. D. 1272. Reg. 1.

Crowned. 1274.

His Perſonal Skill in Arms, and Courage.

The many Brave and Princelike Actions which this Prince had ſignaliz'd himſelf to the World by, before his Acceſſion to the Crown, *viz.* His Victory over the Barons at *Eveſham*, and his Proſecution of the diſinherited Barons in the Iſle of *Ely*; his great Readineſs to expoſe his Perſon to all Hazards and Labours, his ſingle Fight with [h] Sir *Adam Gurdon*, the Out law, at *Farnham*; his Expedition into the Eaſt, and his great Experience he had of all Civil Affairs by his Age (being about thirty five Years old before he came to the Crown) gave the Kingdom Hopes of a well-manag'd Government, and flouriſhing State under ſo compleat a Maſter, whoſe Deſert and Reputation were equally unparallel'd. Soon after his Coronation he call'd a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, where he made Tryal of his Peoples Patience and Affections towards him, and had a fifteenth of all the Goods both of the Clergy and Laity granted him without any repining; tho' the Clergy had not long before given a Tenth for two Years to his Brother *Edmund*, for the carrying on of the Holy War. But the Liberality of the Clergy could not divert him from the Deſign which he had fram'd to himſelf, of abating the Eccleſiaſtical Power, which by long and woful

His Princely Accompliſhments.

His Proceedings againſt the Clergy.

[a] This Story is in no Authentick Author.

[b] As he was about this, he heard of his Father's Death, which cauſed him to haſten his Return the more.

[c] In his ſhort ſtay with the Pope, he perſuaded him to excommunicate *Guy de Monfort*, for killing his Coſin *Henry*, the Son of *Richard* King of the *Romans*, and to interdict his Territories.

[d] The Count *de Chalons* in *Burgundy*. This Tournament was managed with ſo much Malice by the *Burgundians*, that it turned to a Fight, and was ever after call'd the *Little Battel of* Chalons.

[e] The Words of his Homage were very remarkable; *My Lord the King, I do you Homage for all the Lands I ought to hold of you*, meaning as well thoſe that the *French* King detained from him, as thoſe he was poſſeſs'd of. *Mat. Weſt.*

[f] From *Acquitain* he went to the Council of *Lyons* to viſit the Pope. Here Ambaſſadors from *England* met him, and deſired him to haſten his Return home, for that his Preſence was wanted. *Chron. de Lan. in Bib. Cot.*

[g] *Mat. of Weſt.* writes, That he Landed on the 25th of *July*, and was Crown'd the 19th of *Auguſt* following, in the Year 1274.

[h] This Knight being a Perſon of great Strength of Body, and very couragious, was in the Rebellion of the Barons, for which his Eſtate was ſeized; and not daring to come in, he lived by Theft and Robberies upon the Road, having Aſſociates of like deſperate Fortunes. He was Out-law'd, but no Man durſt attempt to take him. His Miſchiefs were chiefly done to the King's greateſt Friends, which incens'd the Prince the more againſt him, and induced him to make an Experiment of his Strength and Courage by a ſingle Combat; in which the Prince ſo over-match'd him, that he yielded to him; but got his Pardon and Eſtate from the Prince's Favour.

Experience

F. Lutterell delin:
P. Vanderbanck Sculp:
KING EDWARD THE I.st

A. D. 1278. Reg. 6.

Experience of former times, he saw, had been very prejudicial to the Regal Authority, especially when it combined with the Nobility; and therefore, while he was high in the Opinion of his People, he set upon that difficult Work to abate their Privileges. And to that end, in the sixth Year of his Reign, he depriv'd many famous Monasteries of the Nation of their Liberties, and took from the Abbot and Covent of *Westminster* the Return of Writs granted them by the Charter of King *Henry* III. his Father. In the Year following he got the Statute of Mortmain to be enacted, to hinder the increase of their Temporal Possessions (which made them so powerful) as being prejudicial to the Kingdom, and Military Affairs. In the second Statute of *Westminster* he confined the Jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Judges to narrower Limits. Nor did he end here, but lying heavier upon them, he required one half of all their Goods, both Temporal and Spiritual, for one Year; at which, though they were very much disturb'd, yet they were forc'd to yield to his Demand; because their Discontent being discover'd, one Sir *John Havering* stood up among them in their Assembly, in the Monks Hall at *Westminster*, and said, 'Reverend Fathers, if any 'of you dares to contradict the King's Demand 'in this business, let him stand forth into the 'midst of the Assembly, that his Person may be 'known, and taken notice of, as a Breaker of the 'Peace of the Kingdom. At which Speech they all sate silent, and dare not oppose it, as they often did in his Father's Reign.

The Statute of Mortmain enacted.

King Edward *subdues* Wales.

1279.

And now this active Prince being settled in Peace both at home and abroad, could not lie idle; but to satisfie his own Desires of enlarging his Power, as well as to keep his Subjects in Action, whose Ease would corrupt, as he very well knew, resolves upon an Undertaking of Importance to his future Security and Government. *Wales*, tho' a small Principality, had always been a troublesome Neighbour to the greater part of *England* and the Kings of it, a Receptacle for all Rebels against the *English* Kings, and ever ready to combine with *Scotland* to disturb their Peace and Government, seldom or never having her Borders free from Blood and Mischief; which *Edward* considering, thought he could never have a better opportunity of curbing them than now. Occasions are easily taken where there is a Design to quarrel. But the *Welsh*, who were always struggling for their Liberty, seldom fail'd to give some just ones, as there happen'd one at this time. *Leoline*, a Prince of that Province, who had been a chief Promoter of the Civil Wars of *England*, (tho' he dearly paid for it at last) was summon'd to the King's Coronation, and afterward to his first Parliament, there to do his Homage and Fealty to him, as holding his Principality of the *English* Crown, but he refused to come to them both; alledging, 'That he will remember'd how 'his Father *Griffin* had broken his Neck in the 'Tower of *London*, and therefore he could not 'endure to appear in that place, but in any 'other, if he had Hostages given for the Security 'of his Person; or if the King would send Commissioners to him, he was ready to pay his Ho'mage, as the King desired. The King did not seem to resent this arrogant Answer, very unbecoming an Homager, but resolv'd with himself to seize upon his Country; and to this end the next Year after enters it with a powerful Army, laying all waste before him with Fire and Sword, in so fierce a manner, as *Leoline*, being unable to resist the impetuous Current, sued for Peace, and obtained it; but upon such Conditions, as made the Tenure of his Principality little better than that of a Subject; for he was fined fifty thousand Pound Sterling, and to pay a thousand Pound *per Annum* Tribute [a] for what he held, which was but for his Life. But yet the King, to gratifie him in something which might oblige him more firmly to him, deliver'd to him *Eleanor*, the Daughter of *Simon Monfort*, late Earl of *Leicester*, who being in her Passage with her Brother *Almerick* from *France* into *Wales*, to become *Leoline*'s Wife, was taken by some *Bristol*-Ships, and deliver'd Captive to the King, who gave her to *Leoline*, as the greatest tye of Subjection to him: But all would not do, the desire of Liberty, and some little Wrongs received by ill Administration of Justice upon the *Marches*, broke the Agreement within three Years, and *Leoline* in Arms surprizes the Castles of *Flint* and *Rutland* [b], with the Person of the Lord [c] *Clifford*, who was sent a Judge into those parts, and committed many other Acts of Hostility. His Brother *David*, whom the King had Knighted, and marry'd to the Daughter of the Earl of *Darby*, a rich Widow, and given him the Castle of *Denbigh*, with a thousand Pound *per Annum*, great Favours from so Puissant a King, nevertheless joyned with him to deliver his Country, and recover his Liberty. *Edward* having notice of this Revolt, being then at the *Devises* in *Wiltshire*, prepared a great Army to repress them. But before his setting out upon this Expedition, he went privately to visit his Mother Queen *Eleanor*, living in the Nunnery of *Ambresbury* in the same County. While he was discoursing with her, there came into the Chamber, where they were, one who feigned himself to have been Blind, and received his Sight at the Tomb of *Henry* the Third her Husband; when the King saw him, he knew him a notorious Lyar, and therefore desired his Mother not to believe him. His Mother overjoy'd to hear of the Miracle, which tended so much to the Honour of her Husband, fell into a furious Passion, and bid the King be gone out of her Chamber. The King obey'd, and going forth, meets a Clergyman, to whom he tells the Story of the Impostor, and merrily said, *He knew his Father to be so just, that he would rather pull out the Eyes of such a Wretch when he could see, than restore him to Sight if he were blind.* In the mean time, while these things were doing, *John Peckham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to whom the *Welsh* had before sent a List of the Causes of their Revolt, went [d] of his own accord into *Wales*, to persuade *Leoline* to a Submission, that he might avoid the Ruine he foresaw would come upon him. But he could not prevail with him, because he had the better of the *English* in some little Skirmishes, and the People being encouraged by a Prophecy of *Merlin*'s, which foretold, That he should be shortly crown'd with the Diadem of *Brutus* [e], so instigated this unhappy Prince, that he would not listen to Peace. Whereupon the Archbishop excommunicated him and his Adherents, and the King entered his Country with a mighty Army: Which, tho' indeed *Leoline* valiantly opposed, and slew many of great Note in

A. D. 1279. Reg. 7.

Leoline Prince of Wales *rebels.*

Queen Eleanor, *a Nun.*

An Impostor discover'd by Edward.

1281.

[a] But the King is said to have settled the Isle of *Anglesey* upon him and his Heirs, to hold it in Free-Farm of the King for five thousand Marks paid down, and the yearly Rent of a thousand Marks. [b] *Rothland.* [c] Sir *Roger Clifford.*

[d] *Matt.* of *Westminster* affirms, the King sent the Archbishop.

[e] Mr *Daniell* does not speak so much in favour of the *Welsh* as he might have done. They had other more substantial Reasons for the War, and *Leoline* and his Brother gave the Archbishop above a dozen Articles of Grievances, most of them very weighty, which provok'd them to take Arms, and King *Edward* refus'd to treat with them. Dr. *Powell's Chron.*

A. D. 1283. Reg. 11.

it, yet was himself slain in the Battel by a common Soldier[a]; and his Head being cut off, was presented to King *Edward*, who (as if his Death were not sufficient without Reproach) caused it to be crown'd with Ivy, and set upon the Tower of *London*. And thus died the last Prince of *Wales* who was betray'd (as they write) by the Men of *Buelth*. Shortly after *David* his Brother was taken in *Wales*, and sentenced in *England* to an ignominious Death, which was this: He was first drawn at an Horse's Tail about the City of *Shrewsbury*, and then beheaded, his Body quarter'd, and his Heart and Bowels burnt. His Head was sent to be set on the Tower with his Brother's, and his four Quarters to these four Cities, *viz. Bristol*, *Northampton*, *York*, and *Winchester*. An Execution never before shewed in this Kingdom upon the Son of a Prince, or any other Nobleman, that we read of in any of our Histories. But by this Example it after grew usual in the Nation: Even this King (under whom it began) had the Fate of such a miserable Death entail'd upon his Family, several of his own Brother's Posterity dying on the Scaffold. And just upon this Conquest, his eldest Son *Alphonsus*, then a Youth of twelve Years old (and a Prince of great hopes) dy'd; and *Edward*, lately [b] born at *Carnarven*, is his Heir to the Kingdom, and the first of the *English* who was entitled [c] Prince *of Wales*; as if it had been an Omen of that Destruction, which, as we shall after see, befel him in his Regal Dignity. Thus was *Wales* (the little Portion of the Isle of *Great Britain*, which those Natives could reserve to themselves from their first Conquerors the *Saxons*) united to the Crown of *England* in the eleventh Year of this King's Reign, *Anno Dom.* 1283. A thing not to be wonder'd at, that they were at last wholly subdued, seeing 'twas next to a Miracle how they held out so long against so powerful a Kingdom, without any foreign Aids and Assistance. Whether the Ground of the Conquest was just, is not for us to examine. It was certainly of great [d] Benefit to the Nation; for the miserable Contests and bloody Mischiefs, which often happen'd to both Nations, were hereby extinquish'd; and they became one People, govern'd by one Law, and under one Prince; as may be seen by the Statute of *Rutland*, *Anno Reg.* 12.

Leoline slain, and his Head presented to the King.

The Heir Apparent of England *first stiled* Prince of Wales.

1284. Wales *annex'd to the Crown of* England.

1286. *King* Edward *does Homage to* Philip *the Fair, King of* France.

This Work being effected and settled, King *Edward* having heard of the Death of the King of *France*, *Philip* the Hardy, and the Succession of *Philip* IV. (called the Fair) went over into *France* to renew and confirm such Conditions as were to be perform'd for the preservation of his Dominions beyond Sea under the new King, and did him Homage for *Aquitain*, having before quitted his Claim to *Normandy* for ever. When he had finished his own Business, he accommodated the Differences between the Kings of *Sicily* and *Arragon* in *Spain*, (to whom he was Allied) redeemed *Charles*, entitled *Prince of Achaia*, (the Son of *Charles* King of *Sicily*) from his Imprisonment in *Arragon*, paying thirty thousand Pounds for his Ransom. After his being three Years and an half abroad, he returned into *England*, with his Coffers empty'd by this Voyage, which he must have supply'd again. And for it an opportune Occasion is offer'd. For at his return he meets with many Complaints concerning the ill Administration of Justice in his absence, which he could not but listen to, and punish the chief Ministers for, if they were found guilty. The Parliament met at that time, and the Necessity of reforming so great a Mischief in the Kingdom being propounded, the Judges were had all into Examination, and upon a plain proof of their Extortions, they were fined to pay these following Sums First, Sir *Ralph Hengham*, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, seven thousand Marks; Sir *John Loveton*, Justice of the Common-Pleas, three thousand Marks; Sir *William Brompton*, Justice, six thousand Marks[e]; Sir *Solomon Rochester* four thousand Marks, Sir *Richard Boyland* four thousand, Sir *Thomas Sodington* two thousand, Sir *Walter Hopton* two thousand; which four last were Judges Itinerant; Sir *William Saham* three thousand Marks; *Robert Lithbury*, Master of the Rolls, one thousand; *Roger Leicester*, one thousand; *Roger Bray*, Escheater and Judge for the Jews, one thousand: But Sir *Adam Stratton*[f], Chief Baron of the Exchequer, was fined thirty four thousand Marks; and *Thomas Wayland*[g], who was found the greatest Delinquent, and of the greatest Substance, had all his Goods and whole Estate confiscated to the King; which were it but equal to Sir *Adam Statton*'s Fine, all the Fines together made a hundred thousand Marks, to enrich the King's Treasury; which according to the Rate of Money now, is above three hundred thousand Marks; a mighty Treasure to be gotten out of the Hands of so few Men, if it were not probable, that the fewness of Lawyers in those Days made their Practice in those less litigious Times more advantageous. Of no less Grievance did this King ease the Nation by the Banishment of the [h] Jews, for which the Parliament willingly granted him a fifteenth. The Nation indeed had before offer'd him in the ninth Year of his Reign, a fifth part of all their Goods to have them expell'd; but then the Jews gave more, and so staid till this time; which brought him a greater benefit by confiscating all their Estates, with their Tallies and Obligations, which

A. D. 1285. Reg. 14.

Judges fined for their corrupt Practices.

1289.

1290.

The Banishment of the Jews.

[a] He was slain by one *Stephen Defranction* at *Landweyr* in *Buelt*, in *Radnorshire*, on the 11th of *December* 1283.

[b] He was born on the 26th of *April*, 1284.

[c] The *Welsh* lov'd this Prince, partly for the Honour he deriv'd from them, and partly for his Nativity among them, so entirely, that in his greatest Misfortunes through his Reign they ever continu'd firm to him; and after his Death bewail'd him in lamentable Songs.

[d] How great a Benefit the Conquest of this little Kingdom of *Wales* was thought then to *England*, may be seen by King *Edward*'s own Words in the Preamble to his Law, call'd *Statutum Wallie*, where he thus speaks, 'The Divine Providence, 'which disposeth all things rightly, among other Dispensations of his Mercy, by which he hath vouchsafed to adorn us and 'our Kingdom of *England*, hath now by his Mercy subjected the Kingdom of *Wales*, with the Inhabitants thereof, wholly and 'fully, without any Lett and Hindrance, to our Property and Dominion, having annex'd and united the same to the Crown 'of our said Realm, as one Member of the self-same Body.

[e] His Fine was but three thousand Marks.

[f] In the Chronicle of *Dunstable*, a Manuscript in the *Cott. Libr.* he is call'd *Adam de Stratten*, a certain Clerk of the Court.

[g] Sir *Thomas Wayland*, Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, was also banish'd for ever out of the Kingdom. After this just Punishment of such corrupt Judges, the King caus'd, that all the Judges at their entering upon their Office should swear, That they would take no Gift of any Man, unless it were a Breakfast, or some such small Present.

[h] The Jews came in with the Conqueror, and were settl'd in certain Streets by themselves in *London*, of which *Old Jury* was the chief. They had a Judge appointed over them, to decide all Controversies between themselves, or with the Christians; and had an High Priest (who was confirm'd in his Office by the King) and Synagogues allow'd them. They were always hated by the People for their Extortions and Usury, and rather tolerated than lov'd by the Kings, because they now and then fleec'd them. But now they were grown intolerable to the Nation, by their Witchcraft, Poisoning, Clipping of Money, Counterfeiting of Hands and Seals, Crucifying of Children privately, and cruel Usury. So that nothing would satisfie the People, but the utter extirpation of them out of the Kingdom; to which *Edward* did not very unwillingly yield, because they were allow'd to carry nothing away with them, but some small matter to bear their Charges, and so left him a vast Treasure. They went most of them into *Italy* and *Germany*.

amounted

A. D. 1290. Reg. 17.

amounted to an infinite Treaſure; which, tho' it was the laſt advantage the Crown could hope for from them, yet he gained a more valuable Treaſure by it, *viz.* the Good-will of his People, who as they had granted him many Supplies, were obliged by ſuch Proviſions always to aid him with their Eſtates. He came to an empty Treaſury at firſt, and having great occaſion for Money, he was driven to all the Shifts poſſible to fill it. For beſides what he had given him by the Parliament and Pope in the firſt three Years of his Reign before mentioned, in the ſeventh Year of his Reign the Old Money was called in, and New coined, becauſe it had been much defaced by the Jews, two hundred ninety ſeven Perſons being executed at *London* at one time for this Crime; and this alſo brought in great benefit to the King. In his eighth Year he had a deſign to examine every Man's Title to his Land by a *Quo-Warranto*; but it was ſo fiercely oppoſed by the Earl *Warren*, who drew out his Sword upon the Writ, ſaying, *That he held his Land by his Sword, and by it he would make his Tenure good.* Whereupon the King deſiſted from that Attempt, and obtained a fifteenth of the Clergy. In the 11th Year he had a thirtieth of the Laity, and a twentieth of the Clergy, for the War againſt the *Welſh*; and in the 13th Eſcuage of forty Shillings every Knight's Fee for the ſame purpoſe. In the 14th Year he had a thouſand Marks of certain Merchants, who were fined for falſe Weights. In his 17th he had the Fines of the Judges before mentioned; and in his 18th Year, this Confiſcation of the *Jews* Eſtates, and a fifteenth of the *Engliſh*. After this, in the 19th Year of his Reign, upon a pretence of a Voyage to the Holy Land, the Clergy granted him an eleventh part of all their Moveables. And ſhortly after the Pope procured him a tenth for ſix Years, to be gather'd in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and laid up in Monaſteries, till he was entred into *Mare Maggior*, or the *Euxine* Sea. But he made the Collectors pay him the Money gather'd for three Years, without going ſo far, having occaſion to uſe it at home about the purchaſe of a new Kingdom.

Old Money call'd in, and New coin'd.

A Tax for the Holy War.

The Occaſion of Edward's *Wars with* Scotland.

For the Crown of *Scotland*, upon the Death of King *Alexander*, who dy'd without Heirs, was in Controverſie. Six Competitors pretended a Title to it, who were all deſcended from *David* Earl of *Huntington*, the younger Brother of *William* King of *Scots*, who was Grandfather to the late King *Alexander*. *Edward* pretending a Right of Superiority from his Anceſtors over that Kingdom, undertakes to decide the Quarrel; and the *Scots*, who govern'd the Nation in the *Interregnum*, to avoid farther Inconveniences, were forced to make him Arbitrator, and the ſix Competitors to ſtand to his Award. *John Baliol* Lord of *Galloway*, and *Robert Bruce* [a], both deſcended of *David*, Brother of King *William*, the one of the ſecond, the other of the eldeſt Daughter, had the plaineſt and moſt undiſputable Claim. The controverſie was long, and tho' debated by the moſt Learned in the Law of both Kingdoms, and the Civilians of *France*, yet, after ſix Years, remain'd undecided. King *Edward* therefore, to put an end to this buſineſs, but with ſome advantage to himſelf, took a Journey into the North with his Queen; but in [b] the Way he loſt his greateſt Worldly Felicity, Queen *Eleanor*, who dy'd *Novem.* 29. at *Hardeby* in *Lincolnſhire*. This Accident not only caus'd exceſſive Grief to him, but brought him back again to inter her Body at *Weſtminſter*; and all along the Road, in the places where it reſted, *viz.* at *Stamford*, *Waltham*, *Weſtcheap*, *Charing*, &c. he erected goodly Croſſes, engraven with her Image, in Teſtimony of his great Affection to her, and as Memorials of her Fidelity and Virtues; in which ſhe excell'd all Womenkind, as much as ſhe did in Dignity. Her Funeral Solemnities being performed, the King return'd back to his *Scotiſh* Buſineſs; and that he might ſettle it to his own Honour and Advantage, he firſt treats privately with *Robert Bruce* (who had the weaker Title, but moſt Friends) and promiſes, *That if he would pay a Fealty and Homage to the Crown of* England, *he would make him King of* Scotland. But *Bruce* anſwer'd him, *That he was not ſo deſirous of Rule, as to deſtroy the Liberties of his Country for it* [c]. Then he makes the like offer to *Baliol*, who having indeed the beſt Title, but leaſt Love and Intereſt with the People, and being more greedy of a Kingdom then true Honour, yields to it, is crown'd King at *Scone*, receives Fealty of the chief Nobility, except *Bruce*, comes to *New-Caſtle* upon *Tine*, where King *Edward* then lay, and there, with many of his Nobles, ſwears Fealty and did Homage to him, as his Sovereign Lord [d]: Which Act, tho' he did it to ſecure him, was his undoing. For being very little belov'd before, he now became leſs; and ſuch as ſtood for *Bruce*, and other Noblemen, (who were deſirous to preſerve the Liberties of their Country) were much incenſed againſt him, not only for this Act; but for his Injuſtice done in the Caſe of the Earl of *Fife*, who having been one of the ſix Governours in the Anarchy, was after ſlain by the Family of *Abernetb* [e]. The Earl's Brother proſecuted the Murtherers by Law, and brought the Cauſe before the King, *Baliol*, in his Parliament; but not obtaining Juſtice, the King deciding it for the *Abernetbs*, the wronged Gentleman appeals to the Court of *England*. King *Baliol* upon this is ſummon'd to anſwer, and appears, ſitting with King *Edward* in his Parliament till his Cauſe was to be try'd; and then is cited by an Officer to ariſe, and

A. D. 1290. Reg. 17.

Queen Eleanor dy'd. 1291.

The King of Scots does Homage to King Edward. 1294.

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[a] The other four were *Erick* King of *Norway*, *Florence* Earl of *Holland*, *John Haſtings* Lord of *Abergavenny*, and *John* Earl of *Badenaw*; there were ſix Competitors more, *Patrick Dunbar* Earl of *Marche*, *William de Veſey*, *William de Ros*, *Robert de Pinkny*, *Nicholas de Sowles*, *Roger de Mandeville*.

[b] The Queen did not die in this Journey, but the laſt Year, when King *Edward* was going into *Scotland*, to put his Daughter-in-Law, Wife to Prince *Edward*, and Daughter to *Erick* King of *Norway*, in Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, that Princeſs having the beſt Title to the Crown. She dy'd alſo before the King reach'd the Borders. And this Year he was call'd back by the Death of Queen *Eleanor* his Mother.

[c] This Story is ſo far from being true, that when the Diſpute about the Succeſſion to the Crown of *Scotland* was firſt left to King *Edward* to be decided, all the Competitors were oblig'd to own the King's Superiority over that Kingdom, and *Robert Bruce* was the firſt of them that did it, in theſe words: *I do acknowledge the King of* England *ſuperiour and direct Lord of the Kingdom of* Scotland, *and will before and from him, as my ſuperiour and direct Lord of the Kingdom of* Scotland, *anſwer and receive Juſtice.* Rot. de Superioritate Regis Angliæ in Scotiam, 18 *Ed.* 1.——In the Tower.

[d] On the 26th of *December*, 1273. He did Homage in theſe words, *My Lord*, Edward, *King of* England, *ſuperiour Lord of the Kingdom of* Scotland: *I*, John, *King of* Scotland, *become your Leige-Man for the whole Kingdom of* Scotland, *with its Appurtenances*; *which Kingdom I claim and hold, and ought of right to hold, for Me and my Heirs, King of* Scotland, *Hereditarily of You and your Heirs, Kings of* England, *and ſhall bear Faith to You and your Heirs, Kings of* England, *of Life and Limb, and terrene Honour, againſt all Men.*

[e] It appears by the Rolls in the Tower, *De Sup. Reg. Ang. in Scot.* and *Riley's Placita Parliamentaria*, that *Macduff* Earl of *Fife*, brought a Complaint or Appeal, for certain Lands, againſt King *John*; and the Proceſs of this Suit being before King *Edward*, as ſuperiour Lord of *Scotland*, occaſion'd the *Scots* League with *France* in the courſe of this Affair, and all the Wars that follow'd between the two Kingdoms.

A. D. 1294. Reg. 21.

ſtand at the place appointed for Pleading. *Baliol* unwilling to do it, pleads, That he might anſwer by a Procurator, but was deny'd; whereupon he riſes himſelf, deſcends and pleads his Cauſe: But taking it for an Indignity, offer'd him by the King of *England*, he returns home with an Heart full of Diſcontent, and meditating Revenge, renews the ancient League with *France*, and confirms it with the Marriage of his Son *Edward* to a Daughter of *Charles*, King *Philip*'s Brother, who was glad to embrace a Quarrel with the King of *England*, with whom he was offended; and when he had thus done, he bids Defiance to King *Edward*, and renounces his Allegiance, as unlawfully promiſed, being not in his Power without the Conſent of the State to do any ſuch Act. And now began the Conteſt between theſe two Nations, which ſpilt more Chriſtian Blood, did more Miſchief, and continu'd longer than any Wars (that we read of) between any two People of the World; for all the Kings who ſucceeded for three hundred Years together, even to the Bleſſed Union of them by King *James* I. had their Share more or leſs in this Quarrel. And though *England*, being much the greater and ſtronger Nation, had the good Fortune often to overcome; yet it was with ſo great Expence of Blood, Time, and Treaſure, that what ſhe got coſt more than 'twas worth, and was ſo ſoon loſt again, the *Scots* being never ſo fully ſubdu'd, but that thy were ſoon for recovering their Liberties again, and that with Succeſs: So that Providence may ſeem to decree no Union firm between theſe two Nations, that was made by Force, but by the milder way of Peace and Succeſſion.

The Wars between Scotland *and* England *begun.* 1296.

Edward, who had long before formed to himſelf a Deſign of obtaining the Kingdom of *Scotland* by the faireſt means he could, and for that end ſought to match his Son *Edward* to *Margaret* the King of *Norway*'s Daughter, Heir to the laſt King *Alexander*, but by her Death was diſappointed, reſolves to do it by Force, upon this Defection of King *Baliol*. And becauſe he was ſenſible that he had no contemptible Enemy to deal with, upon the account of his League with the King of *France*, he counter-leagues with all the Neighbouring Princes that he could either by Gifts or Alliance draw in to ſtrengthen his Party; as firſt with *Guy* Earl of *Flanders*, with whoſe Daughter he deſigns to match his Son *Edward*: Then with *Adolphus* of *Naſſaw* the Emperour, to whom he gave [a] 15000 *l.* Sterling to recover certain Territories of *France*, which he claimed as belonging to the Empire. He had likewiſe marry'd one of his Daughters to the Duke of *Barr*, who pretended a Title to *Champaigne*, and another to *John* Duke of *Brabant*; all which Princes, with many other, who border'd on *France*, he ſets upon that King. On the other ſide, the King of *France* ſummon'd King *Edward*, as owing Homage to his Crown, to appear and anſwer in his Court for certain Spoils committed on the Coaſts of *Normandy* by the *Engliſh*; which he refuſing to do, or making any Satisfaction for the Wrongs done, was by an Arreſt condemn'd to loſe all his Territories in *France*, and an Army was preſently ſent under the Command of *Charles de Valois*, and *Arnold de Neal* Conſtable of *France*, to ſeize upon them, who took *Bourdeaux* and many other important

King Edward's *War with King* Baliol, *and the King of* France, *who aſſiſted him.*

Places, and fortified them. The King of *England* hearing this, ſends over his Brother *Edmund* Earl of *Lancaſter*, the Earl of *Lincoln* and *Richmond*, with twenty eight Banners, ſeven hundred Men at Arms, and a Navy of three hundred and ſixty Sail to recover his Right in *France*. And in the mean time himſelf ſets upon *Baliol* (refuſing upon Summons to appear at his Court at *Newcaſtle*, and ſtanding upon his Guard) and enters *Scotland* with an Army big enough to conquer a greater Nation, conſiſting of four thouſand Horſe and thirty thouſand Foot, beſides what the Biſhop of *Durham* brought to his Aſſiſtance, which were five hundred Horſe and a thouſand Foot, intending to make a ſpeedy Conqueſt of *Scotland*, that he might afterwards paſs over into *France* to aſſiſt his Confederates, and be reveng'd on the King of *France*. He firſt took *Berwicke* with the Slaughter of fifteen thouſand *Scots*, or more [b], and after ſeiz'd upon the Caſtles of *Dunbar*, *Roxborough*, *Edenborough*, *Sterling*, and S. *John*'s Town, which were either won by Force, or yielded to him. This furious Current of Succeſs brought *Baliol* to ſue for Peace, and ſubmit himſelf by taking his Oath of Fealty to King *Edward*, as his Sovereign Lord [c]; and then he call'd a Parliament for *Scotland*, which was held at *Berwicke*, wherein the Nobility did their Homage alſo to him, confirming the ſame by a Charter under their Hands and Seals, except *William Douglaſſe*, who choſe rather to endure the Miſeries of a Priſon, than yield to the Subjection of *England*. But King *Baliol* (notwithſtanding his Subjection) was ſent Priſoner into *England*, after he had enjoy'd that Dignity four Years; for he had ſo little Power, that he could hardly be ſaid to reign; and King *Edward* returned into *England* again, leaving *John Warren*, Earl of *Surrey* and *Suſſex*, Warden of all *Scotland*; *Hugh Creſſingham* Treaſurer, and *William Ormesby* Chief Juſtice, giving them a Commiſſion to take the Homages and Fealties of all that held Lands of the Crown in his Name: So that the Conqueſt of *Scotland* ſeem'd almoſt effected, but was not, as we ſhall ſee by the many Wars to maintain it [d]. But theſe happen'd not preſently, the King therefore turns his whole Deſigns againſt *France*, and for that end calls a Parliament at S. *Edmunds-Bury*; wherein the Citizens and Burgeſſes of ſeveral great Towns of *England*, granted him the eighth part of their Goods, and others of the People the twelfth. But the Clergy, who had privately procur'd of Pope *Boniface* [e] a Prohibition of paying any Tallage, or Impoſition, laid upon them by any Lay Prince, or upon any thing that belong to the Church, abſolutely refus'd to pay any thing (having had ſo many Levies raiſed upon them lately, *viz. Anno Reg.* 22. 600000 *l.* of which the Abby of *Canterbury* alone paid 596 *l.* 7 *s.* 10 *d.* and in the twenty third Year of his Reign the King ſeized into his hands all the Priories and their Goods that were in the Poſſeſſion of Strangers, beſides a Loan, which he had of the Clergy amounting to an 100000 *l.* of which the Abbot of *Bury* is ſaid to have paid 655 *l.*) But theſe Reaſons were not accepted as a Plea for their Obſtinacy; but upon their Refuſal, the King ſeized upon all the Temporalities of the Church, puts all the Clergy out of his Protection, by which they were expoſed to all the Injuries of

A. D. 1296. Reg. 23.

Scotland *almoſt ſubdu'd by King* Edward.

King Edward *goes againſt the King of* France. 1298.

The Clergy put out of the King's Protection.

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[a] *Tho.* of *Walſingham* ſays ſixty thouſand, and others an hundred thouſand Marks, yet *Adolphus* cou'd or wou'd do nothing.

[b] Nine thouſand, as others ſay, more probably. This was in the Year 1296.

[c] He ſurrender'd himſelf and his Royal Dignity into the King's Hand.

[d] He remov'd the Stone on which the *Scots* Kings us'd to be crown'd, from *Scone* to *Weſtminſter*.

[e] The Bull is ſet down at large in Mr. *Fox*'s *Acts and Monuments*, p. 320. It was ſent to Archbiſhop *Peccham*, whom the Pope had put into the See of *Canterbury* againſt the King's Conſent, and kept by the Clergy till this Occaſion.

A. D. 1298. Reg. 25.

ill Men, and could have no Juſtice or Redreſs in the King's Court. This Strain of State, which was never before uſed, nor could be foreſeen, ſo amaz'd the Clergy, that the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Ely*, *Salisbury*, and *Lincoln*, yielded to pay a fifth part of all their Goods towards the Maintenance of the King's Wars; and ſo the King's Wrath was appeaſed, and they were receiv'd into Favour. But the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Robert Winchelſea*, who animated all the reſt to ſtand out, had all his Goods ſeiz'd on, and all the Monaſteries within his Dioceſs and part of *Lincoln*, taken into the King's hand, and Officers appointed to collect their Revenues and Rents for the King, allowing them only ſo much out of them as was neceſſary for their Suſtenance: But at length, the Abbots and Monks, with all Prieſts, giving the King a fourth part of their Goods, redeem'd themſelves and the King's Favour. Thus will Warlike Princes force Supplies from their Subjects in their Neceſſities, tho' they are very unwilling, and it be burthenſome to them [a].

A Parliament at Salisbury, *in which he is denied by the Nobility to go into* France.

During this Conteſt and Agreement with the Clergy, the King called a Parliament of his Nobility at *Salisbury*, to which no Churchmen were admitted; and in it he requires ſome of his great Lords to go over with him into his Wars in *Gaſcoigne*, where he wanted a preſent Supply of Commanders, becauſe of the Death of his Brother *Edmund*; who having ſpent much Time and Money upon the Siege of *Bourdeaux* in vain, retir'd to *Bayon*, then in the Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, and there died: But they all ſingly made Excuſes for themſelves; which ſo anger'd the King, that he told them, 'They ſhould go, or he would give 'their Lands to them that ſhould. Upon this Threat, *Humphrey Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, High Conſtable, and *Roger Bygod* Earl of *Norfolk*, Marſhal of *England*, declared, 'That if he would go 'in Perſon, they would attend him, otherwiſe 'not. Which Anſwer offended the King more, who urg'd it again; and the Earl Marſhal proteſted, 'That he would willingly go thither with 'the King, and march before him in the Van-'guard, as by Right of Inheritance he ought to do: But the King told him plainly, 'He ſhould go 'with any other, although he went not himſelf 'in Perſon. But the Earl ſaid, 'I am not ſo 'bound, neither will I take any Journey with-'out you. Then the King ſwore, 'By God, Sir 'Earl, you ſhall go or hang. But the Earl re-ply'd, 'I ſwear by the ſame Oath, I will nei-'ther go nor hang, and ſo departed without 'Leave. This Heat ſtirred up a Revolt, for the two Earls immediately gather'd together many Noblemen, and others their Friends to the Number of thirty Banners: So that they were fifteen hundred armed Men, well accoutred, and ſtood upon their Guard againſt him. But he, like a prudent Prince, who knew his times for Buſineſs, lets the Matter fall; becauſe both his Buſineſs in *France*, and preſſing Neceſſity of his aiding the Confederates (on which his Honour, and all his Dominions abroad depended) called him over into *Flanders*, which the King of *France* had invaded, pretending the ſame Title to that Province as King *Edward* did to *Scotland*. The Occaſion was this: The King of *France* having had Intelligence of the Deſigns of *Guy* Earl of *Flanders*, and the Alliance that he intended with the King of *England*, ſends for him (as if he knew nothing of it) to come with his Wife and Daughter, and make merry with him at *Paris*: But inſtead of Feaſting he made him his Priſoner, and takes his Daughter from him; becauſe being his Vaſſal, he deſign'd to match her with the Son of his Capital Enemy. The Earl excus'd himſelf, as well as he could, and by much Meditation was releas'd and ſuffer'd to depart, but without his Daughter; for whom notwithſtanding his Complaint to the Pope, and other Princes, who earneſtly ſolicited for him, he could not get a Releaſe; and thereupon this Earl preſuming upon the Aſſiſtance of the Confederates takes Arms, and defies the King of *France*, who immediately invaded his Territories with ſixty thouſand Men. The King of *England* hearing this, made all the haſt he could to relieve this deſtreſſed Earl, tho' he left his Buſineſs at home in a broken Condition, the *Scots* revolting, the *Engliſh* in Diſcontents, for which he made the beſt Proviſion he could, by leaving the Adminiſtration of the Kingdom to his Son the Prince in his abſence, with the Advice of ſome great Councellers, as the Biſhop of *London*, the Earl of *Warwick*, the Lords *Reginal Gray* and *Clifford*; and to pacifie the Clergy, he receiv'd the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* into his Favour. Being now ready to take Ship, the Archbiſhop, Biſhops, Earls, Barons, and the Commons, ſend him a Roll of the general Grievances of his Subjects; 'Concern-'ing his Taxes, Subſidies, and Impoſitions; his 'ſeeking to force their Services by unlawful 'Courſes; his late Impoſt of forty Shillings up-'on every Sack of Wool, which was but a Noble 'a Sack before, valuing the Wool of *England* to be 'a fifth part of all the Subſtance of it. The King ſends them this Anſwer; 'That he could not an-'ſwer any thing without the Advice of a Council, 'which were not now about him; and therefore 'requir'd them, ſince they would not attend 'him, tho' he went in Perſon in this Expedition, 'becauſe he went not into *France* or *Scotland*, 'that they would not diſturb the Peace of the 'Kingdom in his abſence, and at his return he 'would ſet all things in order. And ſo he ſet forward in his Journey with five hundred Sail, and eighteen thouſand armed Men [b], but found not Fortune ſo favourable in *Flanders*, as uſually ſhe had been to him. For contrary to his Expectation he found the People divided into popular Factions; and tho' they were willing to aſſiſt their Prince and defend their Liberties, yet ſo rich and proud, that they would be commanded no otherwiſe than they lifted; the King of *France* daily getting ground, having won *Liſle*, *Doway*, *Courtray*, *Burges* and *Dam*, and the Emperour *Adolph* failing in his Perſonal Aſſiſtance contrary to his Engagement and Bargain; all which much perplex'd him, with tedious Delays, and put him to great Trouble and Expences: So that he was forc'd to order his Son to call a Parliament at *York*, to procure him Supplies of Money and Treaſure; and becauſe he would not be diſappointed of a liberal Grant, condeſcended to all Articles that were demanded concerning the great Charter, promiſing never after to charge his Subjects otherwiſe than by their own Conſents in Parliament, and to pardon thoſe that refuſe to attend him in his Journey, for which all the Commons of the Realm granted him the ninth Penny of their Goods; the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with the Clergy of his Province, the tenth Penny, and the Archbiſhop of *York* and his Province the fifth, and ſo the King's Wants

A. D. 1298. Reg. 25.

King of France *invades* Flanders, *and is oppoſed by King* Edward.

The Grievances of the Kingdom brought to him.

1299.

A Parliament at York *in the abſence of the King.*

Some Nobles revolt, but are appeaſed.

[a] Moſt of theſe Events, from the Invaſion of *Scotland*, happen'd in the Year 1276.

[b] *Henry de Knighton*, in his Book *de Eventibus Angliæ*, relates, that he had fifteen thouſand Horſe and fifty thouſand choice Foot, of which thirty thouſand were *Welſhmen*, an incredible Number.

were

A. D. 1299. Reg. 26.

were relieved and Kingdom ſatisfied; but ſuch Conceſſions, which are extorted by Neceſſity, are always unſincere, and ſo never laſting. The King being thus ſupply'd, he ſtaid all that Winter at *Gaunt*, where his Soldiers committed ſo many Outrages, that the Citizens being exaſperated thereby took Arms, ſlew many; and tho' the Earl *Guy* did all he could by Gifts and fair Words to appeaſe the incens'd Rabble, yet they purſu'd the King and his Forces ſo hard, that they could hardly get ſafe out of the Country.

King Edward returns without Succeſs.

Thus the King left *Flanders* without Succeſs, having made a Truce with the King of *France* for two Years; and leaving the poor Earl *Guy* to ſhift for himſelf, who ſhortly after became a Prey to his Enemy, and being made a Priſoner in *Paris* died with Grief, with his Daughter, and *Flanders* was made ſubject to the King of *France*, though he kept it not long: For after they had received him for their Lord, his Exactions and Oppreſſions upon them were ſo great, contrary to their ancient Liberties, that they arm'd all the People againſt him, being rich and mighty; who gave *France* the biggeſt Blow that ever it at once received at the Battle of *Courtray*, where in the Earl of *Artois*, General of the Army, *Arnold de Neel* Conſtable of *France*, and all the Commanders, with twelve thouſand Gentlemen, were ſlain; and tho' he ſtill maintain'd the Quarrel againſt them for their Country, yet 'twas with his great Damage: For he loſt in the eleven Years ſpace the Lives of an hundred thouſand *Frenchmen* (as their own Hiſtories affirm) and by his Impoſitions of new Taxes of *Malletote*, and the tenth *Denier*, i. e. Penny upon every Livre or Pound of all Merchandizes, bred great Outcries and dangerous Seditions among his Subjects, the lamentable Fruits of ſuch Attempts, which may juſtly deter Princes from meddling upon ſuch unjuſt Titles.

The Battle of Courtray.

1300. *King Edward's Expedition into* Scotland, *which was almoſt loſt by the Courage of one* Wallis.

King *Edward* being come home, immediately prepares for an Expedition into *Scotland*, which in his abſence had beaten his Officers and People almoſt out of the Country, having put Earl *Warren* to flight, and ſlain Sir *Hugh Creſſingham*, with ſix thouſand *Engliſh*, recover'd many Caſtles, and regain'd *Berwicke*, and all by the Encouragement and Conduct of a poor private Gentleman, tho' deſcended of a Noble Family, *William Wallis*; who ſeeing his Country in miſerable Slavery, the Nobility either in Captivity or Subjection, and all Hopes of Recovery from other ways to no purpoſe expected, gather'd a Company of Men of as poor and deſperate Condition as himſelf, and attempts upon all Advantages he could diſcover to annoy the *Engliſh*; wherein having good Succeſs, his Company and Courage ſo increaſed, that he became the general Guardian of the whole Kingdom, and having given the *Engliſh* ſeveral Defeats, was in a great Poſſibility to have redeem'd his Country from Subjection to *England*. So much could the Courage of one brave Man contribute to ſet a whole Nation free, which being all that he aim'd at, and not a Diadem or Crown, made his Vertues more admirable to all Ages, than otherwiſe they would have been.

Courts of Juſtice removed to York.

And now King *Edward*, that he might the better govern his two Kingdoms, removes his Exchequer and Courts of Juſtice to *York*, where they continu'd above ſix Years; and here he called a Parliament, requiring all his Subjects that held of him by Knight's Service, to be ready at *Roxborough* upon a certain Day, who accordingly aſſembled in great Numbers, *viz.* three thouſand armed Men with barded Horſes, and four thouſand other armed Horſemen without Bards, with an Army of Foot proportionable [a], conſiſting moſt of *Welſh* and *Iriſh*, beſides five hundred Men out of *Gaſcoigne*, and with this Army he makes his ſecond Expedition into *Scotland*. The Earls of *Hereford* and *Norfolk*, notwithſtanding their former Contempt, attended him: But tho' he was at the Head of a mighty Army, and ſurrounded with a great Strength, yet before they would advance one Step, they requir'd that the two Charters and their Pardons might be ratified, which they thought not ſufficiently ſecur'd to them, becauſe they were granted beyond Sea; wherefore the Biſhop of *Durham*, and the Earls of *Surrey*, *Warwick*, and *Gloceſter*, undertook for the King, that after he had ſubdu'd his Enemies and was return'd, he ſhould grant their Deſires; and ſo the two Earls, with the Earl of *Lincoln*, led his Van-guard at the famous Battle of *Fawkirke*, wherein the King of *England* obtain'd a great Victory at the Expence of two hundred Knights, and above forty thouſand *Scots* [b] Blood: But *Wallis*, with ſome few, eſcaped to make him more Work. And now again *Scotland* might ſeem quite overcome, moſt of the Eſtates of the Earls and Barons of *Scotland* (with their Titles) for this Revolt being given to the *Engliſh* Nobility to make them more reſolute and ready to maintain this Conqueſt, and a Parliament is called at St. *Andrews*, where all the great Men of the Kingdom (except only *Wallis*) ſwore Fealty to the King of *England* [c]. The *Scotiſh* Writers brand King *Edward* with moſt cruel Tyranny in this Expedition; 'Becauſe he was not content to carry away captive all that were likely to create any Diſturbances in the Nation, but endeavour'd to blot out their Memory for ever, by aboliſhing their ancient Laws, changing their Eccleſiaſtical Rites for the Cuſtoms of *England*, taking from them their Hiſtories, Inſtruments of State, Monuments of Antiquity, either left by the *Romans* or erected by themſelves, carrying all their Books and Learned Men into *England*, and removing the Marble Chair, on which the Fate of their Kingdom, as they imagin'd, depended; as if he had reſolv'd not only to deprive them of their Strength, but their Underſtandings, that he might eſtabliſh a perpetual Dominion over them.

A. D. 1300. Reg. 27.

Scots *overcome at* Fawkirke, *and reduced to their Obedience to King* Edward.

This Expedition being over, he call'd another Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, wherein he promiſed to confirm the two Charters; and a farther Allowance for Diſforeſting again what had been once done before, was urg'd, and at length granted, with omiſſion of the Clauſe, *Salvo Jure Coronæ Noſtræ*, which the King greatly deſired ſhould have been inſerted, but the People would not endure it; and the Perambulation of the Foreſts of *England* is committed to three Biſhops, three Earls, and three Barons. In this little time of Peace at home, a final Concord was made between the *Engliſh* and *French*, by the Mediation of Pope *Boniface*, and the King of *England* takes *Margaret* the *French* King's Siſter to Wife [d] in the ſixty-

A Parliament at Weſtminſter.

1301. *A Peace made between the King of* France *and* Edward.

[a] Eighty thouſand. [b] *Walſingham* ſays ſixty thouſand, *Everſden* and the Chronicle of *Norwich* fifteen thouſand, *Trivet* twenty thouſand, *Boetius* and *Buchanan* ſay ten thouſand only.

[c] He did not ſtay to hold a Parliament. The *Scots* having waſted their Country, he was forc'd to return for want of Proviſions, and in *Sept.* 1298. held a great Council at *Durham*. The Calumny of King *Edward*'s deſtroying the *Scotiſh* Records, was invented by *Boetius*, a very Fabulous Author, and has been often confuted.

[d] She was marry'd in *Sept.* 1299. which agrees with Mr. *Daniel*'s Account of his Age. He was thirty-five Years old when he came to the Crown, *Anno* 1272. and from that time to this, being twenty-ſeven Years more, makes it ſixty-two in all.

ſecond

A. D. 1301. Reg. 28. second Year of his Age, and his Daughter is affianced to the Prince, and Reſtitution made of what the King of *France* had taken in *Gaſcoigne*. *Burdeaux* returns to the Obedience of the King of *England*, (to the Merchants of which City he paid a hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds for the Expences of his Brother *Edmund* in the late Wars) and ſo all is well on that ſide. The ſame Pope alſo obtained a Permiſſion of *Edward*, that *John Baliol*, the Captive King of the *Scots*, ſhould go and live upon certain Lands he had in *France*, and undertook for his Obſervation of the Peace, and his Confinement; but he ſhortly after dy'd, having had little Joy in a Crown, and ſcarce leiſure to know he was a King. About this time the crying-down and calling-in of a certain baſe Money, call'd *Crocard* and *Pollard*, and ſtamping them again, brought ſome advantage to the King's Treaſury. But he had ſoon an occaſion to ſpend it in a third Expedition into *Scotland* (from which he had not been return'd above eighteen Months) wherein he did little more than recover *Sterling*-Caſtle, defended three Months againſt all his Forces by *William Oliver*, and at laſt ſurrender'd to him upon Conditions. The reſt of the *Scots*, who had revolted, flying into the Mountains and ſtrong Holds of the Country, where the King's Army was more diſtreſſed, than the Enemy.

Money cry'd down.

The Scots *complain to Pope* Boniface.

Upon the Concluſion of the Peace with *France*, the *Scots* being left out, and having none to relieve them, ſend their lamentable Complaints to Pope *Boniface*, repreſenting to him 'the afflicted 'State of their Country, the Uſurpation of the King 'of *England* upon them, and his moſt Tyrannical 'Proceedings with them, contrary to all Right 'and Equity; proteſting, That they never knew 'of any Sovereignty he had over them, but that 'they were a free Kingdom of themſelves; and 'ſo at firſt he dealt with them upon the Death 'of their laſt King *Alexander*, both in the Treaty 'of Marriage for his Son *Edward* with *Margaret* 'the Heir of *Scotland*, and alſo after her Death 'for the deciſion of the Title of their Crown, 'wherein he ſought by their Conſents to be made 'Arbitrator, as he was: And tho' ſince they have 'yielded much more to him, yet it was done by 'force, becauſe they were not able to reſiſt. The Pope having received this Remonſtrance, writes powerful Letters to the King of *England*, commanding him 'to forbear farther proceedings a-'gainſt them, claiming withal the Sovereign Au-'thority over that Kingdom, as belonging to the 'Church. The King anſwers the Pope's Letters at large, 'proving from all Antiquity, that the 'Dominion of *Scotland* had ever appertained to 'the *Engliſh* Crown, even from *Brutus* to his own 'Time. And at the ſame time all the Nobility wrote to the Pope, 'owning and claiming the 'ſame Right; and peremptorily conclude, That 'the King, their Lord, ſhould in no wiſe under-'go his Holineſs's Judgment therein, nor ſend 'his Procurators (as was required) about that buſi-'neſs, as tho' their King's Title were dubious, 'to the prejudice of the Crown, the Royal Dig-'nity, Liberties, Cuſtoms, and Laws of *England*, 'which by their Oath and Duty they were bound 'to obſerve, and would defend with their Lives; 'nor could they permit, if the King would, any 'ſuch unlawful proceedings. And therefore be-'ſought his Holineſs not to concern himſelf far-'ther in this matter. Theſe [a] Letters were ſubſcribed with all their Names (ſet down particularly in *Speed*, p. 541.) and dated at *Lincoln*, where the Parliament was then holden, *Anno Dom.* 1301. The Pope upon this Anſwer, tho' not very grateful to him, yet ſtirr'd no more in the *Scots* Cauſe, becauſe he had his Hands full of other Matters. For the King of *France* whom he had Excommunicated, and given away his Kingdom to *Albert* of *Auſtria*, then Emperor, ſhortly after ſo wrought as his Spirituality was ſurpriz'd at *Anagne*, a City of *Abruzzo*, whither he was retir'd from the Troubles of *Rome*, and ſo violently treated by *Sciarra Colonneſſe*, a *Banditto* of *Rome*, and *Nogoret* an *Albigioye*, both whom he had perſecuted as in extream Rage and Anguiſh, within few Days after he ends his turbulent Life.

The Pope oppoſes the King's Proceedings with the Scots.

A. D. 1301. Reg. 28.

Boniface's *Death.*

The King of *England*, not yet enjoying a peaceable Poſſeſſion of *Scotland*, was forced to make a fourth Expedition thither, to allay freſh Commotions there; and to furniſh himſelf out for this Action, he call'd a Parliament at *Lincoln*, where he confirmed the two Charters again, and received of the People, as a grateful Acknowledgment of his Kindneſs to them, a fifteenth of all their Goods. Being thus ſupplyd' with Money, he invades *Scotland* again, and had Homage and Fealty ſworn to him a fourth time, as a Conqueror of it; which, accounting a ſufficient confirmation of his Sovereignty over it, he return'd in a Triumphant manner, and in his way removes his Exchequer from *York*, feaſts his Nobility at *Lincoln* magnificently, and ſo comes to *London*, where he gave ſolemn Thanks to God and S. *Edward* for the Victory; which Act of Piety may ſeem to have been the Cauſe of his obtaining a more compleat Victory, by bringing into his power his greateſt Enemy (that renowned Guardian of his Country) *William Wallis*, who being betray'd by his Companion, was taken by Sir *John Menteth*, and ſent up to the King to *London*, where he was try'd for his many Treaſons committed againſt the King (tho' at his Arraignment he would not acknowledge him to be his King) and was condemned, according to the Laws of *England*, to be drawn, hang'd and quarter'd; and accordingly ſuffer'd the Sentence. Thus dy'd that worthy Man, for the defence of the Liberties of his own Country, in a ſtrange one, and remains among the beſt Examples of Piety and Courage in that kind. And now the King being (as he ſuppoſed) ſecure from all Diſturbances abroad and at home, being an univerſal Lord of the whole Iſle, and having ſtrong Alliances abroad began to look nearly into his Government, and to raiſe himſelf Advantages from thoſe Diſorders which the Wars had cauſed. And the firſt Example of his Power (which he would have equal to his Will) was in the Caſe of Sir *Nicholas Segrave*, one of the greateſt Knights of the Kingdom, who being accuſed of Treaſon by Sir *John Crombwell*, offer'd to juſtifie himſelf by Duel; which becauſe the King refuſed to grant, in reſpect to the preſent War, he leaves the Camp, and went over the Sea to fight his Enemy. The King being angry at his Contempt of his Prohibition, accuſes him of expoſing his Royal Perſon to the Rage of his Enemies, and orders Juſtice to proceed againſt him. The Judges conſulted three Days on his Caſe, at laſt adjudged him guilty of Death, and all his Moveables and Immoveables to be forfeited to the King; but added, 'That he went out 'of the Nation, not in contempt of the King, but 'to be reveng'd of his Enemy, and therefore it 'was in the King's power to ſhew him Mercy. The King in anger replied, 'Have you been all 'this while conſulting for this? I know it is in

1305. *King* Edward's *fourth Expedition into* Scotland.

William Wallis *taken and executed for Treaſon.*

Sir Nicholas Segrave's *Caſe.*

[a] The Letter it ſelf is in Mr. *Fox*'s *Acts and Mon*, p. 313. with the Pope's to the States of *England*.

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A. D. 1305. Reg. 32.

'my power to ſhew Mercy on whom I pleaſe; 'and who ever ſubmitted to me, that hath not 'taſted of it? But I ſhall not do it for your ſakes, 'no more than a Dog's. But let this your Judg-'ment be recorded, and ever held as a Law. And ſo Sir *Nicholas*, for Example and Terror to others, was put into Priſon; tho' afterward, by the Interceſſion of many Noblemen of the Kingdom, and thirty of his Equals, being bound Body for Body, and Goods for Goods, for his Appearance whenever he ſhould be call'd, the King reſtored him to his Eſtate. Shortly after the King likewiſe ſends out a new Writ of Inquiſition, call'd *Trail-Baſton* [a], to ſearch out, and enquire after Intruders on other Men's Lands, who to keep out the right Owner of them, would make over their Land to great Men; as alſo after Batterers, who were hired to beat Men; Breakers of the Peace, Raviſhers, Incendiaries, Murtherers, Fighters, falſe Jurors, and other ſuch Malefactors; which Inquiſition was ſo ſtrictly executed, and ſo great Fines impoſed upon ſuch as were guilty of any the ſaid Crimes, that the King's Treaſure was much increaſed by it. And ſo did likewiſe another Commiſſion, ſent out at the ſame time, to examine into the Behaviour of all Officers, and Miniſters of Juſtice; whereby many were found Delinquents, and paid dearly for it. By this means Informers grew in great Requeſt, and were encouraged, as the King's Friends, and his chief Agents for his Treaſury. But beſides theſe ways of Enriching himſelf, the King made ſome profit of certain Silver Mines in *Devonſhire*, (as *Hollinſhead* relates) but it ſeems they were not ſought after in following times, becauſe the Charge was greater than the Profit.

A Writ of Inquiſition, called Trail-Baſton.

1306. K. Edward *his dealing with his rebellious Barons.*

And now the King being become a Terror to his Subjects, began to ſhew his Reſentment of the ſtubborn behaviour of his Nobles to him in times paſt, and ſo terrified *Roger Bigod* [b] Earl Marſhal, that to recover his Favour, he made him Heir of all his Lands, (tho' he had a Brother living) and only reſerved to himſelf an Annuity of a thouſand Pound *per Annum* for his Life. Of others of them alſo he got great Sums for the ſame Offence. But the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, whom he accuſed of having diſturbed the Peace in his abſence, he ſent over to Pope *Clement* V. who ſucceeded *Boniface*, to be cruſhed by a double power. For this Pope was a Native of *Burdeaux*, and ſo as more reguardful of the King, once his Sovereign, ſo alſo more favourable to the King's Deſires; which to cheriſh and increaſe, the King ſent him a compleat ſet of Furniture for his Chamber of clean Gold, which had ſuch an influence upon the Pope, that he let looſe the Lion upon his Subjects again, by abſolving him from his Oaths and Obligations concerning the Charters, which he had confirmed by his three laſt Acts of Parliament; an Act of as little Piety in the Pope, as Conſcience in the King. But it was not long before he found the Error of this Action, and ſaw juſt Cauſe to reform it, having as much need of their Love, as they of his Juſtice, which was by the unexpected News of a King made and crown'd in *Scotland*, done after this manner. *Robert Bruce* Earl of *Carricke*, the Son of that *Robert* who was Competitor with *Baliol* for the Kingdom, eſcaping out of *England*, becomes Head of the confuſed Body of that People, was crowned King [c], and pieced them up into ſuch an Union preſently, that he had Hands enough to ſupport him before any Rumour of it could come to the Ears of King *Edward*, altho' *John Comyn*, his Coſin-German, a Man of great Intereſt and Alliance in *Scotland*, had written to the King of *England* to diſcover his Deſign; of which *Bruce* being either aware or ſuſpicious, found out ways to intercept his Letters; and finding him at *Dunfrays*, ſet upon him, and murther'd him in the Church. This Foundation, which was laid in Blood, (the Place, Perſon, and Manner of it making it odious) much blemiſh'd his beginning, and was ſo far from gaining him a greater Security, as he imagin'd, that it got him more Enemies, and raiſed a mighty Party againſt him. King *Edward* (tho' late acquainted with his deſign, yet haſten'd the faſter to overtake him) and therefore ſends *Amier de Valence* Earl of *Pembroke*, the Lords *Clifford* and *Piercy*, with a ſtrong Power to relieve his Wardens of *Scotland*, (who upon the Revolt of *Bruce* were all retreated to *Berwick*) whilſt he himſelf prepared an Army to follow. And to effect this, and be no more nobly attended, he put forth his Proclamation commanding, 'That all, who by paternal 'Succeſſion, or any other ways, ought him Ser-'vice, ſhould repair to *Weſtminſter* at *Whitſuntide* 'to him, to receive Order of Knighthood, and a 'Military Ornament out of the King's Wardrobe. Upon which Summons, three hundred young Gentlemen, all of them Sons of Earls, Barons and Knights aſſembled, and accordingly received Purples, Silks, Sindons, and Scarfs, wrought with Gold and Silver, according to every Man's degree; the Prince, who was by the King himſelf knighted, and girt with a Military Belt, girding the three hundred, whom the King had knighted, in the ſame manner as he had himſelf been before; and after keeping their Vigil together in the New Temple, which being performed with all the Magnificence and Solemnity poſſible, the King made a Vow, That alive or dead he would avenge the Death of *Comyn* upon *Bruce*, and the perjur'd *Scots*, adjuring his Son, and all his Nobles upon their Fealty, that if he dy'd in the Journey they would carry his Corps about with them in *Scotland*, till they had ſubdu'd the Country, and conquer'd the Uſurper. Which Deſire, tho' it were more Martial than Chriſtian, yet the Prince and all the Nobles promiſed upon their Faith to the utmoſt of their power to perform. And then having gotten the thirtieth Penny of the Clergy and Laity, and twentieth of all Merchants, he ſet forward immediately after *Whitſuntide* on his Expedition, in the 34th Year of his Reign. The Earl of *Pembroke*, who was ſent before, being aſſiſted with a ſtrong Party of the Friends of *Comyn*, who were deſirous to revenge his Death, had before the King's arrival defeated the whole Army of the new King at a Battel near St. *John's Town*, and had almoſt taken his Perſon; but he eſcaping in diſguiſe recover'd an obſcure ſhelter [d], being reſerved for more and greater Battels, while his Brother *Nigel Bruce*, with *Thomas*, and *Alexander* a Prieſt, were executed as Traitors at *Berwick*. So that King *Edward* at his coming had not ſo much to do as he expected, but went up and down the Country to ſhew his Power, and terrifie his

A. D. 1306. Reg. 33.

The King goes into Scotland, and vows to revenge Comyn's Death.

1307.

King Edward puniſhes many concerned in raiſing Bruce, and Comyn's Death.

The Pope abſolves the King from his Oaths made to his Subjects.

A new Revolt in Scotland, *in which* Jo. Comyn *was ſlain.*

[a] *Trayle Baſton* ſignifies in old *French*, to draw the Staff; others drive it from a Shoemaker's Inſtrument call'd ſo, which they us'd to beat their Prentices with; the King being inform'd that ſome Raſcals made a Trade of taking Money for beating Perſons, iſſu'd out this Writ, to which this Name was given.

[b] The Earl Marſhal voluntarily made the King Heir of his Eſtate, and deliver'd up his Marſhal's Staff, on Condition to have it reſtor'd if he ſhou'd have any Iſſue; and he had a thouſand Pound paid him down, and a thouſand Pound Penſion for Life. This was done a Year before, *Anno* 1302. *Annal. S. Aug. Cant.*

[c] By the Counteſs *Buquhan*, Siſter to the Earl of *Fife*, to whom this Office belong'd by Hereditary Right.

[d] In the Weſtern Iſles, where he lay conceal'd till King *Edward* left *Scotland*.

Enemies,

A. D. 1307. Reg. 34.

Enemies, executing many great Perſons, who had been concern'd in the Murther of *Comyn*, and Advancement of *Bruce*, as a Terrour for the reſt; for by reaſon of his Deſire of Revenge, Age and Fury, he was grown implacable. The Earl of *Athol* he ſent to *London* to be raiſed upon an higher Gallows, *Bruce*'s Wife taken by the Lord *Roſſe*, he made a Priſoner at *London*; and his Daughter, a Nun at *Lindſey*, and the Counteſs of *Boughan*, who had aſſiſted at the Coronation of *Bruce*, was put in a wooden Cage, and hung upon the Walls of *Berwicke* for People to gaze at. But this Rigour, as it exaſperated his Enemies, ſo it begat an Averſion to him in his Friends, and was a means to increaſe *Bruce*'s Party, tho' at preſent he appear'd not, but fled from Place to Place for his Safety, with only two Noble Gentlemen, the Earl of *Lenox* and *Gilbert Hay*; for within five Years he got together ſo great a Strength, that he overthrew the greateſt Army that ever the *Engliſh* brought into the Field, and reveng'd upon the *Engliſh* all the Blood that they had ſhed.

The King calls a Parliament at Carliſle

All the Summer the King ſpent in *Scotland*, and winter'd in *Carliſle*, that he might be ready the next Spring to ſuppreſs any Inſurrections that might ariſe; for he had reſolv'd not to depart, till he had fully ſubdu'd it. And here he held his laſt Parliament, wherein the State being mindful of the Pope's late Action, got many Ordinances to paſs for the Reformation of the Abuſes of his Miniſters, and as Remedies againſt his former Exactions, which were almoſt intolerable: For being poor himſelf, he wrung from the Archbiſhop of *York* Elect in one Year nine thouſand five hundred Marks, and obtain'd of *Anthony* Biſhop of *Durham*, who is ſaid to have had beſides his Preferments in the Church, a Temporal Eſtate of five thouſand Marks *per Annum*, very large Sums to make him Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*.

The King and Pope prey upon the Clergy.

Theſe large Sums from private Perſons ſhew'd the Pope the Riches of the Kingdom, and embolden'd him to require the Profits of all the Benefices, Abbies and Monaſteries, which ſhould become vacant in *England*, *Scotland*, *Wales* and *Ireland*, for one Year; which though it were deny'd him, yet he got ſomething conſiderable by it, the King and he dividing them between them. The Pope alſo granted the King the Tenth of all the Churches of *England* for two Years, and the King yielded that the Pope ſhould have the Firſt-fruits of thoſe Churches; which the Pope took care to ſecure, by ſending Cardinal *Petrus Hiſpanus*, his Legate *à Latere*, under a Pretence of confirming the Marriage between Prince *Edward* and *Iſabel*, the King of *France*'s Daughter; by which Ambaſſage the Cardinal got ſomething, tho' not ſo much as was expected. While the King was thus buſied at *Carliſle*, *Robert Bruce* about the beginning of the Spring appear'd with ſome Forces he had gotten together, and falling upon the Earl of *Pembroke* unawares, gave him a great Defeat; and within three Days drives the Earl of *Gloceſter* into the Caſtle of *Air*, in which he beſieg'd him, till the King's Forces drove him to his former Retreat, in which ſo long as he was ſecure, the *Engliſh* could never expect an end of the War. And this was the Reaſon, that King *Edward* ſent out another Proclamation, to command all that ought him Service, to attend him at *Carliſle* upon the *Midſummer-day* after, ſending the Prince in the mean while to *London* to conſummate his Marriage. In *July*, tho' he found himſelf much indiſpoſed, he enter'd *Scotland* with a freſh Army, but was not able to lead it far; for he dy'd of a Dyſentery at *Borough upon the Sands*, having reign'd thirty four Years and ſeven Months, in the ſixty eighth Year of his Age. He was a Prince of a generous Spirit, born and bred for Action, and very judicious in Military Affairs; wary and provident in his own Buſineſs, watchful and ambitious to enlarge his Power, deſiring more the Greatneſs than Quiet of *England*. Never King ſhed ſo much Chriſtian Blood in *England* while he lived, nor was the cauſe of ſhedding ſo much after his Death.

Bruce *with his* Scots *revolt again.*

King Edward's *Death.*

He had by his firſt Wife Queen *Eleanor* four Sons, of which only *Edward* ſurviv'd him, and nine Daughters; *Eleanor*, who had been eſpouſed to *Alphonſo* King of *Arragon*, who dy'd before Marriage, was after marry'd to *John* Earl of *Barry* [b], *Joanna* [c] was marry'd to *Gilbert Clare*, Earl of *Gloceſter*; *Margaret* to *John* Duke of *Brabant*; *Mary* lived a Nun in the Monaſtery of *Ambersbury*, *Elizabeth* marry'd firſt to *John* Earl of *Holland*, and after to *Humphrey Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, the reſt dy'd young. By his ſecond Wife he had *Thomas*, ſurnam'd *Brotherton*, who was Marſhal, and Earl of *Norfolk*, and *Edmund* Earl of *Kent* [d].

His Iſſue.

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES *in the Reign of* Edward I. *Surnam'd* Longſhanks.

IN the 3d Year of his Reign a general Earthquake happened in *England*; it threw down St. *Michael*'s Church on the Hill, without *Glaſtonbury* in *Somerſetſhire*; it alſo rained Blood in *Wales*, *Mat. Weſt.* In the 16th Year the ſame Author writes, That as the King and Queen were talking together in their Bed-chamber, a Flaſh of Lightning ſtruck in at the Window, paſs'd by them, killed two of their Servants who were waiting upon them, but did them no Prejudice. In the following Year

[a] Being ſenſible of his Death approaching he made his Will, and gave 32000 *l.* to be expended in the Holy War, charging his Son, that it ſhould not be ſpent any other way. He called his Nobles then preſent with him, and cauſed them to ſware their Fealty to his Son *Edward*, and promiſe to have him Crown'd as ſoon as they could. Then he adviſes his Son to be gentle and kind to his Subjects, dutiful to his Mother, and loving to his Brethren; not to take the Crown, nor bury his Body 'till he had ſubdued *Scotland*; aſſuring him, That ſo long as his Bones were with him, he ſhould not be conquered. And laſtly, charged him upon his Bleſſing never to recal *Peirce Gaveſton*, whom he had baniſhed for leading him into many Vices and Extravagances: But he never fulfilled any of theſe his Father's reaſonable Deſires and wiſe Admonitions, as the Story of his Life will clear. And indeed the Chronicles of *Abingdon* and *Lanercoſt* agree both, that Prince *Edward* was not preſent at his Father's Death.

[b] Earl of *Bar*. [c] Born at *Acon* in the Holy Land, and thence called *Joan of Acres* or *Acon*. [d] And a Daughter named *Elnor*, who dy'd young. The three latter Children were got after he was Sixty-two Years of Age.

there was ſo great Plenty, that Wheat was ſold in ſome places for twelve Pence a Quarter; and not many Years after, for twenty Shillings a Buſhel, as much as four Pounds now.

Men Eminent in his Time in War were,

John Earl *Warren*, *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter*, *Humphry de Bohun* Earl of *Hertford* and *Eſſex*, *Roger Bigod* Earl Marſhal of *England*, who were always zealous and brave in the defence of their Rights.

For Learning the moſt Famous were,

Henry de Henna, a Carmelite Fryar; *Goodwin* Chantor of the Church of *Saliſbury*; *Sevall* Archbiſhop of *York*, a bold Prelate, who defended his Clergy againſt the Pope; *Haimo de Feverſham*, *Peter Swanington*, *Elias Trickingham*, *Elias* of *Eſham*, *Ralph Bocking* of *Suſſex*, *Alphred* ſurnam'd *Anglicus*, *James* a Ciſtercian Monk, *William* of *Ware*, *Robert Oxford*, *Thomas Docking*, *Robert Dodeford*, *Peter de Icekham* of *Kent*, Dr. *John Beckton*, *William Hanaberg*, Provincial of the Carmelites in *England*; Cardinal *Kilwarby* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Biſhop of *Portua* in *Italy*; *Gilbert Magnus*, a Ciſtercian Monk; *Elias Ros*, *Walter Recluſe*, *Hugh le Eveſham*, *William Pagham*, *Henry Eſſeborn*, *John de Haida*, *John Derlington*, a Dominican Fryar, *John Chelmeſton*, *Thomas Borſtale* of *Norfolk*, *Gregory* of *Bredlington*, *Hugh de Mancheſter*, Provincial of the Dominicans in *England*; *Richard Knapwell*, a Dominican Fryar; *John Peckham* of *Suſſex*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; *Thomas de Illey*, a Carmelite Fryar of *Ipſwich*; *Thomas Sutton*, a Dominican Fryar; *Simon de Gaunt*, *William Hothun*, Provincial of the Dominicans; *John de Hide*, a Monk of *Winchester*; *Robert Crouch*, a Franciſcan Fryar; *Richard Middleton*, a Fryar Minor; Dr. *Lidlington*, a Carmelite Fryar of *Stanford*; *John Buer*, a Monk of *Weſtminſter*; *Adam de Mariſco*, or *Marets*, a *Somerſetſhire-man*, a famous Divine; *Gregory Huntington*, a Linguiſt; *John Grammaticus*, ſo call'd from his Excellence in Grammer; *Thomas Spot*, a Chronologer; *John Everſden*, *John Read*, *Richard Garquent*, *William Riſhanger*, Continuator of *Matt. Paris*'s Hiſtory, Hiſtorians. *Roger Bacon*, *Thomas Bungey*, *Hugh* of *Newcaſtle*, *William* of *Macclesfield*, Philoſophers and Mathematicians; and *Nichol. Scot*, an excellent Phyſician.

THE LIFE and REIGN OF EDWARD II.

A. D. 1307. Reg. 1.

Edward *the Second ſucceeded his Father.*

EDWARD, ſurnam'd *of Carnarvan*, ſucceeded his Father of the ſame Name, and began his Reign in *July* 1307. in the 23d Year of his Age. A Prince not only much inferiour to his Father in Age and Experience when he came to the Crown, which might be imputed to his Youth, but naturally in Greatneſs, and height of Spirit, and like his Grandfather in Flexibleneſs and Eaſineſs of Temper. Yet never Prince came to the Crown with greater Love, and more general Applauſe of all his Subjects, than he did; which, being built upon the Admiration of his Father's Worth, might have been eaſily ſecured to him by a little wiſe Management. But he being a wilful and revengeful Prince, began his Reign with ſuch diſtaſteful Actions to all his Subjects, as loſt him their good Opinion immediately, and after proved fatal to him. For the firſt thing he did, after his [a] return from *Scotland*, where he received the Homage of many of the *Scotiſh* Lords at *Dumfrees*, before his departure, was, The entertaining his old Companion *Peirce Gaveſtone*, whom his Father had baniſhed the Kingdom, becauſe he had corrupted his Son, and led him into many Extravagancies, of which the Robbing of the Biſhop of *Cheſter*'s Park was one, (for which the King his Father was ſo angry, that he impriſon'd his Son, and baniſh'd *Gaveſtone*) and as if he had foreſeen the Miſchiefs of his Advice, charged him on his Death-bed never to recall him; requiring the Lords who were preſent, to ſee his Will obſerved in this particular. But notwithſtanding this wiſe Caution, and ſevere Command of his Father, he ſent for *Peirce Gaveſtone* before his Father's Funeral was ſolemniz'd, and not only entertain'd him with great Favour in his Court, but inveſted him in the Earldom of *Cornwall*, and Lordſhip of the Iſle of *Man*, which were part of the Demeſnes of the Crown, and made him his Chief Chamberlain. And becauſe the Biſhop of *Cheſter* [b], who was his Father's Treaſurer, had often abbridged his exceſſive Expences, and by his Complaint of Robbing his Park, had been the means of bringing that heavy Storm upon himſelf and Companion, he revenges himſelf on the Biſhop; and to this end, cauſes him to be arreſted, and committed him to Priſon, ſeized upon his Goods, which he gave to *Gaveſtone*,

A. D. 1307. Reg. 1.

P. Gaveſtone *recall'd, and preferr'd; and the Biſhop of* Cheſter *impriſon'd.*

[a] He was ſo eager to be Crown'd, That he left *Scotland* immediately, and would not ſtay to ſubdue the Rebels, as his Father ordered him.

[b] *William de Langton*, King *Edward* the Firſt's Treaſurer, was Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, and not of *Cheſter*.

and

E. Lutterell delin.
P. Vanderbanck Sculp
KING EDWARD THE II.nd

A. D. 1307. Reg. 1.

and made a new Treaſurer in his room. Which done, he removed moſt of the Court-Officers placed by his Father, and put in new ones of his own chooſing; and all this without the Advice or Conſent of the Privy-Council, which gave a general Diſcontent, and diſcover'd an ill Diſpoſition in him.

A Parliament held before his Coronation at Northampton. *King* Edward's *Marriage.*

Before his Coronation there was a Parliament held at *Northampton*, wherein it was enacted, That the Monies coined by his Father, notwithſtanding they were accounted baſe Metal, ſhould be Current; and he obtained a fifteenth of the Clergy, and twentieth of the Laity. After which, having performed the Funeral Rites of his Father at *Weſtminſter*, he took a Voyage into *France* to be marry'd to the Lady *Iſabel*, the Daughter of *Philip* the Fair, King of *France*; where their Nuptials were celebrated with great Magnificence and Solemnity, there being preſent at them the King of *France*, and King of *Navarr* his Son, the King of *Almain*, the King of *Sicily*, and three Queens beſides the Bride, with an extraordinary Concourſe of Princes and great Men. *Gaveſtone* was alſo at this Feaſt, and is ſaid to have exceeded all the Company in Richneſs and Bravery of Attire, with which afterwards he infected the Court of *England*, and by that the whole Nation: A Miſchief great enough to undo a Kingdom alone, with the Expence to maintain it. Yet this was not all the Miſchief he did, for he filled the Court with Paraſites, Buffoons, Fidlers, Stage-players, and all kind of diſſolute Perſons, to entertain and fill the King with carnal Delights and Pleaſures; in which he was deeply engag'd, that he lov'd no other Company, but ſpent all his Time in Wantonneſs, neglecting the Affairs of State, and the Counſel of his Nobles. Theſe things ſo much diſtaſted the great Men, that when he was to be crown'd with his Queen at *Weſtminſter* in the ſecond Year of his Reign, they met together, and requir'd of him, That *Gaveſtone* might be removed out of his Court and Kingdom, otherwiſe they intended to hinder his Coronation at that time. The King, to avoid ſo great Diſgrace, promiſed to grant whatever they deſired in the next Parliament; and ſo the Coronation was permitted to be ſolemnized, yet it was done with that haſte and precipitancy, as took off the Reverence and Grace of it. In it the King gave *Gaveſtone* S. *Edward*'s Crown to carry before him, which greatly incenſed the Lords againſt him, and added much to their former Offence and Hatred of him[a].

His Coronation. 1309.

The Knights Templars impriſon'd.

Shortly after his Coronation, all the Knights-Templars throughout *England* were at once arreſted, and committed to Priſon, according to the Example which had been given him by the King of *France*, and moſt other Princes of *Chriſtendom*. They were an Order of Knights firſt inſtituted by *Baldwin* IV. King of *Jeruſalem*, about two hundred Years before this time, and were appointed for the Defence of that City, and the ſafe Convoy of all ſuch as went thither. Afterwards by the pious Bounty of Princes, they were diſperſed into all parts of *Chriſtendom*, and richly endow'd with large Poſſeſſions, which made them degenerate much from their firſt Inſtitution, and become execrably Vicious; for which Reaſon the Chriſtian Princes combined together to apprehend them, and turn them out of their Order and Eſtates, the King of *France* being foremoſt in the deſign, becauſe he intended to make one of his Sons King of *Jeruſalem*, and get their Revenues for him. Their Accuſation was brought to the Council at *Vienna*, and they were condemn'd (more by Fame than Proof) as is evident from the condemnatory Sentence in the Bull of Pope *Clement* III. wherein are theſe words *Quanquam de Jure non poſſumus, tamen ad plenitudinem Poteſtatis, dictum Ordinem reprobamus*; and then their Eſtates were given to the Hoſpitallers. This Affair being over, the Lords proſecute their Deſign againſt *Gaveſtone*, who preſuming upon the King's Favour, inſolently ſcorn'd them, as much as they hated him, terming the chiefeſt of his Enemies by reproachful Names, as he pleaſed, *viz.* *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter* he call'd the *Stage-player*; *Aymer de Valence* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Joſeph* the *Jew*; and *Guy* Earl of *Warwick*, the *Black-Dog* of *Ardern*; which Scoffs ſo heighten'd their deſires of Revenge, that in the next Parliament, the whole Aſſembly, as if they had engaged in the Quarrel, humbly beſought the King to adviſe and treat with his Nobles concerning the State of the Kingdom, that by their Counſel he might avoid the great Miſchiefs which would fall upon him through neglect of Government; and urg'd it ſo far, that the King not only conſented, but promiſed with an Oath to ratifie all ſuch Articles as ſhould be concluded upon by them to be neceſſary for the Welfare of the Kingdom. Upon this certain choice Men, both of the Clergy, Nobility and Commons, were ſelected to frame theſe Articles; and when they were finiſhed, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who was lately recall'd from Baniſhment, with the reſt of his Suffragans, at the Reading of them publickly before the Lords and Commons in the preſence of the King, ſolemnly pronounced the Sentence of Excommunication againſt all that ſhall dare to oppoſe them. Some of the Articles were:

A. D. 1309. Reg. 3.

The Lords proſecute Gaveſtone for his Inſolencies.

A Parliament call'd to ſettle the Affairs of the Kingdom, and the King ſwears to ſubmit to it.

1310.

'That the King ſhould obſerve, and put in Execution *Magna Charta*, with all other Laws neceſſary for the preſervation of the Church and Kingdom; That as the late King had done, ſo he ſhould baniſh all Strangers out of his Court and Kingdom, and remove all his bad Counſellors from his Perſon; That the King ſhall not begin any War, or go any where out of the Kingdom, without the conſent of the Parliament. Theſe Articles ſeem'd very harſh to the King, but to avoid farther trouble, he granted them, and eſpecially conſented to the Baniſhment of his Favourite *Gaveſtone*, whom he ſent immediately into *Ireland*, tho' not as an Exile, but in Quality of his Lieutenant there; as if that piece of Self-denial would have accuſed him from all the reſt[b]. But he could not be long without his Company, and therefore within a few Months he recall'd him; and to ſecure him the better againſt his Enemies, he marries him to his Neice (the Daughter of *Joanna de Acres*) Siſter of[c] *Gilbert* Earl of *Gloceſter*, a Man much belov'd and eſteem'd among the Nobility, for whoſe ſake, and whoſe means he hoped *Gaveſtone* would find more favour with the Nobility. But all this would not do. Either his Behaviour or their Malice was ſuch, that they would not endure him about the King, who by making him great, leſſen'd them; and by enriching him, not only impoveriſh'd himſelf (for 'tis ſaid[d] he gave him the Jewels of the Crown, and ſo much of his Treaſure, that the Queen com-

Gaveſtone ſent into Ireland, *but again recall'd, and marry'd.*

a He was Crown'd on the 25th of *February* 1308. *Thomas Wike*'s *Chron.*

b The Letters Patents for the Baniſhment of *Gaveſtone* bear Date at *Weſtminſter*, the 8th of *May*, 1308. and are to be found in the Continuation of *Nich. Trivet*'s Hiſtory. He returned out of *Ireland* in *September*, and Married the Lady *Joanna* in *October*.

c The Earl was not pleaſ'd with, nor conſented to the Match.

d 'Tis ſaid, he gave him his Father's Crown; and once told him, He ſhould be his Succeſſor in the Throne, if it lay in his power to give it him.

A. D. 1310. Reg. 4.

plained of Want of Maintenance [a] to her Father) but the whole Kingdom, which by his immoderate Gifts to him was waſted. Theſe Actions ſo provoked the Barons, that they ſend him plain Word, 'That unleſs he did put from him *Pierce* 'Gaveſtone, and obſerve the Articles, which he 'had promis'd by Oath to keep, they would all 'with one Conſent riſe up in Arms againſt him, 'as a perjur'd Prince. The King, who was eaſily terrified with ſuch Meſſages of his Nobles, as they found, not only yields again to the Baniſhment of his Favourite, but granted them farther, 'That if he were ever after found in the King-'dom, he ſhould be condemn'd to Death, as an 'Enemy of the State. *Peirce* having left *England*, could find no ſafe Place of retreat: *Ireland* could not any more protect him, *France* was very unſafe for him, becauſe wait was laid for him there to apprehend him. In *Flanders* he lurk'd a-while, but in great Danger; wherefore ſeeing he could be ſecure no where, he reſolves to adventure again into *England*, and commit himſelf to the King's Protection, a Sanctuary that would not be violated. The King received him with great Joy, and that he might be out of the envious Eye of his Nobility, he carry'd him into the North Parts of *England*, but he was ſoon after diſcover'd by the Lords; who, withal hearing that he was, tho' privately, in as great Favour as ever, preſently [b] combine together and take Arms, electing *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter*, the Son of *Edmund* Earl of *Lancaſter*, Brother to *Henry* III. for their Leader, a Man very popular and powerful, and Earl likewiſe of *Leiceſter*, *Ferrers* and *Lincoln*. With him joyn'd *Humphrey Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, *Aymer de Valence* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Guy de Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, the Earl of *Arundel*, with many other Barons: But *Gilbert* Earl of *Gloceſter*. the King's Nephew, being deſirous neither to offend the King, nor be wanting to his Peers, ſtood Mediator between both Parties for the Liberties and Peace of the Kingdom. The Earl *Warren* was doubtful, and favour'd the King's Party rather, till the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* brought him to joyn with the Lords; who being well prepar'd againſt all Encounters, ſend to the King in behalf of the whole Commonalty of *England*, 'Beſeeching him to deliver up 'Peirce Gaveſtone to them, or ſend him with all 'his Train out of *England*. The King neglecting an anſwer to their Petition, they ſet forward with ſome Forces toward the North. The King and *Gaveſtone* withdraw to *Newcaſtle*, and there having a full Account of the Strength of the Lords, they took Ship together (leaving the Queen, then with Child, in great Grief behind) and land at *Scarborough* Caſtle, into which the King puts *Gaveſtone*, with the beſt Forces he could get for his Defence, and leaving him departed into *Warwickſhire*. The Earls of *Pembroke* and *Warren*, who were ſent by the Earl of *Lancaſter*, lay Siege to the Caſtle, and *Gaveſtone* ſurrender'd himſelf into their hands; but intreats, That he might have Liberty to ſpeak once more to the King, and then they ſhould do as they pleas'd with him. The Earl of *Pembroke* undertakes [c] that he ſhould upon his Honour, but as his Servants were carrying him, the Earl of *Warwick* met them, and took him by force from them, and commits him to his Caſtle of *Warwick*; where, after ſome Conſultation among the Lords (tho' the King earneſtly ſolicited for his Life) they condemn'd him without Tryal to the Block, and cut off his Head. And this was the end of *Peirce Gaveſtone* [d]: He was a Native of *Gaſcoigne*, and for the great Service his Father had done to this Crown, was educated by King *Edward* the Firſt with his Son the Prince, by which means he gain'd ſo great an Intereſt in his Favour. He was a goodly Perſon, of undaunted Courage, and a skilful Man at Arms, as he ſhew'd himſelf at a Tournament at *Willingford*; wherein he challeng'd the beſt of our Nobility, and is ſaid to have foil'd them all, which inflam'd their Malice againſt him. In *Ireland*, during the ſhort time he was Lieutenant there in his Baniſhment, he conquer'd the Rebels in the Mountains of *Dublin*, built *Newcaſtle* in the *Kerns* Country, repair'd *Kevni*-Caſtle, and afterward paſſed up into *Munſter* and *Thomond*, doing great Service to his Maſter with much Valour and Bravery. He ſeems to have been a Perſon, that could not fawn to ſtoop to thoſe he loved not, nor diſguiſe his Nature ſo far, as to temporize with his Enemies: But preſuming upon his Fortune, grew in the end to be arrogant and proud, and was ſo intolerable as nothing but his Ruin, which it produced, could eaſe the Subjects of that heavy Burthen.

The Barons threaten to depoſe the King.

The Barons take up Arms.

Peirce Gaveſtone *is taken by the Lords and executed.*

A. D. 1310. Reg. 4.

Gaveſtone's *perſonal Courage and Worth.*

The Lords having gotten their Deſire upon *Gaveſtone*, and thereby finding the King's Weakneſs (for he ſhould never have fall'n into their hands, if the King had had Power enough to have kept him out) aſſume to themſelves greater Authority; and as if all things were under their Command, peremptorily require the Confirmation and immediate Execution of all the Articles formerly granted, threatning the King, That unleſs he perform'd the ſame, as they deſir'd, they would force him to it; and for this end, with their Swords drawn, aſſembling at *Dunſtable* make towards *London*, where the King lay. The great Biſhops, and Earl of *Gloceſter*, ſeeing the Tempeſt gathering, labour to appeaſe them; and with two Cardinals [e] (which at that time were ſent by the Pope to reform the Diſorders of the Kingdom) repairing to St. *Albans*, deſire Conference with the Lords, who receive them very peaceably, but rejected the Pope's Letters written to them; ſaying, 'They were Sword- 1313.
'men, and minded not Letters; That there were
'many wiſe and learned Men in the Kingdom,
'whoſe Counſels they would uſe, and not Stran-
'gers, who knew not the Cauſe of their riſing,
'and therefore would not permit Foreigners to
'concern themſelves in their Actions, or the
'Affairs of the Kingdom, with which Anſwer the Cardinals return to *London*. But the *Engliſh* Biſhops ſo prevail'd by their Perſuaſions with the Lords, as that they were willing to reſtore to the King ſuch Horſes, Treaſure and Jewels, as they had taken from *Pierce Gaveſtone* at *Newcaſtle*, if the King would grant their Petitions; and ſo *John Sandal*, Treaſurer of the Kingdom, and *Ingelard Warle*, Keeper of the Wardrobe, were ſent to S. *Albans* to receive them of them. About this time Queen *Iſabel* was deliver'd of a Son [f] at *Windſor*, whom *Lewis* her Brother, and the great Men and Ladies of *France*, would have baptiz'd by the Name of her Father *Philip*, but

The Barons Arrogancy in treating with the King.

The Biſhops perſuade the Lords to ſubmit to the King.

Edward *the Third born.*

[a] And that ſhe was deprived of the King's Love, becauſe *Peirce* engaged the King in Whoredom and Adulteries.

[b] The Biſhops were very zealous Confederates in this Action; inſomuch, that the Archbiſhop excommunicated *Walter* Biſhop of *Coventry*, becauſe out of a Loyal Principle he refuſed to joyn with them.

[c] Dr. *Brady*, in his Appendix to his *Comp. Hiſt.* affirms, That 'twas not to the Earl of *Pembroke*, but the Lord *Henry Peircy*, that *Gaveſtone* ſurrendered himſelf; which he proves from a Record in the Tower, there mentioned.

[d] On the 19th of *June*, 1312. [e] There was but one Cardinal, the other Nuntio was only *Arnold* Biſhop of *Poictiers*.

[f] He was born the 13th of *Nov.* 1312.

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A. D. 1313. Reg. 7.

the Nobility of *England* had him nam'd *Edward*. Here the King kept his *Chriſtmas*, feaſting the *French* with great Magnificence, by whom he was ſuſpected by his Barons to have had ill Advice given him. Shortly after a Parliament is called at *London*, wherein the King complains, 'That his Barons had contemn'd him, rais'd 'War in his Realm againſt him, and murther'd '*Peirce Gaveſtone*. But they unanimouſly anſwer'd him, 'That they had not offended in ſo 'doing, but had merited his Love and Favour; 'having taken Arms not in Contempt to his 'Royal Perſon, but to deſtroy the publick Ene- 'my of the Kingdom, who as ſuch had been 'baniſh'd before by two Kings; a Man by whom 'his Reputation and Honour was blemiſh'd, his 'Revenue waſted, and a dangerous Conteſt rai- 'ſed between him and his Subjects, of which 'there could otherwiſe be no end with all their 'Labour. Adding farther, That they would not 'be longer deluded with vain Promiſes or Delays, 'concerning their requir'd Articles, as they had 'been. The Queen and Biſhops ſeeing their Reſolution, endeavour'd by their Perſuaſions to allay their Heat, and prevail'd at length ſo far, that to appeaſe the King's Wrath, they and their Confederates ſubmitted to beg the King's Pardon in open Parliament, which they obtain'd; and the King having receiv'd them into his Favour as his Loyal Subjects, granted them their Articles, and particularly pardons by his Charter all ſuch as had been concern'd in the Death of *Gaveſtone*, and then the State in Conſideration of his great Wants, granted him a fifteenth. *Guy de Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, was here alſo appointed to be one of the King's Council; who being a Perſon much envy'd by thoſe that had the King's Favour chiefly, dy'd ſhortly in that Station, not without Suſpicion of Poiſon.

A Parliament at London.

The Lords ſubmit and are pardon'd.

1314. *The* Scots *united diſturb* England.

While *England* labour'd under theſe Diſtractions and Diviſions, through the Weakneſs of its King, *Scotland* grew unanimous almoſt under a provident one, who in this time did not only ſubdue the *Scotiſh* Faction, and recover moſt of his Country, but began to ſpoil *England*, laying waſt all *Northumberland* in ſuch manner, as that the People were forced to make their Application to the King for Recovery of their Country out of their hands. King *Edward* awaken'd with the Importunities of the People, and thinking it would be a great Diſhonour to the Kingdom to ſit ſtill, raiſed an Army for the Redreſs of their Loſſes, and enter'd *Scotland* with the moſt powerful Hoſt that ever went thither, conſiſting (as the *Scotiſh* Writers relate) of an hundred thouſand Men, of ſeveral Nations, *viz.* *Flemmings*, *Gaſcoignes*, *Welſh* and *Iriſh*; who confiding in their Numbers, devour'd the Country in their Imagination before they came thither, and thought not of fighting, but dividing the Prey. Beſides, moſt of the Nobility of *England* attended the King, except the Earls of *Lancaſter*, *Warwick*, *Warren* and *Arundel*; who refuſed to go with him, becauſe the King delay'd the Execution of the former Articles. The Caſtle of *Sterling* was the firſt thing the King intended to relieve, which had held out a long time againſt the *Scots*, by the valiant Conduct of *Philip Mowbray*, a courageous Knight. Near this Place, upon the River *Berwicke*, did *Bruce* with thirty thouſand *Scots*, encounter this mighty Army of the *Engliſh*; which tho' much too great a Match for them, yet the *Scots* had been ſo harden'd to Wars, and receiv'd them with ſo much Preparation, and at ſuch an Advantage, having inacceſſible Rocks behind them to defend them, and a Mooriſh uncertain Ground before them, wherein they had dug Trenches, and cover'd them with Hurdles, that the Horſe could not paſs, that they eaſily became Conquerours, and gave *England* the greateſt Overthrow that ever it receiv'd: For there periſh'd in this Battel (call'd the Battel of [a] *Bannock's Borough*) *Gilbert de Clare*, the laſt Earl of *Gloceſter*, a great Supporter of the *Engliſh* State, *Robert* Lord *Clifford*, the nobleſt of our Lords, with the Lords *Tiptoft*, *Marſhal*, *Giles de Argenton*, *Edmund de Maul*, and ſeven hundred Knights, Eſquires, and Gentlemen of Note; and of common Soldiers the *Scotiſh* Hiſtorians ſay fifty thouſand, but ours ten thouſand. *Humphrey Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, *Ralph de Morthelmere* [b], (who marry'd *Joanna de Acres*, Counteſs Dowager of *Gloceſter*) with many others, were taken Priſoners [c]; the King, and thoſe that were preſerved, eſcap'd by Flight [d]. This Victory [e] put *Scotland* into Heart and Wealth together; ſo that they held their own the better for a long time after, and diſcourag'd the People of this Nation for many Years ſo much, that tho' *Edward* deſir'd ſeveral times to recover this Diſhonour, yet his People choſe rather to ſink in their Loſſes, then run any farther Hazards; and the poor Borderers, who had the worſt of it, were ſo dejected, that *Walſingham* ſays, an hundred of them would flie before three *Scots*. So weak do the lower parts become, when the Head is impaired.

A. D. 1314. Reg. 8.

The Engliſh *conquer'd at the Battel of* Bannock *Borough.*

King Edward's *great Army.*

This great Misfortune was not ſingle, but in the next Year many great Calamities followd it, *viz.* ſuch Inundations as brought forth Dearth, and Dearth produced Famine, and Famine Peſtilence, all which exceeded any that had ever been in *England* before; inſomuch, that a Parliament was call'd at *London* to abate and ſettle the Prizes of Victuals, which then grew exceſſive dear. And therefore it was ordain'd, That an Ox fatted with Graſs ſhould be ſold for 16*s.* fatted with Corn for 20*s.* the beſt Cow for 12*s.* a fat Hog of two Years old for 3*s.* 4*s.* a fat Sheep ſhorn 14*d.* with the Fleece 20*d.* a fat Gooſe 2*d* ½. a fat Capon 2*d.* a fat Hen 1*d.* four Pigeons 1*d.* and whoſoever ſold for more, ſhall forfeit their Goods to the King. Here ſeems then to have been no Calves, Lambs, Goſlins, Chickens, or young Pigs to be ſold, ſuch Dainties were not yet in uſe. After the Settlement of theſe Rates, all kind of Proviſion grew more ſcarce; for there happen'd ſuch a Murrain to Cattel, and ſuch a Deſtruction of all ſorts of Fruits by the exceſſive and unſeaſonable Rains, that Victuals could not be gotten for the King's Houſe, nor Means for other great Men to maintain their Tables; inſomuch, that they were forced to put away their Servants in great Numbers, which produced another Miſchief: For theſe Men being brought up in Lazineſs and

A Dearth in England, *with a Peſtilence, which cauſed the Rates of Proviſions to be ſettled.*

1317.

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[a] *Bannock-Bourn.* [b] Mount *Hermer.*

[c] King *Edward*, though in manifeſt Danger, was ſo much troubled at this Defeat, that he could hardly be perſuaded to fly.

[d] This Victory is remarked by our Hiſtorians as a Divine Puniſhment of the Lewdneſs and Exceſſes of the *Engliſh* Army, who ſpent the Night before the Fight in Drunkenneſs and Intemperance, but a Reward of the Piety of the *Scots*; who entered upon it with ſolemn Confeſſions, and receiving the Sacrament: Wherefore God gave them ſuch a miraculous Victory, as ſo few Hands without a ſpecial Aſſiſtance of God could not have effected.

[e] The Battel was fought on the 25th of *June*, 1314.

[f] The Rates of Corn ſeem not to be ſettled, becauſe there was ſcarce any to be gotten, for ſoon after there was an Order put out, that no Corn ſhould be malted or brewed with, that Barley might be preſerved for Bread.

Plenty,

A. D. 1317. Reg. 11.

Plenty, and not able to work, fell to Robbery and Spoil, ſo that nothing was ſafe from danger. Three Years this Affliction held, and was attended with ſuch a general Sickneſs and Mortality of the common ſort, cauſed by their [a] unwholſome Food, that the Living were ſcarce enough to bury the Dead. But all theſe Miſeries, which befel the Nation, could not allay the Diſcontents and Hatred between the King and his Nobles, but they were daily ſeeking opportunity to increaſe it. The King employs one *Richard St. Martin*, a deform'd Dwarf, to take the Wife of *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter* out of his Houſe at *Canford* in *Dorſetſhire*, claiming her for his Wife, and declaring, He had lain with her before ſhe marry'd the Earl; which the Lady, to her eternal Diſgrace, owned. By her this mean Perſon [b] claim'd the Earldoms of *Lincoln* and *Saliſbury*, of which ſhe was Heir, and raiſed not only a deſire of Revenge in the Earl againſt himſelf, but the King, who was look'd upon to be the chief Agent in it. This and other of the King's Actions became ſo obſervable to his People, that a Knight ſetting a Woman in a fataſtical Dreſs upon an Horſe, ſent a Letter by her into *Weſtminſter*-Hall to the King, as he ſat at Dinner upon the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*, wherein he was blamed for neglecting ſuch as had done him and his Father good Services, and advancing Men of mean Parts, and no Deſerts, *&c.* At which, tho' the King was angry at firſt, yet when the Knight owned he did it for his Honour, he was ſatisfied, and did nothing to him.

The King and Nobles diſaffected to each other.

The Scots *infeſt the Borders of* England, *and invade* Ireland.

While theſe Afflictions lay upon the Nation within, the *Scots* infeſted them in the North parts, with which the *Engliſh*, who undertook to defend them, ſo far joyn'd, that what they kept the *Scots* from taking away and ſpoiling, they took themſelves [c]. So that the miſerable People were utterly undone by being plunder'd on all ſides; and *Bruce*, who was now abſolute King of the *Scots*, ſent his Brother with a mighty Army into *Ireland*, where he got a part, and reigned under the Title of a *King* three Years [d]. Thus all things, both at home and abroad, went ill with *England*. But yet they were a means of producing ſome good, for they were an occaſion of that Reconciliation which was ſhortly after made between the King and Earl of *Lancaſter*, by the mediation of two Cardinals, upon ſuch Conditions as were ſoon after broken unjuſtly by the King. For a Knight was taken paſſing by *Pomfret*, with Letters ſealed with the King's Seal, directed to the King of *Scots*, about murthering the Earl. The Meſſenger was executed, and his Head ſet on the top of the Caſtle, and his Letters reſerved to witneſs the intended Plot. This Action, whether true or falſe, caſt a foul Aſperſion upon the King, and made many take the Earl's part. After this, upon an Invaſion of the *Scots*, who foraged as far as *York*, a Parliament is call'd at *London*, in which the King by the Interceſſion of the Cardinals and Clergy of *England*, yields faithfully to obſerve all the former required Articles. Whereupon an Army is agreed to be raiſed, at the Expence of the People, to go againſt the *Scots*; *London* ſends two hundred, *Canterbury* forty, *St. Albans* ten, and ſo all other Cities and Boroughs according to their proportion; by which means a conſiderable Army was levy'd; but being come as far as *York*, through Mutiny and Diſcontents was diſſolved, and ſo turn'd back, and nothing was effected. The next Year after, upon the Surrender of *Berwick* to the *Scots*, by the Treaſon of *Peter Spalding*, who had the keeping of it, the King raiſed an Army and beſieged it. The *Scots*, to divert his Forces, entred *England* in other places, and had almoſt ſurprized the Queen's Perſon lying at *York*; but the Siege, notwithſtanding this, continued, and the King was in great poſſibility to have gained the Town, had not the Earl of *Lancaſter* and his Followers withdrawn themſelves upon a Diſcontent, hearing the King ſay, That he would give the keeping of it to the Lord *Hugh Spencer* the younger, who now was the King's Favourite, and therefore hated by the Earl. Again, the Inhabitants of *York*, and the adjoyning Counties, having received ineſtimable Damages by the *Scots*, gather an Army of ten thouſand Men, and encounter them at *Milton* on the *Swayle*; but being not well conducted nor experienced, they were beaten with the loſs of three thouſand Men [e]. This being related to the King, he ſeeing all things ſucceed ill with him, concluded a Truce with the *Scots* for two Years, and ſo leaves thoſe parts diſhonourably.

A. D. 1317. Reg. 10.

1318.

A Truce made with the Scots *for two Years.*

1319.

In the time of this Peace, a great Flame aroſe from a ſmall Spark, which was kindled by this occaſion. A Baron, whoſe Name was *William Brewes* [f], having by his Prodigality and Vice waſted his Eſtate, offer'd to ſell a part of it, called *Powes*, to ſeveral Men; *Humphry Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, becauſe the Lands adjoyned to his Eſtate, begs leave of the King to buy it, and bargains for it. The two *Mortimer*'s, Uncle and Nephew, great Men in thoſe parts, not knowing of the former Bargain, made a contract alſo for it with Sir *William Brewes*. *Hugh Spencer* the younger hearing alſo that thoſe Lands were to be ſold, and lay near his Eſtate, obtains a more particular Grant of the King, being his Chamberlain, and buys it out of all their hands. The Earl of *Hereford* being thus defeated of his Bargain, complains to the Earl of *Lancaſter* (the Refuge of all diſcontented Men) of this Injuſtice, and induced him to enter into a Confederacy with divers other Barons there aſſembled, obliging themſelves by an Oath to live and die one with another, in maintaining the Rights of the Kingdom, and procuring the Baniſhment of the two *Spencers* [g], the Father and Son, whom they ſtiled, *The Seducers of the King, and Oppreſſors of the State*; diſpoſing all things at Court as they pleaſe, and ſuffering nothing to be obtain'd but by their means; which the State accounted an intolerable Miſchief. Under theſe pretences they take up Arms, and contrary to all Juſtice and Right ſeiz'd upon and deſtroy'd the Lands and Goods of thoſe Perſons which they pretended to proſecute, and of all thoſe that had any Affinity or Friendſhip with them, killing their Servants, and diſpoſing of their Caſtles at their pleaſure. Which done, they marched to St. *Albans*, and from thence ſend

1321. *Another Occaſion of Revolt.*

The Barons Complaint againſt the two Spencers, *and taking Arms.*

A Parliament at London, *by which an Army was raiſed againſt the* Scots.

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[a] The meaner ſort are Dogs and Horſes; and, as our Hiſtorians add, Children and Men were ſtoll'n for Food, yet it appears by the Parl. Rolls, 1 *Edw.* 2. N° 35, 36. that the Price of Corn and Victuals was ſettled. Mr. *Daniel* places this Act two Years too forward, it paſt *Anno* 1315.

[b] He was a Knight; *Thomas Walſingham* calls him Sir *Richard* of St. *Martyn*, a Retainer to the Earl of *Surrey*.

[c] The two Chiefs of theſe *Banditti* were *Gilbert de Middleton*, and *Walter de Selby*; the former was ſurpriz'd in his Caſtle and Hang'd, what became of the other we do not read in the Hiſtories of this Reign.

[d] He went over to *Ireland* in the Year 1317. and was killed in Battel by the Lord *Birmingham*, on the 14th of *October*, 1318. His Body was quarter'd, and his Head ſent to *England*.

[e] This Battel was fought at *Mitton*, near the River *Swale*, on the 21ſt of *September*, 1319.

[f] *William de Breviſe*, Lord of *Gowerland*, and not *Powis*.

[g] The two *Spencers* were not mentioned in their Engagement, *To live and die for Juſtice, and the Deſtruction of Traytors*; by which the *Spencers*, Father and Son, were meant.

A. D. 1321. Reg. 14.

to the King, who then reſided at *London*, and was in Conſultation with the Biſhops of *London*, *Saliſbury*, *Hereford*, and *Chicheſter*, about ſettling the Peace. The Biſhops ſeeing this, 'deſired him as 'he tender'd the Peace and Happineſs of his 'Realm, to baniſh from his Court thoſe Traitors, 'the *Spencers*, who were condemned in many Ar-'ticles of High Treaſon by the Commons of the 'the Nation; and withal to grant a Pardon and 'Indemnity unto the Barons, and all their Ad-'herents, that they ſhould not hereafter ſuffer 'for any Crime, paſt or preſent. The King an-

The King excuſes the Spencers, and is angry with the Barons.

ſwer'd, 'That *Hugh Spencer* the Father was be-'yond Seas employ'd in the Buſineſs of the Nation, 'and the Son was guarding the Cinque-ports ac-'cording to his Duty; and that it was both againſt 'Law, and the Cuſtom of the Realm, that they 'ſhould be baniſhed without being heard; That 'their Petition was againſt Juſtice and Reaſon, 'becauſe the *Spencers* were always ready to an-'ſwer all Complaints made againſt them accord-'ing to Law; and if the Lords could prove, that 'they had offended againſt any Statute of the 'Realm, they would ſubmit to a Tryal. Farther 'ſwearing, That he would never break his Coro-'nation-Oath, by granting a Pardon to ſuch no-'torious Offenders, as contemned his Perſon, di-'ſturbed his Government, and violated his Ma-'jeſty. This Anſwer ſo exaſperated the Lords, that they preſently drew near to *London*, and lodged in the Suburbs, till they could obtain leave to enter the City; which being granted, they came to the King, and boldly urge their Demands; which at length the King, by the mediation of the Queen and chief Biſhops, condeſcended to; and by his Edict, publiſhed in *Weſtminſter*-Hall by the Earl of *Hereford*, are the *Spencers* baniſhed the Kingdom for their Lives. *Hugh* the Father keeps beyond the Seas, but the Son ſtaid privately in *England*, expecting a Turn of Affairs [a]. The Lords (being ſatisfied, and pardoned) return home, yet not to live ſo ſecure as to give over all proviſion for their own Defence. Yet all their Care could not prevent their Deſtruction, which ſoon after follow'd, upon this Occaſion: The Queen, who had always been a principal Inſtrument of Peace and Concord between the King and his Barons, going on a Progreſs to *Canterbury*, was diſpoſed to lodge in the Caſtle of *Leeds*, which belonged to the Lord *Bedleſmere*, who was lately the King's Steward, but then took part with the Barons; and to that end ſent her Marſhal before to make things ready for her and her Attendance. But the Keeper plainly told him, *That neither the Queen, nor any Body elſe ſhould be admitted without Letters from his Lord*; which Anſwer he alſo gave to the Queen her ſelf coming in Perſon, ſo that ſhe was forced to take up ſuch Lodging that Night as they could get for her. This Indignity the Queen at her return complain'd of to the King, who took it ſo ill, that he preſently went down with a Body of armed Men out of *London*, and laying ſiege to the Caſtle, took it, hang'd the Keeper *Thomas Culpeper*, ſends the Wife and Children of the Lord *Bedleſmere* to the Tower, and

The King baniſheth the Spencers.

A freſh Quarrel between the King and his Barons.

ſeizes upon all his Goods and Treaſure. And now having this power about him, and emboldened by Succeſs, and the Inſtigation of the Queen, he went on to *Chiceſter*, where he kept his Chriſtmas, and there provides an Army againſt the Barons. Some of the Lords ſeeing the King's Power to increaſe, left their Aſſociates, and yielded themſelves to the King's Mercy; among whom were the two *Mortimer*'s, Men of great Eſtates and Intereſts, the Lords *Hugh Audley* and *Maurice Barkley*, and others, who notwithſtanding, contrary to their Expectation, were ſent to divers Priſons [b]. The Earls of *Lancaſter* and *Hereford* ſeeing this ſudden change, withdrew themſelves and their Company from *Gloceſter*, towards the North-parts. The King, with whom were the Earls of *Athol* and *Angus*, followed them with his Army, and engaging them at *Burton* upon *Trent*, ſubdued their Forces, and put them all to flight. Whereupon they retired farther North, and at *Borough-Brigs* were engaged by Sir *Simon Ward* Sheriff of *York*, and Sir *Andrew Harkley* Conſtable of *Carliſle*, who ſlew the Earl of *Hereford* in ſtriving to paſs the Bridge, and took the Earl of *Lancaſter*, and divers other Lords, Priſoners. The King being at *Pomfret*, the Captive Lords were carry'd thither to him; and on the third Day after their coming, the King ſitting himſelf in Judgment, with *Edmund* Earl of *Kent* his Brother, the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Warren* [c], *Hugh Spencer*, lately created Earl of *Winchеſter*, and others gave Sentence of Death againſt *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter*, by drawing, hanging, and beheading as a Traitor, but the two firſt being pardoned, becauſe he was of the Royal Blood, he was beheaded the ſame Day without the Town of *Pomfret*, before his own Caſtle [d]. And by the like Judgment were condemned and executed at *York* the Lords *Roger Clifford*, *Warren*, *Liſle*, *William Tutchet*, *Thomas Mauditt*, *Henry Bradburn*, *William Fitz-Williams*, *William* Lord *Cheyney*, *Thomas* Lord *Moubray*, and *Jocelin* Lord *Danyll*. Shortly after the Lord *Henry Teyes* was taken, drawn, hang'd and quarter'd at *London*; the Lord *Aldenham* at *Windſor*, the Lords *Badleſmere* and *Aſhburnham* at *Canterbury*, the Lord *Gifford* at *Gloceſter*, principal Men in principal Places, to ſpread the Terror of their Actions over the Kingdom, all their Eſtates and Inheritances being confiſcated [e], and new Men put into them. And this was the firſt Blood of the Nobility, which was ſhed after this manner ſince the Conqueſt; which being ſo profuſely ſpilt, procured ſharp Revenge ſoon after.

A. D. 1322. Reg. 15.

The Barons conquer'd at Burton upon Trent, and at Borough-Brigs.

Several Barons taken Priſoners and Executed, which were the firſt ſo puniſhed.

The King, exalted with this Succeſs againſt his Barons, thought Fortune would now continually attend him; and therefore, as well to compleat his Conqueſts, as to keep the Minds and Hands of his People buſied, he marches from *York* with a mighty Hoſt into *Scotland*. He was but badly provided of Victuals for ſo great a Multitude; which the *Scots* having notice of, convey'd themſelves and all Succours out of the way; and thereby forced him to endure ſo great Wants, that he was conſtrained to return with Diſhonour, having conquer'd his Armies without Blows. In his Paſſage

The Kings Expedition into Scotland. 1322.

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[a] *Adam Murymuthe*, in his Hiſtory of this King, in *Magd. Coll.* Lib. in *Oxon*, writes, That the younger *Spencer* turned Pyrate, and robbed all the Merchant-Ships he could meet with.

[b] Sir *Roger Mortimer*, and ſome others of the impriſoned Lords, eſcaped out of Priſon, and fled into *France*.

[c] The King is ſaid to have uſed ſo much Severity againſt theſe Lords, by the Advice and Inſtigation of the *Spencers*, who thought, by thus removing their Enemies, to remain in the King's Favour without Diſturbance.

[d] This Earl of *Lancaſter* was reckoned a Saint by the common People, who loving him for his love of his Country, after he was dead, went in Pilgrimage to his Tomb; the *Spencers*, enraged at the Reſpect paid to his Memory, got the King to order a Guard to hinder the People's coming to the Monaſtery of *Pontefract*, where he was Buried; yet they did it privately. And in the next Reign a Church was built over his Tomb, and Queen *Iſabel* her ſelf wrote to the Pope to juſtifie the Miracles done there, and to deſire his Canonization, which indeed he deſerved much more than any of his Countrymen, who had acquired that Honour ſince the Conqueſt. For if the Love of his Country may be called Piety, he was truly and unalterably a pious Man, and was afterwards Canoniz'd, *Anno* 1389.

[e] The *Spencers* got the greateſt Share of them.

homeward,

A. D. 1323. Reg. 16.

homeward, when he had advanc'd a pretty way into his own Country, the *Scots* fall upon his Army unawares, took the Earl of *Richmond*, the King himſelf hardly eſcaping; and having ſpoil'd the Country as far as the Walls of *York*, return'd loaden with great Spoils. This was the Succeſs of this unfortunate King (who was not born for Triumphs) in his third Expedition into [a] *Scotland*. After this, the King being at leiſure, and in a calmer Humour it ſeems, began to reflect upon the Execution of the Earl of *Lancaſter*, which he diſcover'd upon this Occaſion. Some of his Courtiers making an earneſt Petition to him to pardon one of the Earl's Followers (a Man of low Degree) and preſſing him much to it, he burſts out into a Paſſion, and exclaims againſt them as unjuſt and wicked Counſellors, who can urge him ſo much to ſave the Life of a notorious Villain, but would not ſpeak one Word for his near Kinſman the Earl of *Lancaſter*, who, ſaid he, had he lived, might have been ſerviceable to me and the whole Kingdom; but this Fellow, the longer he lives the more Miſchief he'll do, and therefore by the Soul of God, he ſhall die the Death he hath deſerv'd. Sir *Andrew Harkley*, who took the Earl of *Lancaſter* Priſoner at *Borough-Brigs*, and for that Serve was advanced to the Earldom of *Carliſle*, enjoy'd his Honour but a little while; for the next Year, either through the Malice of the *Spencers*, who envy'd his Preferment, or elſe for joining with the *Scots* in hopes of a great Match (as was proved upon him) he was degraded of all his Honours, drawn, hang'd, and quarter'd at *London* for Treaſon [b], and is a remarkable Example of the Inſtability of Honour and Greatneſs under fickle and ill-governing Princes.

The King repents of his Execution of the Earl of Lancaſter.

1324. The important Buſineſs of the Nation at this time, and eſpecially the Summons ſent by the new King of *France*, *Charles the Fair*, who ſucceeded his Brother *Philip the Long*, to King *Edward* to come and do his Homage for his Province of *Gaſcoigne*, made it neceſſary for the Parliament to be called, and accordingly met. In it it was decreed by the common Conſent of all the Aſſembly, That the King ſhould not go in Perſon into *France* at that time, but ſend ſome principal Men to excuſe or defer his Appearance. In this Parliament the King requir'd a Subſidy both of the Clergy and Laity, for the Redemption of *John Brittain* Earl of *Richmond*, who was lately taken Priſoner by the *Scots*. But it was deny'd and alledg'd, 'That no Contribu-
'tion ought of right to be made for the Redemp-
'tion of any Perſon but King, Queen or Prince,
'and ſo nothing was gotten but more Anger kin-
'dled. At this Seſſion alſo the [c] Biſhop of *Hereford* was arreſted, and accuſed of High Treaſon before the King and his Council, for aiding the King's Enemies in their late Rebellion; but he refuſed to anſwer (being a conſecrated Biſhop) without leave of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, whoſe Suffragan he was, and who was his only proper Judge next under the Pope, or without the Conſent of his Fellow Biſhops, who thereupon aroſe and begged the King's Clemency to him: But finding him implacable, they took the Biſhop from the Bar, and deliver'd him to the Cuſtody of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, till the King ſhould appoint another time for his Anſwer to what he was charg'd with. Shortly after he was again taken and convented as before, which the Clergy underſtanding, the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, *York* and *Dublin*, with ten other Biſhops, went to the Place of Judgment with their Croſſes erected, and took him away with them, commanding all Men upon pain of Excommunication, to forbear to lay violent hands upon him. This audacious Act much diſpleaſed the King, who commanded, that Inquiry ſhould be made concerning the Objections brought againſt the Biſhop, *Ex Officio Judicis*; and being found guilty tho' abſent, all his Goods and Poſſeſſions were ſeiz'd into the King's hands. This Act of the King's loſt him the Clergy, and added much to the diſcontented Party of the Nation, which was now grown to be almoſt univerſal, except the *Spencers*, and their Followers; who being enrich'd with the Spoils of the Barons, govern'd all things as they pleas'd, ſelling the King's Favours, and ſuffering none to ſee him, but whom they liſt; and at length becoming ſo arbitrary in their Diſpoſals, that they preſum'd to abridge the Queen [d] of her Maintenance, and leſſen her Houſhold Train, which was the fatal Act that proved their undoing.

A. D. 1324. Reg. 17.

The Biſhop of Hereford accuſed of Treaſon, but refuſes to anſwer before Lay-Judges.

A Parliament call'd.

The Spencers arbitrary Actions.

While theſe things were done in *England*, Homage was neglected in *France*; whereupon the King of *France* proceeded ſo far, that all King *Edward*'s Territories there were adjudged to be forfeited, and many Places of Importance ſeiz'd upon by the *French*. The King ſent over his Brother *Edmund* into *Gaſcoigne* to ſecure his Dominions, and recover what was lately fall'n into the *French* hands, but to little purpoſe; the King of *France* was before him, and had gotten the People over to him, being the ſtronger ſide: So that nothing could be done, unleſs either the King would go over in Perſon, or ſend the Queen to her Brother to mediate a Peace, otherwiſe all was in danger to be loſt. As for the King's going in Perſon, the *Spencers* held it unſafe both for him and them, if he ſhould leave his Kingdom in ſo great and general Diſcontents, as then it was; wherefore the Queen, with a ſmall Train, is ſent over to accommodate the Buſineſs, which ſhe negotiated ſo well, that it was agreed, That all Quarrels ſhould end upon Condition, that the King of *England* would give to his Son *Edward* the Dutchy of *Aquitain*, with the Earldom of *Ponthieu*, and ſend him over to do Homage for the ſame; which, after many Conſultations, the King was perſuaded to yield unto. The Prince therefore is ſent with [e] the Biſhop of *Exeter*, and others, to the Court of the King of *France*, where he was moſt welcome to his Mother, who herein got her Aims; and being wholly bent upon Revenge (of which Women are uſually moſt eager) found there, as well as in *England*, enough to nouriſh that Humour in her; of whom the chief was *Roger Mortimer*, Lord of *Wigmore*, a gallant Gentleman, whom ſhe much favour'd, who had lately eſcap'd into *France* out of the Tower of *London*. The Biſhop of *Exeter* perceiving ſome Plots in hand, by their Conſultations, which they manag'd cloſely without him, withdraws ſecretly, and diſcovers to the King what he obſerved of their Actions. The King therefore ſends preſently for the Queen and the Prince, and ſolicits the King of *France*

The King's Dominions in France ſeized.

The Prince made Duke of Aquitain, and ſent to do Homage for it.

1325. *The Queen plots againſt the King, and is diſcover'd and baniſhed.*

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[a] Soon after a Peace was concluded by the King and the *Scots* for thirteen Years, by the Mediation of the Pope.

[b] He was degrated of his Honour before Execution, and is the firſt Inſtance of that kind in *Engliſh* Hiſtory.

[c] *Adam de Orleton*, a ſubtle, but factious Man.

[d] This was done by the *Spencers* Means, becauſe ſhe diſlik'd the King's Rigour to the Lords, tho' they pretended it was becauſe the King of *France*, her Brother, had invaded the King's Territories on that ſide.

[e] *Walter Stapleton*, a grave and wiſe Prelate.

to

A. D. 1326. Reg. 19.

to haſten their return: But when he ſaw it was neglected and delay'd, he cauſed them openly to be proclaim'd Enemies to the Kingdom, and baniſh'd them and all their Adherents, cauſing all the Ports to be ſtrongly kept, and ſending three Admirals, who ſhould wait on ſeveral Coaſts to oppoſe their landing. On the other ſide, as the King hath a faithful Subject, ſo had the Queen officious Perſons; who to enflame her againſt the King, and widen the Breach, inform'd her, That there was a Deſign in hand to murther her and the Prince: Whereupon ſhe having before found her Brother backward to countenance and aſſiſt her againſt her Husband, miſtruſted, that ſuch a Deſign would be entertain'd by the *French* Courtiers eaſily, through the Advantage of the *Spencers* Gold, and ſo withdrew to the Earl of *Henault*, being then a rich and potent Prince, and Earl of *Holland*, to whoſe Daughter *Philippa* ſhe contracted her Son the Prince, and gets both ſufficient Aid and Money of him to tranſport her ſafely into *England*. Arriving at *Harwich* [a], with the Prince, Earl of *Kent*, the King's Brother (whom ſhe brought with her from the Court of *France*) the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Lord *Roger Mortimer*, and *John* the Earl of *Henault*'s Brother, with 2500 *Henowayes* and *Flemings*: She was received with great Joy, and a general Concourſe of all the diſcontented Nobility, and others of the Nation, and eſpecially the Biſhops of *Hereford* and [b] *Lincoln*, who having loſt the King's Favour, ſought by this means to recover their Loſs by aſſiſting the Queen. The King having notice of the ſudden and ſafe Arrival of the Queen, demands aſſiſtance of the City of *London*; who returns anſwer, 'That they would 'with all Duty honour the King, Queen, and 'Prince; but would ſhut their Gates againſt all 'Foreigners and Traitors to the Realm, and with 'all their power withſtand them [c]. The King and his Council, not daring to rely upon ſuch an Anſwer, reſolved to leave them; and having firſt put out a Proclamation, that none upon pain of Death ſhould aſſiſt the Queen, but deſtroy all her Adherents, only her own Perſon, the Prince, and his Brother the Earl of *Kent*, excepted; and promiſing, That whoſoever ſhould bring the Head of *Roger Mortimer* ſhould have a thouſand Pounds. And committing the keeping of the Tower to Sir *John Weſton*, with the preſervation of his younger Son *John* of *Eltham*, and his Neice the Counteſs of *Gloceſter* (who was firſt the Wife of *Peirce Gaveſtone*, and now of *Hugh Spencer* the younger, a Lady always unfortunate by the overgreat Favour of her Husband) departed towards the Weſt, hoping to find as great aſſiſtance now as he had done before againſt the Barons; but he found the Caſe alter'd, and no Man regarded him, nor would be hired to fight for him. The Queen having an account of the King's Courſe and Deſign, marches after him (growing every Day ſtronger as ſhe went on) and comes to *Oxford*, where the Biſhop of *Hereford* preach'd before her, and the whole Aſſembly and Univerſity, taking for his Text, (2 *Kings* 4. 19.) *My Head aketh, my Head aketh*; from which he took occaſion to deliver the Cauſes of the Queen's proceedings againſt her Husband, and concluded at laſt moſt unlike a good Divine, *That an aking and ſick Head of a Kingdom is of neceſſity to be taken off, and not otherwiſe to be cured.* A moſt execrable Doctrine, as repugnant to that ſacred Word, which in all corrupted Times is produced by wicked Temporiſers, to abuſe Men's Credulities, and juſtifie the Impieties of ambitious and ill Men. And to countenance the Queen's proceedings the more, it was noiſed abroad, That two Cardinals were ſeen in her Camp, ſent by the Pope to excommunicate all ſuch as took up Arms againſt her, who ſought nothing by appearing in Arms, but to deliver the King and Kingdom from the *Spencers*, who were the Miſleaders of the King, and Deſtroyers of the Kingdom, and their Adherents [d], the Lord Chancellors and others; all other of the King's Subjects to be ſafe. And that ſhe might ſatisfie [e] all Perſons, ſhe put out a Proclamation, 'That nothing ſhould be taken from any Subject 'without paying ready Money, and a ſevere Penalty impoſed upon any one that ſhould dare 'to do the contrary; as, for the value of Three-pence to loſe a Finger; of Six-pence, an Hand; 'of a Shilling, the Head; and whoſoever brought 'to the Queen the younger *Spencer*'s Head ſhould 'have two thouſand Pounds. Thus was a bad Cauſe cover'd with a ſhew of Juſtice, and the unnatural Oppoſition of a Wife againſt an Huſband, and a Son againſt his Father, made plauſible and ſeemingly juſt by Power; which, tho' in factious Times it paſſed well enough, hath left an indeliable Mark of Ignominy and Diſgrace upon her Memory for ever.

The Queen invades England, *and is aſſiſted by Nobles and Biſhops.*

The King de-ſerted by his Subjects.

The Queen's Actions and Pretences in raiſing Arms.

The miſerable King having his Reputation (which is the main ſupport of Majeſty) lamentably torn in pieces by his Purſuers, found few or no Hands to aſſiſt him; ſo that after he had put *Hugh Spencer* the Father into the Caſtle of *Briſtol*, with ſuch Forces as he was able to provide for the defence of it, he leaves the Nation to his Truſt, and commits himſelf to the Sea, with a deſign either to conceal himſelf awhile in the Iſle of *Lundy*, or paſs over into *Ireland*; but being oppoſed by contrary Winds, and deſerted by thoſe few Attendants he had with him, *viz.* Sir *Thomas Blunt*, his Steward, and others, he was driven a-ſhoar in *Wales* in *Glamorganſhire*, where, tho' he found not Protection, he met with Love, and was hidden in the Abby of *Neth*. The Queen in the mean time goes with her Army from *Oxford* to *Gloceſter*, where the Lords *Peircy* and *Wake* met her with Aids from the North; and from thence ſhe marched to *Briſtol*, aſſaults and wins the Caſtle, and puts to Death the Defender *Hugh Spencer*, without Form or Trial of Law, cauſing him to be drawn and hang'd on the common Gallows in his Coat-Armour, cut up before he was dead, headed and quarter'd. This done, ſhe paſſes to *Hereford*, and the King being not to be found, a Proclamation was put out, 'That if he would 'come and govern the Nation, as he ought to 'do, he ſhould again be accepted as King with 'a general Conſent. But the King, either not daring to truſt himſelf to them, or not having ſufficient Information, ſtill concealed himſelf; and thereupon they took the advantage to diſpoſe of the Government, and the Prince, who was now under their Care and Management, was made Guardian of the Kingdom, hath Fealty ſworn to him, and a new Chancellor and Treaſurer are appointed. But the King was too great to be concealed long; and being diſcover'd, was by *Henry* Earl of *Lancaſter*, Brother to the late *Thomas*, *William* Lord *Zouch*, and *Ries ap Howell*, taken

The King aſperſed and abandoned.

Hugh Spencer *put to Death.*

The King impriſon'd by certain Barons.

a She Landed at *Orewel*, near *Harwich*, on the 22d of *September*, 1326.

b *Henry Burwaſh*, who for Aiding the Rebellious Lords, was a little before deprived of his Temporalties.

c 'Twas not this part of their Anſwer that the King diſliked, but that which follows, *That they were not willing to march out of their City to fight, unleſs according to the Liberties granted them, they could return the ſame Day before Sun-ſet.*

d Sir *Roger Baldocke.* e She alſo gave leave to all Perſons, that were baniſhed in the late Diſſentions, to return to their Eſtates and Friends; whereby ſhe engaged many Malecontents firmly to her Party.

A. D. 1326. Reg. 19.

and convey'd to the Caſtle of *Kenelworth*. The younger *Spencer*, with *Baldocke* the Chancellor, and *Simon Reading*, who were apprehended with him, were ſent to the Queen to *Hereford*. *Spencer*, who was at this time Earl of *Gloceſter*, is drawn and hang'd on a Gallows fifty Foot high, in his Coat-Armour, on which it was written, *Quid gloriaris in Militiâ*, Pſ. 52. *Simon Reading* was hang'd ten Foot lower than he. But *Baldocke*, becauſe he was [a] a Prieſt had the Favour to be pined to Death in *Newgate* [b]. And here likewiſe a little before was the Earl of *Arundell*, with two Barons, *John Danyll* and *Thomas Micheldever* [c] executed as Traitors [d], by the procurement of *Roger Mortimer*, for adhering [e] to the King's Party. And that the Mob may not fail to act its part in every Rebellion, the Commons of *London* riſe, and force their Mayor, who held his Loyalty, to joyn with them to let out all Priſoners, poſſeſs themſelves of the Tower, put to Death the Conſtable of it Sir *John Weſton*, and murther'd the Biſhop of *Exeter*, whom they hated, becauſe when he was the King's Treaſurer he cauſed the Juſtices Itinerant to ſit in *London*, who laid heavy Fines upon them. And thus all things were in Confuſion.

1327. *The King depoſed by a Parliament, and the Prince choſen.*

After a Month's ſtay at *Hereford*, the Queen return'd with the Prince, and kept her *Chriſtmas* at *Wallingford*, and her *Candlemas* at *London*, where the Parliament being aſſembled, agreed to depoſe the King as unfit to govern, objecting many Articles againſt him, and to elect his eldeſt Son *Edward*, which they did in the great Hall at *Weſtminſter*, with the univerſal Conſent of the People there preſent; and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* made a Sermon upon this Text, *Vox Populi, Vox Dei* [f], exhorting the People to pray to the King of Kings for him that they had choſen. The Queen ſeeing what was done, began now ſeriouſly to reflect upon her ſelf, and her own Actions, which were the cauſe of it; and either out of remorſe of Conſcience, or trouble for the loſs of her own Dignity, ſhewed great diſcontent at this Election, inſomuch that her Son to comfort her was forced to ſwear, *That he would not accept of the Crown without the conſent of his Father*. This Reſolution of the Prince produced a common Decree in Parliament, 'That [g] three Biſhops, two Earls, two Abbots, four Barons, three Knights of every Shire, with a certain number of Burgeſſes of every City and Borough, and eſpecially of the Cinque-ports, ſhould be ſent to the King at *Kenelworth*, to declare unto him the Election of his Son, and to require of him the Renunciation of his Crown and Royal Dignity; whereunto, if he refuſed to conſent, the State were reſolved to proceed as they thought fit, and renouncing his Children, chooſe whom they pleaſed. The King being firſt *privately* acquainted with the Meſſage, which was one of the moſt ungrateful that could be ſent to any Prince, was after by two, whom he chiefly hated, the Biſhops of *Hereford* and *Lincoln*, brought before the Aſſembly. When they had deliver'd their Meſſage [h] he ſaid to them (as ſoon as his Paſſion would give him leave) 'He confeſſed that he had been miſguided (the common Excuſe of a poor Spirit) and done many things, of which he now repented; and which, if he were to govern again, he would amend; and was very ſorry to have ſo much offended the State, as they utterly ſhould reject him: But yet thanked them, that they were ſo favourable to him as to chooſe his eldeſt Son for King. Having ſaid this, they proceeded to the Ceremony of his Reſignation, which conſiſted chiefly in the ſurrendering his Crown, and other Enſigns of Majeſty, to the Uſe of his Son. The Form was perfectly new, becauſe it was the firſt that ever was known in *England*, and therefore could have no Precedent. But *William Truſſell*, a Judge, put it into the Stile of the Law, to render it more Authentical, and pronounced the ſame in this manner: 'I *William Truſſell*, in the Name of the Men of the Land of *England*, and of all the Parliament, Procurator, reſign to thee *Edward*, the Homage that was made to thee ſome time ſince; and from this time forward now following, I defie thee, and prive thee of all thy Royal Power; and I ſhall never be tendant on thee, as King, from this time. Thus was the laſt Act, and firſt Example of a depoſed King, no leſs diſhonourable to the Nation, than unto him. He was a Prince more weak than Evil. His Faults in Government were many, but not ſo many as thoſe of his People to him, in dealing ſo roughly and uncivilly with him. He is reported by ſome to have been Learned (which perhaps might make him the ſofter) and written Verſes when he was in Priſon. He is ſaid to have been the Founder of *Orial*-College and S. *Mary*-Hall in *Oxford*.

A. D. 1327. Reg. 20.

The King brought to reſign his Crown by Threats.

The Form of Reſignation.

He had by his Wife *Iſabel* two Sons; *Edward*, born at *Windſor*, who ſucceeded; and *John*, ſurnam'd *of Eltham*, who was created Earl of *Cornwall*, 1315. and dy'd in the Flower of his Age in *Scotland*: And two Daughters, *Joanna* marry'd to *David* Prince of *Scotland*, and *Eleanor* to the Duke of *Gelders*.

His Iſſue.

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES *in the Reign of* Edward II.

SOme time before *Chriſtmas*, in the 9th Year of his Reign, a Blazing-Star or Comet appear'd in the North, was ſeen for a Month together, and was the Forerunner of a Famine and a Mortality. The Dearth was occaſion'd by prodigious Rains in the Summer, which hinder'd the People's getting in their Corn; and what was got in yielded very little. Wheat was ſold for forty Shillings a Quarter, as much as eight Pound now; and a Murrain deſtroy'd the Cattle.

[a] He was Biſhop of *Norwich*. [b] *Thomas* of *Walſingham* in his Chronicle relates, That *Baldocke* the King's Chancellor was committed firſt to the Biſhop of *London*'s Priſon, from whence he was pulled out by the common People of *London* to be carried to *Newgate*; but they beat him ſo cruelly by the way, that he Died of his Bruiſes in great Torment.

[c] *Thomas Micheldene*. [d] They were condemned by Judge *Truſſel*.

[e] *Walter Reynolds*, who, tho' preferred by the King, yet was carried down with the Current.

[f] This Sermon was preach'd at his Coronation. *T. Walſingham*.

[g] *John de Stratford* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Adam de Orleton* Biſhop of *Hereford*, and *Henry Burwaſh*: The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* favoured the King's Right; but the other two were his bitter Enemies, yet they were ſent firſt to the King, partly to perſuade, and partly to terrifie him. Sir *Thomas de la More* in his Hiſtory writes, That the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and the Biſhop of *Lincoln* were the two Biſhops that were ſent before to the King, to bring him to it.

[h] He fell into a Swoon, and had fall'n to the Ground, had he not been ſupported by the Earl of *Lancaſter*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

The

E. Lovett delin.
P. Vanderbanck Sculp.
KING EDWARD THE III.rd

The next Year the Famine continuing, the Poor were forced to eat Horſe-fleſh, Dogs and Cats; and there was not ſufficient, even of that vile Food, to keep them alive. Wheat was ſold for near 3 *l.* a Quarter, and the Mortality rag'd as violently as in the Year preceeding. *Holinſhead.*

In his 12th Year on the 14th of *November*, the greateſt Earthquake happen'd that had been known in *England*, to the unſpeakable Terrour of Men, Women, and Children.

In his 20th Year the Biſhop of *Exeter*, *Walter de Stapleton*, Founder of *Exeter* College and *Hart* Hall in *Oxford*, was kill'd in an Inſurrection of the People at *London*. He was a Miniſter of State in *Edward* II's Reign, and ſided with the Courtiers.

The Barons of greateſt Fame in his Reign were,

Thomas Plantagenet Earl of *Lancaſter*, *Humphry de Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford* and *Eſſex*, the Lords *Audley*, *Mowbray*, *Clifford* and *Teis*, who all dy'd in defence of the Liberties of the People; *Roger Mortimer*, and *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, the King's Uncle, great Captains.

In his Time flouriſh'd ſeveral Men of Letters, as

John Duns, ſurnam'd *Scotus*, the Schoolman, *Nicholas de Lyra* an *Engliſh* Convert Jew, who wrote ſeveral Treatiſes againſt the Rabbins; *William Ochham*, who wrote againſt *John Duns* and againſt the Pope, in behalf of the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*; *Robert Perſcrutator* a *Yorkſhire* Man, ſuppos'd to be a Magician. *Robert Baſton* a Carmelite Fryar of *Scarborough*, whom King *Edward* took with him into *Scotland* to write his Hiſtory of that War, but the Succeſs of it ſav'd *Boſton* the Trouble; *Ralph Baldock* Biſhop of *London*, Sir *Thomas de la More*, and *Thomas Haſelwood*, a Canon of *Leeds* in *Kent*, who wrote *Chronicon Compendiarium*, Hiſtorians. *Robert Walſingham* a Carmelite Fryar, *John Wilton* an Auguſtine Fryar, *Walter Winterborne*, *Ralph Lockſly*, *Nic. Stanford*, *William Whitby*, *Thomas Joice*, *Walter Joice*, *William Gainsborough*, *John Horminger* of *Suffolk*, *Robert Blitton* a Carmelite Fryar of *Lincolnſhire*, *John* of *Bromham* a Carmelite Fryar, Dr. *Thomas Chabham* a Canon of *Salisbury*, *Robert* of *Plympton* a regular Canon in *Devonſhire*, *Thomas Caſtleford* a Monk of *Pomfret*, *William Mansfield*, *John Canon*, *Robert Grime*, *William Askettle* of *Beverly*, *Jeffrey* of *Cornwall*, *John Gattſden*, *Theobald Anglicus*, *Steph. Eiton*, *John Goldſton*, *John Winchelſey*, *Ralph Acton* a notable Divine, *John Dumbleton* a Logician, *Thomas Langford* of *Malden* the ſame, *Osbert Pickenham* a Carmelite Fryar of *Linne* in *Norfolk*, *Richard Wallingford*, *Robert Carew*, *Richard Belgrave* a Carmelite Fryar, and Fryar *Brinkly*.

THE LIFE and REIGN OF EDWARD III.

Edward *the third King of* England, *by his Father's Reſignation crowned.*

EDWARD III. being thus made King by the Reſignation of his Father *Edward* II. the late King, began his Reign *Jan.* 20. 1327. being about fourteen Years of Age, and immediately ſends out his Proclamations for the Preſervation of the Peace into all Counties, in this Form; 'Edward by the Grace 'of God, King of *England*, Lord of *Ireland*, and 'Duke of *Aquitain*, To *N. N.* our Sheriff of *S.* 'greeting. Whereas the Lord *Edward*, the late 'King of *England*, our Father, by the Common 'Council and Aſſent of their Prelates, Earls, Ba-'rons, and other chief Men, with the whole Com-'monalty of this Realm, did voluntarily amove 'himſelf from the Government thereof, willing 'and granting that we his Eldeſt Son and Heir 'ſhould aſſume the Government of the ſame, &c. A Preamble intended to palliate the Wrong done to his Father, but indeed making it more apparent[a]. Five days after he was crown'd at *Weſtminſter*, by *Walter* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; but the Queen ſeem'd much troubled and grieved at it, till ſhe was pacified ſoon after by a great Enlargement of her Joynture, the King ſettling upon her three parts of his Revenue. The Management of the Kingdom was the next thing to be conſider'd, which was put into the hands of twelve of the moſt able, and grave Stateſmen during the King's Minority, till he ſhould be of Age to govern it himſelf; which were the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, the Biſhops of *Hereford*, *Winchester*, and *Worceſter*, *Thomas Brotherton* Earl Marſhal, *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, *John* Earl *Warren*, *Thomas* Lord *Wake*, *Henry* Lord *Peircy*, *Oliver* Lord *Ingham*, and *John* Lord *Roſſe*[b]: But the Queen and *Mortimer* uſurped their Charge, and left them nothing but a Name of Governours. And the firſt thing that was acted by this new King by their Advice, was an Expedition into

[a] The Reader will all along perceive, that this Author is no Friend to the Barons, and their Cauſe.

[b] *Henry* Earl of *Lancaſter* was deputed to have the Care of his Perſon.

A. D. 1327. Reg. 1.

An Expedition into Scotland, but unſucceſsful.

Scotland, undertaken not only to recover the Honour of the Nation, but to keep Mens Minds buſie at preſent, and uphold the Change; and hither not only a conſiderable Body of *Engliſh* are ſent, but all the Strangers which were brought over with the Queen under the Conduct of the Lord *John Beaumont*, the Earl of *Henault*'s Brother, and at *York* the whole Army met, where the *Engliſh* (being not all of a Party) quarrel with the foreign Aids, and ſo great a Conteſt roſe between them, that ſome Blood was ſpilt, and it was very hardly appeaſed. At *Stanhope* Park the *Engliſh* came to an Engagement with the *Scots*, and tho' the *Engliſh* were treble the number, and might eaſily have conquer'd them; yet through the Treaſon of ſome great Men (as it was reported) they all eſcap'd, and nothing remarkable was done, and ſo the young King, who was born for Victories, was deprived of the Honour of this his firſt Action; which being undertaken by others Advice, was not ſo diſhonourable unto him as it was to others. However, upon his return, all the Henoways and Stipendiary Soldiers were ſent home.

The depoſed King kept Priſoner under ſevere Keepers.

During this Expedition, the diſpoſed King remained a Priſoner at *Kenelworth*, under an Allowance of an hundred Marks a Month for his Expences, and depriv'd of all the Comforts the World ſhould yield him. His Wife, whom he loved greatly (tho' now the Author of all his Miſery) ſends him fine Cloaths, and kind Letters, but deny'd him her Preſence (tho' it was often deſired by the King by Letters) upon a Pretence, that ſhe was not allowed to come to him by the State. But after the King's return, he was removed, becauſe he was not thought ſafe enough, nor look'd ſo ſtrictly to as he ought, being in Cuſtody of his Uncle [a] the Earl of *Lancaſter*, and [b] was committed to more faithful Keepers, two Men of the moſt rough Natures that could be found, the Lord *Matrevers* [c] and Sir *Thomas Gourney* the Elder; who immediately remov'd him from thence, and put him into the Caſtle of *Barkley* in *Gloceſterſhire*, where he ſtay'd not long, but he was removed to *Corfe* Caſtle, and from thence from one place to another to diſappoint his Friends; who, they fear'd, were laying of Plots to [d] reſtore him, till at laſt they brought him in a Diſguiſe, having ſhorn his Head with cold Water [e] in the open Fields, while he ſat upon a Mole-hill, to *Barkley* Caſtle again; where ſhortly after, *Gourney* and *Matrevers* cauſed him to be murther'd in a moſt barbarous manner, by thruſting up an hot Iron into his Bowels through an hollow Inſtrument put up into his Fundament, by which means no outward Sign appear'd to diſcover his Death; for his Body being afterwards laid forth to be viewed by many ſubſtantial Citizens of *Gloceſter* [f] (who were ſummon'd for that purpoſe) they could find no ſign either of Wound or Poiſon; ſo that they concluded that he dy'd of Grief, as was reported. Thus dy'd *Edward* II. within eight Months after he was depoſed, and was buried in the Abby Church of the Benedictines at *Gloceſter*. The Actors of this cruel Deed, *Gourney* and *Matrevers*, tho' they had a Commiſſion from the Queen to do as they did; yet ſhe being aſham'd to own it, they dare not undergo the Tryal, but preſently fled their Country. *Gourney*, three Years after was taken at *Marſeilles*, but was murther'd in his Paſſage into *England*, that he might not diſcover who ſet him a-work, and *Matrevers* lurked a long time in *Germany*. But this Deed coſt more Trouble and Blood afterwards; for the Judgments of God fell heavily, not only upon the Contrivers of this Wickedneſs, but upon the whole Kingdom in general, and the King's Poſterity and Nobilities and Children in particular; as the many Bloody Scaffolds, infinite Slaughter and civil Wars of the Nation in after Ages, will plainly prove, tho' for the preſent the Authors of it, the Queen and *Mortimer* lately created Earl of *March*, proſper'd and govern'd all to the no ſmall Diſſatisfaction of the Nation, which brought forth new Factions, according to the Nature of thoſe turbulent Times.

A. D. 1327. Reg. 1.

God's Judgments upon the Murtherers and Contrivers of his Death.

1328. *The King's Marriage, and a Parliament called.*

The King's Marriage with *Philippa* of *Henault* was now ſolemniz'd, and a Parliament is held at *Northampton*, at which a diſhonourable Peace is concluded with the *Scots*, and confirm'd by a Match between *David Bruce* Prince of *Scotland*, Son of *Robert Bruce*, the preſent King, and *Joanna* Siſter to the King of *England*; which Match, by reaſon of the tender Age of the Prince, could promiſe but little good to the Nation. Beſides, by the ſecret Contrivance of the Queen Mother, *Roger Mortimer* [g], lately made Earl of *March*, and Sir *James Douglaſſe*, 'The King ſurrenders by 'his Charter his Title and Sovereignty to the 'Kingdom of *Scotland*, reſtores many Deeds and 'other Inſtruments of their former Homage and 'Fealty, with the famous Evidence call'd the 'h *Ragman Roll*, and many ancient Jewels and 'Monuments; among which, was one of great 'Value, call'd the *Black Croſs of* Scotland, *&c.* 'and beſides, all *Engliſhmen* were not permitted 'to hold any Lands in *Scotland*, unleſs they 'would dwell there. In Conſideration of which Grants, King *Bruce* was to pay the King thirty thouſand [i] Marks. Shortly after a Parliament was held at *Wincheſter*, where *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, Brother to the late depoſed King, is accus'd and condemn'd by his own Confeſſion, for endeavouring to reſtore his Brother, and conferring with divers great Men concerning the ſame, without any Matter of Fact [k]. This miſerable Earl ſtood on the Scaffold from one till five a Clock in the Afternoon, and no Man would execute him; but at length, a ſilly Wretch of the

The depoſed King murther'd.

Edmund *Earl of* Kent *beheaded for endeavouring to reſtore his Brother the depoſed King.*

[a] He was not his Uncle, but his Coſin being Brother of *Thomas*, and Son of *Edmund* Earl of *Lancaſter*, who was his Uncle.

[b] By the Queen and *Mortimer*'s Order, but ſigned with the King's hand.

[c] Sir *John Matrevers*.

[d] King *Edward* had many Friends, who wiſh'd at leaſt, if they did not endeavour, to reſtore him to his Crown. The whole Order of the Friars-Preachers zealouſly maintain'd his Right, and are ſaid to have contriv'd his Reſtoration; which to avoid, the Queen and *Mortimer* are reported to have ſent private Orders to his barbarous Keepers to diſpatch him: But tho' they ſpared no other ill Uſage, yet they were a little ſtartled at this, and ſent to the Biſhop of *Hereford*, a fit Caſuiſt; who was, it's thought, the Adviſer of it, to know whether it were lawful. The Biſhop willing to further it, but not to ſeem ſo, ſent them this Anſwer, *To kill King* Edward *you need not to fear it is good*; which Anſwer, by putting a Comma in different Places, is a Plea for himſelf, and Encouragement to them, but the latter is moſt obvious, and no doubt he deſign'd it.

[e] Taken out of a Ditch. [f] The Prior of *Briſtol* and Abbot of *Glouceſter* were ſummoned to view the Body.

[g] He was made Earl of *March* in the Parliament held at *Saliſbury* in *Auguſt* 1328. and that at *Northampton*, where the ſhameful Peace was concluded with the *Scots*, was holden in the *March* before.

[h] The *Ragman-Roll* was a Security and Memorial of the Fealty and Homage, which the *Scots* ought to pay to the Kings of *England*.

[i] *Henry de Knighton* ſays twenty Thouſand, and *Mortimer* had the Money.

[k] This Earl's Son *Edmund* petitioned the King in the next Parliament, That the Judgment againſt his Father might be Reverſed, for that his Father had been falſly accuſed by *Roger Mortimer*, Sir *John Matrevers*, and their Accomplices, and made to believe that King *Edward* was alive after he was murthered. 'Tis ſaid, that accordingly the Earl entred into a Plot for his Delivery out of *Corfe* Caſtle, where the Traytors who had deceived him pretended he was ſtill confined.

Marſhalſea

A. D. 1328. Reg. 2.

Marſhalſea cut off his Head[a]. But theſe Courſes in a new Alteration could not laſt long without producing another. Wherefore a Parliament being call'd at *Nottingham*, the Queen and *Mortimer*, who had long bore the blame of every thing done amiſs in the Government, were ſtriped of all their Power and Glory; the Queen hath her great Joynture taken from her, and is put to a Penſion of a thouſand Pound a Year. *Mortimer* is accuſed 'to have procured the late King's Death, 'to have been a means of the *Scots* eſcape at 'Stanhope-Park, for which he had a Bride of twenty thouſand Pounds; to have procured the late 'Marriage and Peace with *Scotland*, which was 'ſo diſhonourable to the King and Kingdom; to 'have conſumed the King's Treaſure, beſides all 'that was taken from the *Spencers*; to have been 'too familiar[b] with the Queen, *&c.* And for theſe heinous Offences he is condemned of High-Treaſon, ſent up to *London*, drawn and hang'd at the common Gallows at the *Elms*, now called *Tyburn*[c]; there his Body remained two Days a Spectacle of Diſgrace to all Beholders. And thus was the Cruelty and Ambition of *Mortimer* juſtly rewarded, and an Example of Terror given to the other Miniſters about the King, who being now come to Age, wanted nothing but faithful Miniſters to direct him in ſuch Courſes as might be moſt honourable for himſelf and the Kingdom, being of a Spirit able and bold enough to go thro' with any brave Actions, of which he had variety that offer'd themſelves.

Mortimer *hang'd at* Tyburn.

King Edward *ſummon'd to do Homage to the King of* France.

And firſt a new King of *France* lately crown'd upon the Death of *Charles* the Fair, lately deceaſed without Iſſue-male, requires his Homage for the Dutchy of *Guien*, and other Lands, held of the Crown of *France*, according to the Cuſtom; to which, tho' King *Edward* was ſuppoſed to have the better Right, yet becauſe *Philip de Valois* was now in Poſſeſſion of the ſame, and himſelf young, and his own Kingdom factious, turbulent and unſettled, he was not able to debate his Title otherwiſe than by Law (which ſeldom gets a Crown) and therefore willing to yield to Neceſſity, he went over in perſon into *France* to perform this Ceremony, which did much prejudice his Claim afterwards, and took from the Juſtice of his Cauſe; becauſe by this Act he ſeem'd to acknowledge the Right of his Competitor. The Caſe of theſe Princes ſtood thus: *Philip* the Fair, the Father of *Iſabel* King *Edward*'s Mother, had three Sons, *Lewis*, *Philip*, and *Charles*, who were all ſucceſſively Kings of *France*, and dy'd without Male-iſſue; for tho' *Lewis* the eldeſt Son had a Daughter, whom *Eudes* Earl of *Bologne* would have brought to the Crown, yet becauſe it was judged to be contrary to the *Salick Law* for a Woman to ſucceed, *Philip* the next Brother was received for King, who alſo leaving only four Daughters, *Charles* ſucceeded by the ſame Law without any oppoſition. *Charles* dying, left his Wife new with Child, and ſo the Kingdom to be under a Regency till it could be known whether it were a Son. *Philip de Valois*, the firſt Prince of the Blood, Son of *Charles de Valois*, the Brother of *Philip* the Fair, claimed the Regency as belonging to him; but *Edward* King of *England* put in for it as his Right, being a nearer Relation to the deceaſed Kings; but the Regency was entruſted to *Philip*, becauſe he deſcended from a Brother more capable of the Crown than a Daughter, of which *Edward* was deſcended.

King Edward's *Title to the Crown of* France.

And thus things remained till the Queen was deliver'd, which happen'd to be a Daughter; and *Philip* was received and crowned King of *France* by the *Salick Law*, maintain'd to be inviolable. *Robert de Artois*, a Peer of great Power, was a principal means of his Preferment, and the Excluſion of *Edward*. Shortly after this Settlement of the *French* Crown, *Edward* was ſummon'd to pay his Homage, and accordingly met King *Philip* at *Amiens*, where two Points were chiefly debated by the Council of both Kings. 1. Concerning the Quality of the Homage pretended to be due by the Council of King *Philip*, but deny'd by King *Edward*'s. 2. About the Lands in *Guien*, which the laſt King *Charles* had detained from *Edward*, of which his Council required Reſtitution, as belonging to his Dutchy. The Reſolution of this laſt Point was eaſie, becauſe of the Treaty made between the ſaid King *Charles* and *Edward* the Second the laſt of *May*, 1325. wherein their Rights were ſecured by mutual Proteſtations, and Homage received, and paid to the ſaid King *Charles* by the ſaid *Edward* before he was King; which Proteſtations were repeated, and agreed to be followed in this, with a Covenant, That if King *Edward*, would purſue his Right in Parliament, he ſhould have Juſtice done him for the things in Controverſie. But as for the Point concerning the Quality of his Homage it was agreed in general, That it ſhould be done and received according to the uſual manner of the former Kings; and a ſufficient time was granted to King *Edward*, to enquire of it, and make Declaration of it; which being done, King *Edward* upon the 6th of *June*, 1329. in a Crimſon Velvet Gown, embroider'd with Leopards, with his Crown on his Head, his Sword by his Side, and Golden Spurs on his Heels, preſents himſelf in the body of the Cathedral Church at *Amiens* before King *Philip*, ſitting in a Chair of State in a Velvet Gown of Violet-Colour embroider'd with Flower-de-luces of Gold, his Crown on his Head, and his Scepter in his Hand, with all his Princes and Peers about him[d]. Then the Viſcount *Melun* Chamberlain of *France* firſt orders King *Edward* to put off his Crown, his Sword, and his Spurs, and kneel down, which he did on a Crimſon Velvet Cuſhion before King *Philip*; and then the Viſcount putting both his Hands together between the Hands of the King of *France*, pronounced the Words of the Homage, which were theſe: 'You ſhall become Liegeman to the 'King my Maſter here preſent, as Duke of *Guien* 'and Peer of *France*, and you promiſe to bear 'Faith and Loyalty to him. Say *Yea*; and King *Edward* ſaid *Yea*, and kiſſed the King of *France*, as Lord of the Fee, on the Mouth. The like Homage he did for the Earldom of *Ponthieu*. This Act of Submiſſion, tho' condeſcended to by the King at that Juncture, yet he took himſelf wronged by *Philip* in exacting it ſo punctually of him, and was thereby ſo highly provoked and angred, that he reſolved upon a Revenge, which he ſo ſeverely performed afterward, as not only *Philip* himſelf, but all *Chriſtendom* wiſhed the Ceremony had been ſpared.

A. D. 1331. Reg. 5.

Philip de Valois *made King of* France, *and* Edward *pays Homage.*

The Ceremony of paying Homage.

At King *Edward*'s return home, he met with a Diverſion from his Deſigns upon *France* by an occaſion of the Alteration of Affairs in *Scotland*. The late Peace concluded with them was held ſo diſhonourable by the King, that it was no ways convenient to keep it: However, that he

K. Edward *breaks with* Scotland.

[a] He was Beheaded at *Wincheſter* on the 19th of *March*, 1329.
[b] She was commonly reported to have been with Child by him.
[c] *Mortimer* was Hanged on the 29th of *November*, 1330. after King *Edward* had been in *France* to do Homage.
[d] The *French* King invited the Kings of *Bohemia* and *Navarre* to be preſent at this Solemnity.

might

A. D. 1331. Reg. 5.

might not seem to break it[a] he took the opportunity of their Differences to set it aside after this manner: The Minority of the present King (which is the misery of Kingdoms) being attended with the Emulations and Factions of the great Men, encouraged *Edward Baliol*, Son of *John Baliol*, (some time King of *Scotland*) thirty two Years after his Father's Deposition, to attempt the Recovery of that Crown; and accordingly by the Sollicitation of his Friends he comes out of *France*, where he had all that while remained, into *England*, where he was permitted underhand to get Aid; which all those *Scots* and *English*, which were of a Faction contrary to *Bruce* readily offer'd him, and with them he suddenly assaults the Governours of the Kingdom in the Nonage of the young King *David* (who was at that time with the King of *France*) and overcame them in a Battel, wherein many Noblemen, and thousands of the Common-people were slain, and thereupon was immediately crown'd King of *Scotland* at *Scone*. But his Party not being so strong as to maintain what he had gotten, or defend him in the Possession of it against those that opposed him, he was forced, notwithstanding his first Victory, to return again into *England* to get more assistance of King *Edward*, who now shews himself in the Quarrel, joyns with *Baliol* against his Brother-in-law King *David*, and goes in Person with a strong Army to recover *Berwick*, which after three Months Siege, being valiantly defended by the Lord *Seton*, was again taken, and the whole Army of *Scots*, which came to relieve it at *Halidown*-Hill, utterly defeated and routed, with the slaughter of seven Earls, nine hundred Knights and Baronets, four hundred Squires, and about thirty two thousand common Soldiers, as our Writers report, but theirs say but fourteen thousand[b]; and thus was *Baliol* brought through a torrent of Blood to the Crown of *Scotland* again. In the Siege of *Berwick*[c] one memorable Action of the Lord *Seton* is not to be pass'd over, related by the *Scotch* Writers, which is this: When the Lord *Seton* saw that the Relief he expected failed, and the Assaults of the Enemies were very violent, so that he could not hold out, he conditioned with King *Edward*, That if he had not Relief by such a time[d] he would surrender the Town to him, and for the assurance of this Promise delivers him two of his Sons. King *Edward* soon after having notice of the approach of the *Scotch* Army, that it was greater, and came with more speed than was expected, and would be there before the Day, summons the Lord *Seton* to render the Town presently, otherwise he would execute his two Sons before his Face; and withal a Gallows is prepared within sight of the Town, and the young Gentlemen brought forth and put under the Executioner's Hands. The Lord seeing this, was doubtful what to do, being distracted between Love and Duty, till his Wife, the Mother of those Sons, and a Lady of masculine Courage, comes to him and exhorts him 'to remember his Allegiance sworn to the King, the 'Love he owes to his Country, and the Dignity 'of his noble Family; that they had other Children left, if these were destroy'd, and themselves not so old, but that they might have 'more; That if they should be preserved from 'Death now, they might perish otherwise soon 'upon a worse occasion; That it would be an 'eternal Blemish upon his Name to yield up a 'Place committed to his Charge, and yet it is 'uncertain whether he could preserve his Children's Lives by it; for how could he trust that 'King who had broken his Promise already, and 'therefore besought him not to prefer an uncertain and momentary Advantage before a certain and perpetual Ignominy. And so having recover'd his Resolution to hold it out, she withdrew him from the Walls of the Town, that he might not see the Sufferings of his innocent Children.

A. D. 1331. Reg. 5.

K. Edward joins with Baliol the new King of Scots.

A Brave Action of the Lord Seton, Governour of Berwick.

The next Year after this Battel at *Hallidown*-Hill, *Edmund Baliol* King of *Scots* did Homage to the King of *England*[e], as his superiour Lord, at *New-Castle*, and took his Oath of Fealty, binding 'himself and his Heirs to hold that Kingdom of 'him and his Successors for ever, with the Inheritance of five Countries next adjoyning to 'the Borders. So large a part of his Kingdom was he willing to part with, rather than be in danger of losing the whole; which yet was so far from securing his peaceable Enjoyment of it, that it rather embroiled the whole, by reason of the Discontent which most of the Nobility of *Scotland* took at this Act of Alienation of their Country; so that it created both Princes much Trouble, and cost a great Expence of Treasure to keep what they had gotten. The King of *England* had a fifteenth of their Laity, a twelfth of the Cities and Boroughs, and a tenth of the Clergy, in a Parliament held at *London*, granted to him for these Wars; and three Years together he went in Person with his Army into those parts, and never returned without so great Destruction and Bloodshed, that it is admirable how such a small Country could find so many Men to maintain their Quarrel, and fight for such barren Deserts. But *Edward* prosecuted the Business of *Scotland*, not meerly to be Master of it, but so to settle it as that it might not be an hindrance to his greater Designs upon *France*, which he chiefly intended, and was the sooner put upon by the Instigation of *Robert de Artoys*, who being driven out of the Kingdom by King *Philip* his Brother-in-law, came over into *England*, and was here entertain'd with great Honour. This *Robert* was a Prince of the Blood Royal of *France*, being descended of *Robert* the Son of *Lewis* VIII. Brother of S. *Lewis*. He had long Contention with *Maud* his Aunt, Countess of *Burgogne*, about the Earldom of *Artois*, and

1333. *King Baliol does homage for Scotland to Edward.*

A Parliament at London.

Robert de Artoys instigates K. Edward against the French King.

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a King *Edward* also required Homage of the young King *David*, but was refused; which gave him a just ground for this Expedition, when an Occasion offered, as it did in *Baliol*'s Cause.

b This Battel, according to *Henry de Knighton*, was fought on the 19th of *July*, 1333. and all the *Scotish* Historians place it under the same Year.

c This Story is taken out of *Hector Boethius*, a *Scotch* Historian, but a Writer of no very good Credit, and seems designed not so much to honour the Name of the Lord *Seton*, as to blacken the Memory of this great Prince *Edward* III. for which Reasons 'tis rejected as a Calumny against the King by our *English* Writers of Judgment.

d By two Manuscripts the Chronicle of *Lanercost* in the *Cotton*. Library, and *Scala Chronicon* a *French* Manuscript in *Bennet*-College Library in *Cambridge*, it appears, that after the fifteen Days Truce made with *Alexander Seton* was expired, the King summoned the Town; *Seton* answer'd, *He did not yet doubt of Relief, and did not think himself obliged to surrender it.* The King reply'd, *That no Relief being come, he expected the Performance of the Treaty.* The Governour prevaricating with him, he order'd one of his Sons, and not both to be hang'd (by the Advice of his Council) and upon this the Garrison and Townsmen came to new Terms, to have the Truce prolong'd for eight Days; in which time, if they were not reliev'd, they would yield up the Town. Which accordingly they did; and the *Scotish* Historians own, that *Seton* himself was compelled to side with K. *Edward*, which 'tis not probable he would have done by any Compulsion, had he used him so barbarously, and contrary to Articles. But those Authors are not very famous for Veracity, especially where the Cause of their own Country is concern'd.

e At *Edenburgh*, in the beginning of *February*, 1334 or 1333. reckoning the Year from *Lady-Day*. Whereas the old Historians generally reckoned it from *Christmas*.

presuming

A. D. 1336. Reg. 10.

preſuming upon his own Power, his Alliance with King *Philip*, who marry'd his Siſter, and the Service he had done in advancing him to the Crown, counterfeited a Deed to overthrow his Aunt's Right; which being diſcover'd, made his Cauſe the worſe, and moved the *French* King to give Judgment for her; and ſo the County of *Artois* was by Arreſt of Parliament confirmed to her. This ſo offended *Robert*, that in his Paſſion he ſaid openly, *That he would unmake the King by the ſame Power he made him*; which raſh and bold Threat, ſpoke before many Witneſſes, ſo incenſed the *French* King, that he laid wait to apprehend him; but failing in that, he proclaimed him *Traitor*, confiſcated his Eſtate, forbad all his Subjects, both within and without his Kingdom, to receive, comfort, or aid him, upon pain of Confiſcation of all their Goods; and charged them all to ſeize his Perſon, and ſend him Priſoner to him. Whereupon this Prince finding no place in *France* ſafe for his abode, comes over into *England*, where he is joyfully entertain'd by King *Edward*, made one of his Council, and inveſted in the Earldom of *Richmond*; which Favours, that he might recompence, he ſet on foot a War with *France*, which laſted above an hundred Years, diſcovers the Councils of *France*, by which *Philip* had been advanced to the Crown, diſapproves his Title, and prefers *Edward*'s as moſt juſt. Upon which a Declaration was publiſhed, and ſent to the Pope and all the neighbouring Princes, ſhewing the Uſurpation of *Philip de Valois* upon the Crown of *France*. King *Edward*, who ever ſince his return from *Amiens* had been making Preparations againſt the King of *France*, and by the aſſiſtance of his Father-in-law *William* Earl of *Henault*, had drawn into a Confederacy with him the Dukes of *Brabant* and *Geldres*, the Earl of *Juliers*, Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, and *Valeran* his Brother, *John* of *Henault*, and other Princes of *Germany*, doth now ſtrengthen his Intereſts farther, and by Gifts obtain'd of *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, the preſent Emperor, to be Vicar-General of the Empire, by which Office he might require all the Princes that confined upon *France* to ſerve him. And this the Emperor did the more readily, becauſe *Edward* had ſtood for him againſt *Frederick* of *Auſtria*, who was a Competitor with him for the Empire, and had marry'd his Wife's Siſter. Then, by the means of one *Jaques de Artovile*, a Citizen of *Gaunt*, who was a great Man, and a Leader of the *Flemings* in all their Tumults, he gained all the People of thoſe Cities in *Flanders*, who maintain'd a kind of Liberty among themſelves, and who were the more eaſily won, becauſe their Wealth chiefly proceeded from the Wools of this Kingdom, which by a Parliament holden at *London*, in the 9th Year of the King's Reign, were 'forbidden to be tranſported unwrought, but 'Clothes ſhould be made here; and to that end, 'liberty was allow'd to all ſuch Artificers [a] as 'would come over and make Cloaths here; 'no Man being allow'd to wear any thing but 'Engliſh Cloth, except the King, Queen, and their 'Children; nor any Man to wear any Facings 'of Silks or Furs, but ſuch as could expend an 'hundred Pounds *per Annum*. For by this Alliance they had not only a free admittance into the Kingdom, but had liberty of tranſporting Wools to uphold their former Trades; ſo that they advanced their own Intereſts, as well as the King's Strength. *Edward* having thus gotten a ſtrong Party abroad, next ſeeks all ways to raiſe Money at home to carry on this chargeable Expedition. The tenth Penny is granted of Towns and Boroughs, a fifteenth of others, and a tenth of the Clergy, is granted in a Parliament of *Northampton*. All the Treaſure which had been committed to Churches throughout *England* for carrying on the Holy War, was taken out for the King's uſe. The next Year all the Goods of three Orders of Monks, *viz.* [b] *Lombards*, *Cluniacks*, and *Ceſtericans*, were likewiſe ſeized into the King's Hands, and another Subſidy as before granted at *Nottingham*. He likewiſe beſtow'd many Honours upon Noblemen, to encourage them for this intended Action. *Henry* of *Lancaſter* the younger was created Earl of *Derby*, *William Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Hugh Audley* Earl of *Glocester*, *William Clinton* Earl of *Huntington*, *William Bohun* Earl of *Northampton*, *Robert Ufford* Earl of *Suffolk*, and Prince *Edward* Earl of *Cheſter* and Duke of *Cornwall*. In the twelfth Year of his Reign, at a Parliament at *Northampton*, (as ſome write in the abſence of the King) he had granted him by the Laity one half of their Wools, and of the Clergy the whole was exacted, and they were forced to pay nine Marks for every Sack of fine Wooll. The next Year after, a fifteenth was likewiſe paid in Wooll by the Commonalty. And now for the better management of his Work abroad (having ſettled his Affairs in *Scotland*) he goes over into *Flanders*, takes with him his Queen and Children, and lies at *Antwerp*; where, by the Perſuaſion of the *Flemings*, he took upon him the Stile, Title and Arms of the King of *France*, becauſe they held they might the better juſtifie their Actions in joyning with him, and diſpence with their Oath made to the *French* King, never to bear Arms againſt him; and thereupon the League was made between them and King *Edward*.

A. D. 1336. Reg. 10.

King Edward's Preparations againſt France, and his Voyage thither.

1337.

Edward *makes an Alliance againſt the* French *King*

The *French* King being ſenſible of *Edward*'s Actions, was not behind him in his Preparations and [d] Confederacies, having engaged on his part the King of *Bohemia*, the Count Palatine of the *Rhine* [e], (who had agreed to ſerve him againſt King *Edward* and his Adherents with three hundred Horſe for fifty ſix thouſand Florins.) The Biſhop of *Metz*, *Albert* and *Otho* Dukes of *Auſtria*, *Theodore* Marquiſs of *Montferat*, *Ame* Earl of *Geneva*; beſides many Princes of States, and divers great Captains of *Germany*, *French* Counts, *Savoy*, *Dauphin*, *Spain*, and other Countries. So that all the chief Kingdoms of the Chriſtian World were either actually in Arms, or aſſiſting in this Quarrel between theſe two mighty Kings Long were they preparing before they came to engage, and much was endeavour'd by the Pope and King of *Sicily*, who being a great Aſtrologer foretold an ill Event of this Quarrel to the King of *France*; to have compoſed the Difference, but to no pur-

The French *King's Confederacies and Preparations againſt King* Edward.

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[a] The *Engliſh* had now plenty of Wooll, but no Skill to employ it. Wherefore as by this Act encouragement was given to ſuch as had Skill, but no Stocks, to come out of *Flanders* and ſettle here; ſo accordingly many, glad of this opportunity to advance their Fortunes, came into *England*, and ſettled in great Farmers Houſes at firſt, and after removed into Towns; from whence ſeveral ſort of Woollen Manufactures were made among us; as, at *Sudbury*, Bays; at *Colcheſter*, Says and Serges; in *Kent*, Broad-Cloths; in *Devonſhire*, Kerſies; in *Wales*, Frizes; in *Weſtmorland*, Kendal-Cloth, &c.

[b] Theſe were Cells to the great Monaſteries in *France*.

[c] The Prince was born at *Woodſtock* in the third Year of the King's Reign; he was called the *Black Prince*, not from his Colour, but Fierceneſs in Battel. In his ninth Year he was made Earl of *Cheſter*, and Duke of *Cornwal*.

[d] He alſo agreed with *David* King of *Scots* to ſend him a ſufficient Aid to recover his Right; and accordingly ſent him ſeveral Troops to defend his Garriſons, and annoy *England*, engaging him to make no Peace with the K. of *England* without his conſent.

[e] By the *Rot. Alm.* in the Tower it appears, that the Count Palatine of the *Rhine* was in the Confederacy with King *Edward*.

poſe.

A. D. 1340. Reg. 14.

War between the English *and* French.

pose. The War began on the Borders of each other's Dominions; King *Edward* sets upon *Cambray*, defended by the *French*; and *Philip* seizes on the Dutchy of *Guien*, sending Count *D'ue* Constable of *France*, with the Earls of *Foix* and *Arminiack*, who surprized many strong places of it; besides he had a great Navy at Sea, which committed [a] much Spoil on the Coast of *England*. King *Edward* entered *France* by the way of *Vermandois* and *Thierache*, and approaches near to King *Philip*. Both Armies were encamped between *Viron Fosse* and *La Flamenguere*, and the Day for the Fight was appointed on the *Friday* after; the Armies on both sides made ready, but the *French* had the advantage by Numbers. Both sides were well furnished with brave Men, but yet departed without a Battle: The *French* esteeming it no Discretion to put the Person and State of their King to the hazard of a Fight within his own Kingdom; and the *English*, consisting of less Numbers, thought not fit to assail them. And so they passed the Day in facing one another, and nothing was done. Only this Accident fell out, which proved a matter of Sport afterward: An Hare starting before the Head of the *French* Army, a great Shout was suddenly made, which they who were behind supposing to have been at the Onset of the Battel, disposed themselves to fight, and some Esquires for their more Encouragement were, according to the Custom, presently Knighted, which were ever after call'd *The Knights of the Hare.* The next Morning early both Kings decamped, and the *French* retired to *Paris*, and the King of *England* to *Brabant* [b].

K. Edward *returns into* England.

King *Edward* having staid a little time at *Brabant* to settle his Confederates, and order his Affairs, leaves the Queen, and returns into *England* about *Candlemas*, after 'a Year's absence from thence, and lands at the Tower about Midnight, which finding unguarded, he was much displeased, and sends for the Mayor of *London*, whom he commanded to bring before him the Chancellor and Treasurer, with *John S. Paul*, *Michael Wath*, *Philip Thorp*, and *Henry Stratford*, Clerks, (who were Officers for his Receipts) and *John Sconer* Justice of the Bench; all which, except the Chancellor, were arrested and committed to Prison, as were also divers other Ministers of Justice and Accomptants, upon Enquiry made into their unjust proceedings [d]. Then he call'd a Parliament in *London* in Lent, which 'granted unto him for the 'Custom of every Sack of Wool 40 *s.* for every 'three hundred Wool-fells 40 *s.* for every Last 'of Leather 40 *s.* and so for other Merchandizes 'proportionably; which Imposition was to en-'dure from that *Easter* to the *Whitsuntide* twelve-'months after. Besides there was granted of Ci-'tizens and Burgesses a ninth part of their Goods, 'a fifteenth of foreign Merchants and others; 'and the ninth Sheaf, Fleece, and Lamb for two 'Years. Also another tenth of the Clergy. And 'for his present Supply he had Loans of divers 'wealthy Persons, and the City of *London* lent 'him twenty thousand Marks. In Consideration 'of which Grants and Contributions, the King '(besides his Pardons to divers kinds of Offen-'ders) remitted all Amercements for all Trans-'gressions in the Forests, Reliefs and Scutage, un-'to the first time of his going into *Flanders*. Be-'sides all Aids for the Marriages of his Sons and 'Daughters during his Reign, pardoning and re-'mitting all ancient Debts and Arrerages, both 'of his Farmers and others, any ways due either 'in the time of his Ancestors or his own, till the 'tenth Year of his Reign, (excepting such as were 'compounded for, and order'd to be paid into his 'Exchequer) and now likewise he confirmed the 'Great Charter.

A. D. 1340. Reg. 14.

A Parliament at London.

During King *Edward*'s stay in *England*, *William Montague* Earl of *Salisbury*, and [e] *William Ufford* Earl of *Suffolk*, who were left in *Flanders* to oppose the proceedings of the *French*, having performed several great Exploits with happy Success, and presuming upon their Fortune, were in an Encounter about *Lisle* so overmatch'd with Numbers, that they were both taken and sent Prisoners to *Paris*, to the great Joy of the *French* King; who now, to hinder the King of *England*'s return, had prepared a mighty Navy in the Haven of *Sluce*, consisting of two hundred Sail of Ships (besides many Gallies) and two thousand arm'd Men in the Port, ready to encounter him upon his landing. King *Edward* being inform'd of it, provided a like Number of Ships well manned, and puts out to Sea upon *Midsummer*-Eve, being met the next Day with a Navy from the North-parts, under the Conduct of Sir *Robert Morley*. With these Forces he encounter'd the Enemy, which lay in the way to intercept him, with such Courage and Strength, and so great advantage of Wind and Weather, that he defeated their whole Navy, took and sunk all their Ships, slew thirty thousand Men, and landed with as great a Glory as such a Victory would yield, which being the first that the *English* ever got by Sea, was the more honourable to him. Most of the *French*, rather than endure the Arrows and sharp Swords of the *English*, leaped into the Sea. This Loss was so great, that the *French* dare not tell the King of it, and therefore set his Jester on work to discover it to him, who going into his Presence in a seeming Passion, cry'd out often, *Cowardly Englishmen*, *Dastardly Englishmen*, *Faint-hearted Englishmen*. The King at length asked him, Why he call'd them so? The Jester answer'd, *Because they durst not leap out of their Ships into the Sea, as our brave Frenchmen did.* By which the King apprehended the Overthrow of his Fleet, which the *French* attribute to one *Nicholas Buchett*, one of their Commanders, who had manned his Ships with Soldiers of the baser sort, who would serve for small pay, and refused Gentlemen, and sufficient Soldiers, in regard they required greater Wages, as it hath often happen'd, that the Avarice of Commanders hath been the Cause of great Defeats. But notwithstanding this Loss of the *French* by Sea, their King, in those Martial Times, was soon supply'd with Power sufficient out of his own and Confederates Dominions to make a strong Opposition against the victorious and mighty King of *England*, who suddenly sets down before *Tourney* with all his own and his Adherent's Forces. And from *Chyn* (a place near it, where he lodg'd) sends his Cartel, *July* 17. to *Philip de Valois*, lodging at S. *Andrews Les Air*, with his mighty Army, declaring, 'That he with the 'Strength of his own Kingdom, and Assistance 'of the *Flemmings*, was come to recover his Right 'in the Kingdom of *France*, unjustly detained

The English *Generals taken in* France.

The French *Fleet destroy'd by the* English.

[a] They enter'd the Haven of *Southampton* upon *Sunday*, took it, killed many, and carried away much Plunder.

[b] This Year King *Edward* first took upon him the Title and Arms of *France*; and when he Landed in *England*, he quartered the Arms of *France* in his Great Seal.

[c] At this time was *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence* born.

[d] He committed also the Lord *Nicholas de la Becke* Constable of the Tower, and *Andrew Aubrey* Mayor of *London*; but this was not done 'till after the Truce made with the *French* King.

[e] Twas the Lord *Robert Ufford*, the Earl of *Suffolk*'s eldest Son.

from

A. D. 1340. Reg. 14.

K. Edward challengeth the French King to a ſingle Combat.

'from him, contrary to the Laws of God and 'Man; and ſince no other means could prevail, 'he was forced to fly to the Sword. But becauſe 'the Controverſie was between them two, he 'offer'd, that the ſhedding of Chriſtian Blood, 'and Deſtruction of the Country might be ſpar'd, 'to try their Right by Combat in cloſe Camp, 'Body to Body, or each of them accompany'd 'with a hundred choice Perſons; which, if the 'ſaid *Philip* refuſed, then to join Battle within 'ten Days after, before the City of *Tourney*.

The French King's Anſwer to King Edward's Cartel and Challenge.

Philip de Valois return'd an Anſwer to this Challenge, the laſt of *July*, in this manner: '*Philip* by the Grace of God King of *France*, to *Edward* King of *England*. We have peruſed your 'Letters ſent to the Court of *Philip de Valois*, 'containing certain Requeſts to the ſaid *Philip*; 'but becauſe it appears, that thoſe Letters and 'Requeſts were not written or made unto us, we 'will in no ſort anſwer you. But ſeeing by the 'ſaid Letters, and otherwiſe, we underſtand, that 'you, guided by your own Will, without all Rea'ſon, have entred our Kingdom of *France* with 'an Army, and have done no ſmall damage to 'our People and Country, contrary to the Duty 'of a Liege man, who have lately ſworn Homage 'to us, acknowledging us, as by Right, King of '*France*, and hath promiſed that Obedience that 'is due from the Vaſſal to his Liege-lord; as in ma'nifeſt by your Letters-Patents under your Great 'Seal, which we have with us, and you ought to 'have with you: Therefore our Intention is, as 'becomes our Honour, to chace you out of our 'Kingdom, as we firmly hope in Chriſt (from 'whom we have our Power) to do. Becauſe by 'this War, which you have moſt wickedly be'gun, our intended Journey into the Eaſt is hin'der'd, great numbers of Chriſtians there mur'ther'd, that Holy Service neglected, and the 'Church diſhonoured. And whereas you ſay, 'You are aſſiſted by the *Flemmings*; we aſſure 'our ſelves, that they will not ſo far forget their 'Honour and Fidelity to our Coſin their Earl, 'and us, their ſupreme Lord, as to act ſo much 'againſt the common Good. The *French* Hiſto'rians write, that King *Philip* ſent word to King *Edward*, by the Meſſengers of this Letter, 'That 'by his Cartel he ventur'd nothing of his own, 'but only expoſed another's Dominions, which 'was unreaſonable; That if he would hazard the 'Kingdom of *England* (tho' it were leſs) againſt 'the Kingdom of *France*, King *Philip* would en'ter the Combat in cloſe Camp with him, upon 'Condition, that the Conqueror ſhould enjoy both 'Kingdoms: To which, they ſay, *Edward* 'would not conſent. The ſingle Combat being thus rejected by both ſides, *Edward* went on with the Siege of *Tourney*, which held out three Months, ſo that nothing was effected but the Deſtruction of the Country. All *Chriſtendom* impatiently expected the Event, and both Kingdoms were in doubt of the Conſequences of it, till *Jane de Valois*, Siſter of King *Philip*, and Widow of *William* Duke of *Henault*, the Father of *Philippa* the Wife of King *Edward*, undertook to negotiate a Peace between her Brother and Son; and leaving her Nunnery at *Fontenelles*[a], with indefatigable Induſtry travell'd ſo long from one to the other, till at laſt by her Advice and Treaty ſhe obtained a Parley, which produced a Truce for a Year; ſo that theſe enraged Princes diſmiſſed their Armies, and the *French* King return'd home, and *Edward* with his Queen into *England*, having remained three Years in thoſe parts; in which time his Queen brought him two Sons, *Lionel*, afterwards Duke of *Clarence*, and *John* born at *Gaunt*, firſt Earl of *Richmond*, and after Duke of *Lancaſter*. But King *Edward's* Condeſcenſion to this ſudden Truce had really no other motive, but his want of Treaſure; which notwithſtanding the great Impoſitions laid upon his Subjects, came ſhort, and muſt be ſupply'd, as indeed it was, yet after ſome Delays, which thus happen'd: The King at his laſt being in *England* had removed his Chancellor, and impriſoned his Treaſurer, with other Officers, who were moſt of them Clergymen, and ſtill kept them under Confinement; which Severity, tho' juſt, yet ſo angred *John Stratford*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, (on whom the King laid the Blame of his Wants) that he wrote a bold and ſharp Letter to the King to this Effect: 'That it 'was for the Safety and Happineſs of Kings and 'their Kingdoms, to uſe wiſe and grave Coun'ſellors favourably and kindly, alledging many 'Examples out of holy Scriptures to prove the 'flouriſhing Condition of ſuch as took that courſe, 'and the Miſeries of thoſe that did the contrary. 'Then he adviſes him to call to mind, how his 'Father, being guided by evil Counſel, vexed 'the Nation, putting many of the Nobility to 'Death contrary to Law, and to conſider what 'were the ill Conſequences of ſuch Actions; and 'that he himſelf at firſt, through the ill Conduct 'of ſuch as managed his Affairs, had almoſt loſt 'the Love of his People; but afterward, by the 'great Care and wiſe Management of his Nobles 'and Biſhops, his Affairs were again brought in'to ſuch Order, as that he recover'd his Honour; 'and now remains in ſo great Credit with his 'People, that all, both Clergy and Laity, have 'yielded their aſſiſtance to him, more than any 'of his Royal Anceſtors; by which means he 'hath triumphed over the *French* and *Scots*, and 'is reputed the nobleſt Prince in *Chriſtendom*. 'But now, through the wicked advice of ſuch as 'affect their own Advantage more than his Ho'nour, or the Welfare of his People, he hath 'cauſed ſeveral Clergymen and others to be ar'reſted, and kept in Priſon by undue Proceed'ings, contrary to the Laws of *England*, which 'he was by his Coronation-Oath bound ſtrictly 'to obſerve, and againſt *Magna Charta*, which 'whoſoever ſhall preſume to break, are to be 'excommunicated by all the Biſhops, according 'to the Bull of *Innocent* IV. So that by theſe 'Actions he had brought no ſmall Danger upon 'his Soul, and Damage to his State and Honour. 'Then he tells him, That if he went on in this 'manner, he would certainly loſe the Hearts of 'his People, and their Help, ſo that he would 'not be able to carry on the War in hand, but 'expoſe himſelf to his Enemies, to the great ha'zard of his Perſon and Kingdom. And there'fore adviſes him to call an Aſſembly of the 'Nobility, and prudenteſt Men of the Land, and 'conſult with them (without whoſe Aſſiſtance 'and Counſel he could not govern the Kingdom 'well, nor go through with his preſent Deſigns) 'concerning what is amiſs. And whereas, ſaid 'he, ſome Perſons about you, by their Flattery 'and Cunning, betray and deceive you, we do 'hereby pronounce them Excommunicate, and 'beſeech you, as your Spiritual Father, to eſteem 'and deal with them as ſuch. Beſides, he urges, 'that whereas through the Negligence and Fall'hood of ſome of his Miniſters, the City of *Tour'ney* was not taken; the Matter might be exa'mined in Parliament, and a diligent Enquiry 'made, into whoſe Hands, ever ſince the begin'ning of the War, the Wools and Moneys raiſed

A. D. 1341. Reg. 15.

Archbiſhop Stratford's Letter to the King.

A Truce made between the two Kings by Jane de Valois.

[a] It ſhould be *Fountain en Tartres*.

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'have come, and how they have been beſtow'd, 'and by whoſe fault it was that the City of *Tourney* was not taken, but left in that manner it 'was; and that as a juſt Prince he would puniſh 'ſuch as were found guilty, and not condemn or 'miſuſe his Subjects without legal Tryal. This Letter bore Date *January* 1.

The Archbiſhop's Letter to the Chancellor R. Bouſer; *and a ſecond Letter to the King and his Council.*

Another Letter he wrote to *Robert Bouſer* (or *Bourchier*) Chancellor of *England*, relating what Contributions the Clergy had given the King by their free conſent, and that nothing more was to be exacted of them, requiring him 'to do nothing 'contrary to the Law of *Magna Charta*; and 'that if any Writ, Commiſſion or Precept, had 'gone out of the Chancery, contrary to it, or to 'the Privileges and Liberties of the Church and 'Kingdom, he ſhould within ten Days after the 'Receipt of theſe his Letters (as he ſaid the Chancellor was bound to do) recall, and make void 'the ſame. This Letter was dated *January* 28. After this he wrote a third Letter to the King and his whole Council, declaring, 'That whereas, 'contrary to the Liberties and Privileges of the 'Church and Kingdom, contained in *Magna Charta*, *John de S. Paul*, *Michael de Wath*, *Robert Chickwill*, *John Throp*, and *Henry Stratford*, 'were arreſted, committed to Priſon, and there 'detained, without being indicted or convicted 'of any notorious Crime; and that whoſoever 'by their Counſel had put the King upon ſuch 'proceedings, had incurr'd the Sentence inflicted 'in the Canon, which he had cauſed to be publiſhed both in his own Dioceſs, and thoſe of his 'Suffragans. And therefore beſought the King 'and his whole Council without delay to releaſe 'the ſaid Priſoners, otherwiſe he threatens, tha 'according to his Paſtoral Charge, he would proceed to the Execution of the Sentence; concluding, That it was not in his Intention in the 'leaſt to include in it the King, Queen, or their 'Children, as far they could be excuſed. And 'for this end he ſends to the Biſhop of *London*, 'and all his other Suffragan Biſhops, and having 'complained of the great Wrongs done to the 'Church by Laymen, charges him and them not 'only to publiſh in their Churches, but fix up in all 'eminent Places, the Sentence of Excommunication againſt all Offenders that ſhould break 'thoſe Articles of *Magna Charta*, which he annexed to his Letter, that (as he ſaid) no Man 'may pretend Ignorance of their fault.

The King ſends an Anſwer of the Archbiſhop's Letter to the Biſhop of London.

The King being thus rouzed by the Archbiſhop's Letters, ſends his Apology immediately to the Biſhop of *London*, in a Letter to him; wherein having declared firſt how much he had honoured and truſted the Archbiſhop, he accuſes him of unjuſt and deceitful Dealing in his Truſt, and ſays, 'That it was by his Counſel and Advice he 'undertook this action againſt the *French*, and 'was aſſur'd by him, that he ſhould not want 'ſufficient Treaſure to go through with it: So 'that he need do no more than provide Men to 'execute the Deſign; That notwithſtanding this 'Promiſe, through the Negligence or Malice of 'the Archbiſhop and his Officials, thoſe Supplies 'which were granted by his Subjects in Parliament, were ſo badly collected, and ſent over 'ſo ſlowly, that he was forced (to his great 'Grief and Shame) to accept of the laſt Truce, 'and through his extreme Want to come into the 'hands of Uſurers. Theſe Actions gave him 'juſt cauſe to look into the management of his 'Offices, of whom he found ſome ſo guilty of 'Male-adminiſtration of Juſtice, and ſuch Corruptions and Oppreſſions of his Subjects, that 'he removed the greateſt of them from their 'Places; and the leſſer, who were in the ſame 'Crimes, he committed to Priſon, and there 'detained them, that by ſtrict Examination he 'might find out their unlawful Proceedings, of 'which none could give him ſo good Information 'as the Archbiſhop, to whom he had for a long 'time committed the whole Adminiſtration of 'the Kingdom. And therefore being deſirous 'to confer with him at *London* about theſe publick Affairs, he had ſent a Meſſenger on purpoſe to him, his truſty Servant *Nicholas de Cantelupe*, to ſummon him thither. But the Archbiſhop had refuſed to come to him, alledging, 'That he ſtood in fear of ſome Perſons about the 'King, and would not run the hazard of departing from his Church. That after this he ſent '*Richard Stafford*, with the Steward of his Houſe, 'with a promiſe of ſafe Paſſage under his Seal; 'but then was anſwered, That he would have 'no Conference with the King but in open Parliament, which he knew could not at that time 'be conveniently called. Then he aggravates *The Archbiſhop accuſed of many Crimes.* 'the Archbiſhop's undutiful Behaviour and falſe 'Dealings towards him; declaring, That tho' by 'God's providence and an Hereditary Right he 'was advanced to the Throne of *England*, yet he 'abhorred all Abuſes of his Regal Authority, 'and deſired nothing more in this World than to 'govern his Subjects with ſuch Mildneſs and Juſtice, as that he might more deſerve their Love 'than Fear. That notwithſtanding this his Care 'to govern well, the Archbiſhop had wrongfully '(by his Letters publiſhed in divers parts of his 'Kingdom) injur'd his Innocency, and ſlander'd 'his moſt faithful Counſellors and Officers, who 'adminiſtred Juſtice, giving out, that the People 'were oppreſs'd, the Clergy ruin'd, and the Nation burthen'd with heavy Taxes; and many 'Exactions, which the King argues could be done 'with no other deſign, but to raiſe Sedition among 'his People, and to alienate the Hearts of his Subjects from him. Laſtly, To ſhew the Archbiſhop's Failings, he declares, That he himſelf, 'while he was under Age, had by his Advice 'made ſo many prodigal Donations, unlawful 'Alienations, and exceſſive Gifts, that his Treaſury was now utterly exhauſted, and his Crown-'Revenues mightily diminiſhed; and that the 'Archbiſhop, being corrupted with Bribes, had 'remitted without any reaſonable cauſe great 'Sums which were due to him, applying to 'his own uſe, or of others not well deſerving of 'them, many Advantages and Revenues, which 'ſhould have been preſerved for his neceſſary 'ſupport. And therefore concluded, That unleſs he deſiſted from his rebellious Obſtinacy, 'he intended in due time and place to proceed 'againſt him; injoyning him to publiſh all and 'ſingular theſe his wicked Actions, and to cauſe 'others to do the like, for the more clear manifeſtation of his pious and princely Intention in 'relieving his own and his Subjects Wrongs. This Letter was ſaid to be penned by *Adam* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and bare Date the 12 of *February*, *Anno Reg.* 15. Thus the Difference between the King and his Officers, whoſe Actions muſt not be too ſharply look'd into, was ended, and the grand Imputation reſts upon the Archbiſhop, who is charg'd with the Receipt of great Sums, and vehemently urg'd by the King's Creditors to pay them. Shortly after this a Parliament was held at *London*, in which the King was hard put to it to ſatisfie their Demands; for he was earneſtly petition'd by the whole Aſſembly *The King petition'd to obſerve the Charters.* of the three States, That the Great Charter of their Liberties, and the Charter of Foreſts might be duly obſerved, and that whoſoever of the King's Officers did break the ſame ſhould loſe their

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their place; That the high Officers of the Kingdom ſhould be elected, as they were in former times, by Parliament; but the King ſtood ſtrongly upon his own Election and Prerogative, but yielded (that he might gain his Deſigns, as he confeſſed) that thoſe Officers ſhould take an Oath in Parliament to do Juſtice to all Men in their Offices; and a Statute was made for that purpoſe, and confirmed with the King's Seal, to ſecure that and many other Grants to his Subjects, which notwithſtanding were for the moſt part ſoon after revoked.

The Truce of Tourney expired.

The [a] Truce agreed upon at *Tourney*, and concluded at *Arras*, for one Year, by the Commiſſioners of both Kings, and two Cardinals from the Pope, yielded a Ceſſation of Arms, but not of Plots againſt each other. *Lewis* of *Bavaria* the Emperor being won over to the King of *France*'s ſide, became his ſworn Confederate, and revoked the Vicarſhip of the Empire, which he had lately confirmed to the King of *England*, giving this as the Reaſon in his Letter [b] to King *Edward*, That he had made the Truce at *Tourney* without his conſent; which *Edward* fully and diſcreetly anſwer'd [c]. But inſtead of this remote and inconſtant Confederate, Providence brought him another, more near and more ſerviceable to his deſign, within that Kingdom, after this manner: The Inheritance of the Dutchy of *Britain* happen'd to be in Controverſie between *Charles de Blois*, Nephew to King *Philip*, and *John de Monfort*, upon this Title. *Arthur* Duke of *Britain* had by *Beatrix* his firſt Wife two Sons, *John* and *Guy*, and by *Yoland* Counteſs of *Monfort* his ſecond Wife, *John de Monfort*. *John Arthur*'s eldeſt Son having no Iſſue, left his Neice *Jane*, his Brother *Guy*'s Daughter (her Father dying before him) to ſucceed him in his Dutchy. This *Jane* *Charles de Blois* marries on Condition, that his Iſſue by her ſhould inherit the ſame; and after Marriage he is inveſted in it, and had Homage done to him during the Life of *John* their Uncle. But after his Death *John de Monfort* claims the Dutchy, and goes to *Paris* to do Homage for the ſame to the *French* King; but *Charles de Blois* in Right of his Wife oppoſing him, the Controverſie was referred to the Parliament, who gave Sentence for *Charles*. *Monfort* being enraged, immediately repairs to the King of *England*, and doth Homage to him for the Dutchy, by whom he was received with great Applauſe, and his Title (tho' bad in *France*) was made good in *England*. Wherefore he returns again into *Britain* with Comfort and Abilities to oppoſe his Competitor; but after ſome Encounters, was taken and committed cloſe Priſoner to the *Louvre* in *Paris*. His Wife the Counteſs of *Monfort*, Siſter to *Lewis* Earl of *Flanders*, being a Lady of a Maſculine Courage, proſecutes her Husband's Quarrel, puts on Armour, leads and encourages her People, ſurprizes and defends many places of Importance in *Britain*; but at length, being overpower'd by the Forces of *Charles de Blois*, ſhe begs aſſiſtance of the King of *England*, and obtains it, and hath it ſent thither under the Conduct of the Lord *Walter de Manny*, which relieved her for the preſent, but not long, her Enemies being too powerful to be ſubdued with ſmall Forces. Wherefore *Edward*, who was not ſparing of Aids for his own deſigns, being ſollicited again by the Counteſs, who came over in Perſon to treat with the King about farther Supplies, and make an Alliance by tendering a Match between her Son and one of the King's Daughters, ſent over greater Forces with her, under the Command of the Earls of *Salisbury*, *Pembroke*, and *Suffolk*, the Lords *Stafford*, *Spencer*, and *Bourchier*, with *Robert de Artois* Earl of *Richmond*. Many were the Rencounters between the *Engliſh* and *French*, many Caſtles were ſurprized, and recovered; in which *Robert de Artois*, at the Seige of *Vannes*, received his laſt Wound, but was brought over into *England* to die, leaving behind him, tho' many Marks of Valour, yet the diſhonourable Name of a Rebel to his own Country, againſt which he had not only inſtigated *Edward*, but ſerved him ſix Years. Shortly after theſe Supplies were ſent into *Britain*, King *Edward* followed in Perſon with more, and lying before *Vannes*, which was lately recovered by the *French*, *John* Duke of *Normandy*, eldeſt Son to the *French* King, ſent to aid *Charles de Blois* with an Army of forty thouſand, came to give him Battel; and being ready to engage, two Cardinals, ſent for that purpoſe by Pope *Clement* VI. undertook to mediate a Peace, and after much Sollicitation procured a Truce for three Years, upon Condition, that the Pope and Court of *Rome* ſhould hear and examine the Differences between the two Kingdoms, but not determine them without the Conſent of both Kings. This Ceſſation of Arms gave ſpace to both ſides to provide for greater Quarrels, tho' in *Britain* ſmall Skirmiſhes continued.

The Death of Robert de Artois.

King Edward aſſiſts John de Monfort in obtaining Britain.

King *Edward* being returned home after the Concluſion of the Truce, made an Expedition into *Scotland* againſt King *David*, and drove him into the Iſlands. At this time the Iſle of *Man* was conquer'd by *William Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, whom the King made Governour of it, under the Title of *King*. At the King's return from *Scotland*, ſolemn Turnaments were held at *Dunſtable*, where two hundred and thirty Knights met him to exerciſe themſelves at that Paſtime (the only one then in requeſt) as they did afterwards at *Smithfield*, *Windſor*, and other places. A Society alſo of Knights of the Round Table, in imitation of King *Arthur*, was now inſtituted, and a large Chamber of two hundred Foot round erected for the ſame at *Windſor*, many Strangers out of foreign parts being drawn to joyn in it. The King of *France* alſo erects the like Martial Society in *France*. [d] About this time alſo began the Order of the Garter, being appointed at a ſolemn Feaſt at *Windſor*, which was held there many Days, not from the Counteſs of *Salisbury*'s Garter, which the King is ſaid to have taken up in Dancing with her, but only [e] as an Emblem of the cloſe Combination in Honour and Loyalty which ought to be among thoſe that are admitted into that Order. For it would be a Diſhonour to that Noble Inſtitution, which is perform'd with ſo much Religious Ceremony to imagine it ſhould ariſe from an Act of Lightneſs. But beſides the Exerciſes of Arms, which the King promoted at this time, he took alſo ſpecial Care of the Government; and that the Abuſes of it might be re-

King Edward's Expedition into Scotland.

A. D. 1341. Reg. 15.

1343.

Knights of the Round Table, and Order of the Garter inſtituted.

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a During this Truce, the *Scots*, by the Inſtigation of the King of *France*, infeſted *England*; and the King of *England*, to juſtifie his own intended Proceedings againſt them, complain'd of the Breach of the Peace to the Pope.

b He offer'd in the ſame Letter to be the Mediator of a Peace between them.

c By a Letter, which is ſet down at large in Mr. *Speed*, and *Fox*, p. 351, 352. with the Emperor's Letter to him.

d Mr. *Aſhmole* in his Hiſtory of the Garter, p. 185. fixes the Inſtitution of the Order of the Garter to the 23d of *April*, 1349. five Years afterwards.

e The Original Book ſays, It was deduc'd from an Action of King *Richard* I. at *Acon*, who commanded a Garter to be ty'd about the Legs of ſome of his Chief Captains, to ſtir up their Valour, by wearing ſuch a Badge as brought them always under his Obſervation in the Fight. They are twenty-ſix, and their Badge is a blew Garter.

A. D. 1343. Reg. 17.

A Parliament at Weſtminſter to reform the Government.

formed, he called a Parliament at *Weſtminſter* to conſider upon, and adminiſter a ſpeedy and ſuitable Remedy for them. And the firſt thing they endeavoured to cure, was the Collation of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices upon Strangers, of which the Earls, Barons, [a] Knights and Burgeſſes grievouſly complained. This they try'd to effect, by ſending a Letter to the Pope, *Clement* VI. the Cauſe of it, in humble manner repreſenting to him, 'How inconvenient it was, and derogatory to 'the State of the Kingdom of *England*, that ſuch 'Reſervations, [b] Proviſions, and Collations of Be'nefices, as had been formerly uſed, ſhould be 'continued, becauſe the Churches of *England* had 'anciently been endow'd by noble and pious Per'ſons, that the People might be inſtructed by 'their own Countrymen in their Mother-Tongue. 'But by the Uſurpation of ſome of his Predeceſ'ſors, Strangers and others, ſometimes Enemies 'to the Realm, were perferred to many of them: 'by which means the Profits of them were ſent 'out of the Nation, the Cures neglected, Alms 'and Hoſpitality diſuſed, the Houſes ruinated, 'the Charity and Devotion of the People much 'leſſened, and many other Diſorders (contrary 'to the Intention of the Founders) occaſioned, 'which they could not ſuffer any longer; and 'therefore beſought his Holineſs to revoke all 'ſuch Reſervations, Proviſions and Collations, 'that fit Men of the Natives might ſupply the 'Cures, and without delay to ſignifie his Inten'tion in this matter, otherwiſe they would take 'ſpeedy methods themſelves for a Redreſs. Theſe Letters were dated in full Parliament, *May* 28. 1343. and with them the King ſent his Letters to the ſame effect, by Sir *John Shordich*, a grave Perſon, and of great Underſtanding in the Law; but at this time ſo unwelcome to the Court of *Rome* upon the account of his Meſſage, that he departed without Leave or Anſwer; which, tho' the Pope ſent afterward, yet the King and Parliament proceeded in their deſign of Redreſſing this Grievance, and made 'the Statute of *Proviſors*, prohibiting all ſuch Proviſions and Collations within this Realm upon pain of Impriſonment, or Death to any ſuch Perſon as ſhall for the time to come preſent or admit any Perſon or Perſons, who was ſo prefered by the Pope, to the prejudice of the King's Royal Prerogative; and to this end were Writs directed to all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and others who were concern'd, ſtrictly forbidding them to act any thing contrary to this Statute. In this Parliament Archbiſhop *Stratford* was upon his ſubmiſſion, but with much difficulty, accepted to the King's Favour. There was alſo a long Debate concerning Woolls how they ſhould be aſſeſſed in ſeveral parts of the Realm, and what they ſhould pay for Cuſtoms, when they were exported; and three Marks and a half upon every Sack was mentioned, but nothing was at this Seſſion concluded. The Prince *Edward* alſo being then about thirteen Years old, was created Prince of *Wales*, and Commiſſioners were appointed to be ſent to the Pope to mediate a Peace between the two Kings of *England* and *France*, according to the Articles propounded in the Truce, which were *John* Biſhop of *Exeter*, *Henry de Lancaſter* Earl of *Darby*, *Hugh le Diſpencier* Lord of *Glamorgan*, the King's Coſins, *Ralph* Lord *Stafford*, with others.

The Statute of Proviſors.

Archbiſhop Stratford reconciled to the King.

A. D. 1344. Reg. 18.

A Parliament at London.

The next Year after another Parliament, or rather the ſame prorogued, was held at *London*, in which, after many Conteſts, a tenth was granted the King by the Clergy, and a fifteenth by the Laity, for one Year; and a certain Gold-Coin, called the *Floren*, of baſe Allay, which had been coined for the *French* Wars, cryed down, and Nobles of finer Metal coined, to the great Content of his Subjects; for whoſe Conveniency there were appointed places at *London*, *Canterbury* and *York*, to exchange their Monies in. Shortly after this the King cauſed General Muſters to be made throughout the Kingdom, and a Certificate returned to him of all ſufficient and expert Bowmen, and other Perſons able to bear Arms. A Commiſſion alſo was ſent into every Country, to enquire into every Man's Abilities; and all Perſons, that had from five to ten Pounds a Year in Lay-fee, were appointed to find an Archer on Horſe-back; they that had twenty five Pound, a Demilance; and ſo proportionably above. The King having thus gather'd an Army, goes over in Perſon into *Flanders* to make the People there firm to him; and at *Sluce*, *Jaques van Artevile*, with other Commiſſioners from the chief Towns, came to him, where a Motion was made, That either *Lewis* their Earl ſhould do Homage to the King of *England*, or be diſinherited, and *Edward* Prince of *Wales* received for their Lord. Upon which King *Edward* promiſes to erect their Country into a Dukedom. *Artevile* was forward to entertain the Motion, but the other Commiſſioners deſired leave to acquaint their Towns with it, which were willing to have the Protection of the King of *England*, but did not care to purchaſe it by diſinheriting their Natural Lord. *Artevile* notwithſtanding undertakes to induce them to it, and for that end goes to *Gaunt* with five hundred *Welſhmen* for his Guard, as he pretended, againſt one *Gerhard Dennis* Provoſt of the Weavers, who ſought to deſtroy him. But the People, who had been ſo often led by him into Mutinies, now roſe up unanimouſly againſt him, and a Cobler with an Ax ſtruck out his Brains. King *Edward* having thus loſt his principal Agent, was very angry. But the Towns ſending a Meſſage to excuſe themſelves of this Accident, which the People of *Gaunt* were only to be blamed for, and promiſing him to perſuade their Prince (whom they could not conſent to diſinherit) to become his Homager, and to do him all faithful Service themſelves; they ſo pacified the King, that he renewed the League between them; And ſo he went on to proſecute his other Deſigns. And now the Wars in *Guien* began to grow hot: The Earl of *Darby*, General of the Army, aſſaulted and took in *Villia-Franche*, *Agenois*, *Angoleſme*, *Rions*, S. *Baſil*, with many other Cities and Caſtles. The *French* King ſent his eldeſt Son, *John* Duke of *Normandy*, to encounter him, who recover'd the Cities of *Angoleſme* and *Villia-Franche*. Theſe Skirmiſhes happen'd before the Truce was expired. The King of *France* blamed *Edward* for this breach of the Peace, and *Edward* accuſed him for the firſt Cauſe, in that he had inſtigated the *Scots* to invade his Realm, and entertain'd King *David*,

General Muſters to appoint Armour.

Artevile kill'd at Gaunt.

The Wars in Guien.

[a] The Commons were at firſt earneſt to have the Pope's Power quite ejected out of the Realm, for his intolerable Encroachments upon the King's Subject's Rights, but at laſt were brought to gentler methods of dealing with him by Letters.

[b] The Pope's Proviſions were thus made: When any Biſhoprick, Abbacy, or good Benefice was likely to be void, the Pope having notice of it by ſome of his Agents here, would by an Act of Proviſion prediſpoſe of ſuch Places to ſuch Foreigners as he pleas'd, whereby Patrons were defeated of their Preſentations, and *Engliſhmen* of their Preferments, unleſs they would buy off the Proviſions.

[c] Notwithſtanding this Act, Pope *Clement* ſent two Cardinals the next Year with certain Proviſions for Benefices next vacant, to the value of two thouſand Marks; but the King and Nobles ſent them back with Letters, purporting a full Reſolution to withſtand them.

when

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when he fled from him. Thus both being prepared for a Quarrel, the Peace was quite laid aside, and the War began.

K. Edward goes with a mighty Army into Normandy

This mighty and active Prince King *Edward* had now begun the 20th Year of his Reign, and being full of Courage and Youth was very eager upon his Expedition into *France*, for which he prepared, the greateſt Fleet that ever yet croſs'd the Seas for *France*, and over he paſſed into *Normandy* in *July*, leaving for the Wardens of *England* in his abſence the Lords *Percy* and *Nevill*, and taking the young Prince with him, who was about fifteen Years old, to give him a Specimen of the Labours and Atchievements of Princes to attain Glory. His Army conſiſted [b] of four thouſand Men at Arms, and ten thouſand Archers, beſides *Welſh* and *Iriſh*, which follow'd him on foot. He had with him the Earls of *Hereford*, *Northampton*, *Arundel*, *Huntington*, *Warwick*, *Suffolk*, and *Oxford*; the Lord's *Mortimer* (afterward made Earl of *March*) *John*, *Lewis*, and *Roger Beauchamp*, *Cobham*, *Lucy*, *Baſſet*, *Barkley*, *Willoughby*, and divers others both Knights and gallant Captains. He had alſo of late entertain'd *Godfrey de Harcourt*, a great Favorite of the *French* King's; but upon ſome diſcontent, or becauſe he was ſuſpected of favouring the *Engliſh* Party in *Britain*, for which the King of *France* had a little before executed *Oliver de Cliſſon*, *Bacon*, *Piercy*, and *Geffrey de Maleſtroict*, Men of Note, was forced to fly, and came to King *Edward*, with whom tho' he ſtaid not long before he made his Peace with his Maſter, yet he did his Country and King much miſchief. For upon King *Edward*'s landing with his mighty Army in the Iſle of *Conſtantine* in *Normandy*, by his Conduct he was made one of the King's Marſhals, and the Earl of *Warwick* the other, the Earl of *Arundel* being appointed Conſtable. The King being landed, divided his Army into three parts, the one to march on his left hand along the Sea-Coaſts, and the other on the right, conducted by the two Marſhals, and himſelf in the midſt with the main Body of his Army. The Earl of *Huntington*, Admiral of his Fleet, was order'd to take all the Ships he could find on the Sea-Coaſts. The three Armies by Land lodg'd every Night in one Field. And firſt he ſacked *Charanton*, burnt and deſtroyed the City, and ſlew all the Inhabitants, as well unarm'd as arm'd, ſaying, 'That he made them Sacrifices to *Bacon*, 'Peircy, and others, (whoſe Heads he ſaw fixed 'upon the principal Gates) unjuſtly put to Death 'by *Philip*. Thence he marched forward, and took St. *Loo*, a rich Town for Merchandiſe, and plunder'd it. Then he marched to *Caen*, and after ſome Skirmiſhes became Maſter of it, and put all the Country into ſo great a terror, that *Falaiſe*, *Lyſeaux*, and *Honfleur*, ſtrong wall'd Towns came and render'd themſelves to him. This done, he marches into the Iſle of *France*, to provoke the King of *France* to Battel, giving out, that he would wreſtle with him for his Kingdom in the Eye of all *France*, on the great Theatre before his Capital City of *Paris*.

His Actions and Succeſs in France.

King of France's Army.

King *Philip* in the mean time was not idle in making all poſſible Preparations for his own Defence, and had gather'd one of the fineſt Armies (as the *French* Hiſtorians relate) that ever was ſeen in *France*, made up of *French*, *Lorainers*, *Germans*, and *Genoeſes*, which he led towards *Meulan*, where it was ſaid King *Edward* waited for him; but upon the News of his coming retreated, or as it was reported fled for fear, tho' the Event ſhewed, 'twas rather out of Policy. King *Philip* follows him, and overtakes him at a Village called *Arenes*, which ſignifying *Sand*, might have told *Philip* on how weak a Foundation he built his hopes of Victory; when he accounted all his own, becauſe he was at home. King *Edward* retired, to gain the River of *Some* at *Blanquetaque*, where it is fordable at Low-water, but the Paſſage was to be diſputed with the Sword, King *Philip* having ſent *Gondemar de Fay* with a thouſand Horſe, and ſix thouſand Foot to guard it. King *Edward* notwithſtanding reſolves to paſs or periſh, and plunges foremoſt into the River, crying out, *Let them that love me, follow me.* At which words the whole Army boldly crowded forward, ſtriving who ſhould follow his brave Example the cloſeſt, and preſently gained the Shoar. *Gondamer* aſtoniſhed with this ſudden and unexpected adventure, ſo affrighted his People with his fearful Looks, that after a ſhort and diſorderly Encounter, they all fled before the *Engliſh*; but the Shame was greater than the Loſs, becauſe they had a ſafe retreat at *Abbeville*, and *S. Requeir*, which were hard-by. King *Philip* enraged with this diſhonourable Victory, reſolved to revenge it, and preſently to provoke King *Edward* to Battel. His Council adviſed the contrary, that he ſhould ſuffer his Troops to reſt a few Days, and recover their Spirits, and King *Edward* to ſpend his. But their King had not Patience to ſtay above one Day in *Abbeville*, but being elevated with hopes of Victory, marches into the Field to bid *Edward* Battle. King *Edward* more cool and weary, managed his Buſineſs with admirable Diſcretion; having very ſtrongly encamped himſelf at [c] *Cracy*, and on all ſides by Trenches and other means ſecured his Army, which conſiſteth but of thirty thouſand Men, but in Order and Courage double the number. The Van-guard he gave to the Prince [d], and for his Guides the Earl of *Warwick*, *Godfrey de Harcourt*, the Lords *Stafford*, *Delaware*, *Bourchier*, *Clifford*, *Cobham*, *Holland*, Sir *John Chandois*, Sir *Bartholomew Burwaſh*, Sir *Robert Nevill*, with eight hundred Men at Arms, two thouſand Archers, and a thouſand *Welſhmen*. The ſecond Battel was committed to the Earls of *Arundel* and *Northampton*, the Lords *Roſs*, *Willoughby*, *Baſſet*, *S. Albin*, *Multon*, and others, which conſiſted of eight hundred Men at Arms, and twelve hundred Archers. The third Battel, or Re-reguard, was led by the King himſelf, having ſeven hundred Men at Arms, and two thouſand Archers. The Army being thus rang'd, the King on a white Hobby rod from Rank to Rank to view them all, the one Marſhal on his right Hand, and the other on his left, encouraging every Man to ſtand for his Right and their Honour. The *French* King's Army was greater both in ſhew and ſtrength, being above ſixty thouſand fighting Men well arm'd: Of which the Chief Commanders were, *Charles* Earl of *Alanzon* the King's Brother, *John de Luxemburge* King of *Bohemia*, *Charles de Blois* the Kings Nephew, *Ralph* Duke of *Lorrain*, the Earl of *Flanders*, *Neverſe Sancerre*, and the Dolphin of *Viennois*. On the Night before the Battel came *Ame* Earl of *Savoy*, with a thouſand Men at Arms more to aſſiſt their King, which gave him ſuch an aſſurance of Victory, that he long'd for an Encounter. The Vanguard he committed to Count *d' Alanzon*, the King's Brother, the Rear to the Earl of *Savoy*, and led the main Battel himſelf.

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King Edward's Bravery at the River Some.

The manner of King Edward's ordering his Army.

The French Army, and the ranging of it.

[a] Of a thouſand Sail of Ships, and ſmaller Veſſels Two hundred Ships of War and Gallies, and eight hundred Tranſport Ships.
[b] Twelve thouſand *Welſh*, and ſix thouſand *Iriſh* Foot; a thouſand Archers, and four thouſand Horſe. In all 32000 Men.
[c] *Creſſy*. [d] Then about ſixteen Years of Age.

His

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His Heat would hardly permit him to hear any Counſel of what was fit to be done. The old King of *Bohemia* adviſed, that the Army ſhould firſt take ſome repaſt, and that the Infantry, conſiſting of about fifteen hundred *Genoeſes*, with Croſs-Bows, and ſure Men, ſhould make the Front, and the Cavalry to follow, which were both agreed to and done. But the Count *de Alanzon* took it ſo ill, that the *Genoeſes* were put in the firſt Rank, that in his Fury, contrary to Order, he cauſed them to change their Place with Diſorder, and ſo much to the Anger and Provocation of the Soldiers, that they were more furiouſly bent againſt the Captain than the Enemy. While this was doing there fell a piercing Shower of Rain, which diſſolved the Bowmen's Strings, and made them unuſeful; and then ſoon breaking up, the Sun ſhone full in the Face of the *French*, as if Heaven had joyned with the *Engliſh* in this Victory. King *Edward*, who had poſted himſelf on the top of a Windmill-Hill, beholding from thence the preſent poſture of the Enemy in changing their Places, and through the accident of the Rain reſolves to take the advantage of both, and inſtantly ſends a Party to charge them, without giving them leave to ſettle themſelves. The diſcouraged *Genoeſes* immediately give Ground, which when the Count *de Alanzon* perceived, he comes up in great Rage with his Horſe, crying out, *On, on, let us make way upon the Bellies of theſe Genoeſes, who do but hinder us*; and ſo forced his way through the midſt of them, attended with the Earls of *Lorrain* and *Savoy*, and the Dolphin of *Viennois*, and held on his courſe till he came up to the *Engliſh* Battel, where he found the Prince better ſettled, attended on all hands with Troops of Archers, whoſe Strings having not felt the Rain, poured ſuch Showers of Steel upon them, as cooled their Fury, and diſorder'd them. The *French* King ſeeing his Brother in great danger, makes up to diſengage him; whereupon the Fight grew ſo hot and doubtful, that the Commanders about the Prince ſent to the King to come up with all his Power to aſſiſt them. The King demands of the Meſſenger, Whether his Son were ſlain or hurt? Who anſwer'd, Neither, but likely to be overpower'd. Well then, ſaid the King, Go back and tell them that ſent you, That ſo long as my Son is alive I will hearken to nothing, whatever happens; for I would have him carry away the Honour of this Victory. And thus being left to defend themſelves, they bore up with ſuch Courage, as that they recover'd the advantage by having killed the *French* King's Horſe under him, ſo that he had almoſt been trodden to Death, had not he been ſaved by the Lord *John Beaumont* his new Penſioner. But this Accident ſo encouraged the *Engliſh*, and diſheartned the *French*, that the *Engliſh* ſoon gained the greateſt Victory that ever the *French* loſt, having ſlain upon the Place, and in the Purſuit, thirty thouſand; of whom the Chief were [a] *Charles d' Alanzon*, *John* Duke of *Bourbon*, *Ralph* Earl of *Lorrain*, *Lewis* Earl of *Flanders*, *Jagues* Dauphin of *Viennois*, Son to *Imbert*, who after gave Dauphin to the Crown of *France*; the Earls of *Sancerre*, *Harcourt* (Brother to *Godfrey*) and many other Earls, Barons, and Gentlemen, to the number of fifteen hundred. The *French* King himſelf with a ſmall Company got to *Bray* in the Night, where he was received with the Tears and Lamentations of his People, whom yet he ſought to comfort all he could. Some few Troops, that held together, ſav'd themſelves by retiring to Places adjoyning. This memorable Victory happen'd upon the *Saturday* after S. *Bartholomew's-day*, being *Aug.* 24. 1346.

The Engliſh *Conquerors at the Battel of* Creſſy.

King *Edward* managed this Victory with as great Moderation as he won it; and firſt having embraced his Son, and commended the Valour he ſhewed that Day, [b] he rendered Thanks to God, whoſe Aid he had before begged at the beginning of the Battel; and early the next Morning, being *Sunday*, he ſent out three hundred Lances, and two thouſand Archers, to diſcover what became of the Enemy, who met great Troops of Soldiers coming from *Abbe-ville*, *S. Requier*, *Roan* and *Beauvays*, (ignorant of what had happen'd) conducted by the Archbiſhop of *Roan*, and Prior of *France*, whom they likewiſe defeated, and ſlew ſeven thouſand more [c]. Our Writers alſo report, That ſo great Numbers of Stragglers, which fled from the Battel, and loſt their Way in the Fog the next Morning, were ſlain, as equall'd the kill'd in the Field. So great a Loſs did *France* ſuſtain by this one fatal Battel.

King Edward's Behaviour after the Victory.

But this was not all the Victories that fell to King *Edward* this Year, there was another of greater Importance gotten in *England* by the Queen and his People over the *Scots*, who being ſet on by the *French* to divert the War there, entred the Kingdom with ſixty thouſand Men, (as our Writers report) aſſuring themſelves of Victory, becauſe, as they ſuppoſed, the main Strength of it was in *France*. But they found the contrary. For the Lords of the North, as *Gilbert de Humfrivile* Earl of *Angos*, *Henry Peircy*, *Ralph Nevill*, *William Daincourt*, with the Archbiſhop of *York*, Biſhop of *Durham*, and others of the Clergy, gather'd ſo ſtrong an Army, and ſo well order'd them by the encouragement of the Queen (who was with them in Perſon) as that they utterly [d] routed this great Army, took [e] King *David* Priſoner, with the Earls of *Fife*, *Menteth*, *Murrey*, and *Sutherland*, the Lord *Douglas*, the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, and others, and ſlew 15000 *Scots*. This Victory happen'd likewiſe on a *Saturday* [f], and ſix Weeks after that of *Creſſy*. And as if Providence had deſign'd to make this Year in all places Triumphant, the Aids ſent to the Counteſs of *Monfort* in *Britain*, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Daggworth*, overthrew and took Priſoner *Charles de Blois*, the Pretender to that Dutchy, and with him Monſieur *La Val*, the Lords *Rochford*, *Beaumanoyr*, *Loyacque*, with many other Barons, Knights and Eſquires; and there were ſlain in the Encounter the Lord *De La Val*, (Father of him which was taken) Viſcount *Roban*, Monſieur *De Chaſtean*, *Brian de Maleſtroict*, *De Quintin*, *De Direval*, great Lords, beſides many other worthy Warriours, Knights and Eſquires, to the number of ſeven hundred. Thus [g] all places fell before the Sword of *England*.

The King of Scots *conquer'd by the* Engliſh, *and their King* David *taken Priſoner.*

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[a] In *Gi Villani*'s Italian Hiſtory 'tis mention'd, That the old King of *Bohemia* was kill'd in the Battel of *Creſſy*. His Arms were three Oſtrich Feathers, and being taken by the Prince, he afterwards us'd the ſame Deviſe, which has ever ſince been born by the Princes of *Wales*, his Succeſſors. According to this Author, *James* King of *Majorca* was alſo kill'd in this Battel.

[b] He ſa'd to him, *Dear Son, God give you Grace to go on as you have begun; you are my beſt Son, you have acquitted your ſelf nobly, and truly deſerve the Crown for which we fought.* The Prince made no Reply, but bow'd down almoſt to the Ground.

[c] Seven thouſand Men of the Inhabitants of *Abbeville*, *St. Requier* and *Roven* were ſlain the next Day; and beſides theſe, the Archbiſhop of *Roan* and the Grand Prior's Troops were defeated, their Leaders and moſt of their Men being kill'd on the Spot.

[d] This ſucceſsful Battel was fought at *Nevills-Croſs* near *Durham*.

[e] One *John Copland* of *Northumberland* took him and the King as a Reward of his Courage, gave him 500 *l.* a Year, to him and his Heirs for ever, and made him a Knight Bannoret.

[f] The 17th of *October*.

[g] The Earl of *Darby* alſo obtain'd a Victory over *John* the Dauphin in *Normandy*.

King

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K. Edward beſieged Calis.

King *Edward* purſuing his Victory in *France*, marches on directly forward, and without medling with the great Cities of *Amiens* and *Abbeville*, which were near, ſets down before *Calais*[a], a Town of more Importance than any for *England*, and the Gate for all the reſt, which *John de Vienne* Marſhal of *France*, and the Lord *d' Audreghen*, a great Man in his time, commanded. All that Winter King *Edward* having ſhelter'd his People as in another Town built of Sheds, and Coverts to dwell in, furniſhed with all Proviſions, lay without any Moleſtation of the *French* King, who was now likewiſe beſieged with the Miſeries of his own Eſtate, which was not only his real Misfortune, but thought his Fault. The King of *France* was in great Neceſſity, which muſt be ſupplied from a People who groaned under the Burthen of Poverty, and were very diſcontented for the ill management of the Treaſure, the falſhood of the Financiers, the crying down of the Money, want of Trade, greatneſs of Taxes, *&c.* No way could be found to ſet all things to rights, but by an Aſſembly of the States, wherein all the Financiers, Receivers and Managers of Moneys, are called to an account, and the Treaſure is committed to the diſpoſal of the Clergy and Nobility, to take away all ſuſpicion of ill Dealings. *Pierre de Eſſars* Treaſurer of *France* was committed to Priſon, and obliged to pay a great Fine to the King, and the other Officers and Accomptants forced to reſtore at once what they had been gathering many Years. The Banquires, Lombards, and other Uſurers are put to the Preſs for their unlawful Exactions, their Intereſts being proved to exceed the Principal, which was confiſcated to the King, and the Intereſts given to the Debtors. Thus was the poor oppreſſed People a little ſatisfied, and the King's Neceſſities ſupplied, by which he was enabled with the ready Service of his Nobles and ableſt Subjects to get another Army into the Field the next Spring to relieve *Calis*, but approaching it could find no way open to attempt it, the King of *England* being Maſter both of the Haven, and poſſeſſed of all other ways that were poſſible; and having[b] the *Flemmings* his Friends, who with an huge Army had beſieged *Ayre*, and did much miſchief on the Confines of *France*, which to oppoſe, while the King called *John* Duke of *Normandy*; the Prince out of *Guien*, *Henry* of *Lancaſter* Earl of *Darby*, having an Army of twelve hundred Men at Arms, two thouſand Archers, and three thouſand Foot, *Engliſh* and *Gaſcoignes*, took in moſt of the Towns of *Xantonge* and *Poictou*, beſieged and ſacked *Poictiers*; and ſo returns to *Burdeaux* with more Plunder than they could well carry. Thus the *French* ſuffered every where, and their King was not able to relieve them. But at length, to ſhew his Will more than Ability, he ſends to the King of *England*, to ſollicit him to appoint ſome place of Battle, and he would encounter him. King *Edward* returned him an anſwer, 'If he could make his own way 'to come thither to him, there he ſhould find 'him; but he would not leave the Place, now 'he was ready to take it, having lain ſo long 'at it with great Labour and Charge. Then two Cardinals were ſent by the Pope to mediate for a Peace, but nothing could be effected. So that the *French* King was forced to break up, and retire to *Paris*, leaving *Calis* to the Mercy of the Beſieger; which when they underſtood, they ſent to deſire a Parley, had it granted, and therein received this final Sentence, 'That ſix of their 'chief Burgeſſes ſhould be ſent to the King bare-'headed and barefooted, in their Shirts, with 'Halters about their Necks, the Keys of the 'Town and Caſtle in their Hands, and ſubmit 'themſelves to the King's Will, and the reſt he 'would pardon. This Sentence being related to the miſerable Townſmen, they were in great Lamentation about the choice of this Sacrifice, who of them it ſhould be that muſt die for the reſt till one among them ſtands up, and ſpake boldly to this effect: 'Fellow-Citizens, I have ſo often 'expoſed my Life in this long Seige for my Coun-'try, (and have been every Day ſo ready to die) 'that I am now moſt willing to ſacrifice my 'Life, as my laſt Oblation for it, and will cheer-'fully carry my Head to the victorious King 'of *England*, not deſiring to ſurvive the Deſtruction of my miſerable Country. This free and reſolute Speech ſo wrought upon the amazed People, that now they ſtrived who ſhould be one of the ſix, and cryed out, *Let us go, let us go unto Death; it is our laſt Duty to our Native Soil.* So that ſix are preſently choſen, and ſent according to the King's demand, preſenting themſelves on their Knees to the King, and beſeeching him to ſhew Mercy unto them. The King commands them inſtantly to be carry'd to their Execution, and would not in regard of his Oath be perſuaded to ſpare them by all the Intreaties and earneſt Petition of his Council, till the Queen, great with Child, fell on her Knees before him, and with Tears obtained their Pardon, and had them given her. Which done, ſhe cauſed them to be cloathed, gave them their Dinner, and ſix Nobles a Man, appointing them to be conveyed ſafely through the Army, and ſet at liberty. An Act of Mercy worthy of ſo great a Queen. The King, tho' in this he was ſevere, yet was he more ſparing of Blood than his Grandfather *Edward* I. and had more of compaſſion, as he ſhewed by one Act in this Seige. When Victuals within the Town began to fail, and all unuſeful Perſons, as old Men, Women and Children[d] were put out of the Gates, he forced them not back again, as he might have done, to conſume their Store, but ſuffered them to paſs through his Army, gave them Victuals, and two Pence a-peice to every one. And thus was the ſtrong Tower of *Calis* gotten, *Aug.* 3. 1347. after almoſt a Year's Siege, with infinite Coſt and Labour. All the Inhabitants were turn'd out of it, being forced to ſeek new Dwellings, and a Colony of *Engliſh* placed in it; and ſo it remained in the poſſeſſion of the Crown of *England* two hundred and ten Years. And now this Triumphant King having made a Truce for ſome few Months, and taken care to ſecure what he had gotten, goes over with his Queen, Prince, and many of his People into *England*, to ſpend ſome time in Feaſts and Triumphs, carrying over ſuch abundance of Spoils, that every Houſe almoſt had ſome part, and the *Engliſh* Wives are grown extreamly fine with *French* Ornaments. And to add to this Glory, the Princes Electors of *Germany* ſend in the midſt of this Jollity to the King, to ſignifie that they had choſen him King of the *Romans*[e]; but he refuſes the Office, tho' it was of great Dignity, becauſe it was out of his way, and would be burthenſome to him to

A. D. 1346. Reg. 20.

1347.

The miſerable condition of France.

Calis ſurrender'd upon theſe Conditions.

The Queen's Mercy to ſix condemned Citizens.

Calis is taken.

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[a] On the 7th of *September* 1346.

[b] The King of *France* ſought to draw away the *Flemmings* from the King of *England*, by Promiſes of Freedom, Trade and Gifts, but could not prevail with them.

[c] *Euſtace de St. Pierre.*

[d] To the Number of ſeventeen hundred.

[e] The Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, *Rodolph* and *Rupert* Counts Palatine of the *Rhine* and Dukes of *Bavaria*, *Lewis* Marqueſs of *Brandenburgh* and *Luſatia*, and the two Dukes of *Saxony*, elected King *Edward* Emperor. *Stow*, p. 245.

ma-

A. D. 1347. Reg. 21.

manage[a]. But before the end of this Year *England*'s Mirth was turn'd into bitter Mourning, by the inviſible Sword of Heaven. A contageous Peſtilence, which firſt beginning in the Eaſt and South parts of the World, ſpread into all parts of *Chriſtendom*, and raged ſo violently in *England*, that it is ſaid to have deſtroyed more than half of its Inhabitants, ſo that the Church-Yards were not large enough to bury the Dead, but they were forced to purchaſe new Ground for that purpoſe. In *London* there died in ſix Months 57374 Perſons, and other Cities and Towns ſuffered as deeply, according to their proportion. This Plague was attended with as mortal a Famine, Murrain of Cattle, and Barrenneſs of the Ground, cauſed through the Contagion of the Air, and want of Huſbandry.

The Plague in England.

1348.

But all the former Calamities did only cauſe a ſhort Ceſſation of Arms between the two Princes, not deter them from perſecuting their Quarrel; *Edward*'s Kingdom was not ſo emptied, but he made a ſhift to keep his Fields and Troops full. The firſt Action after it was his Paſſage over to *Calis*, upon an Information of a Plot contrived by the *French* to ſurprize the Town after this manner: Monſieur *de Charmy*[b] Governour of St. *Omers* had treated with *Americ de Pavia*, whom King *Edward* had left Governour of the Caſtle of *Calis*, and promiſed him twenty thouſand Crowns to be admitted into the Caſtle. *Americ* accepts the Offer, and appoints a Night for the Buſineſs; in which Night King *Edward*, being inform'd by *Americ*, arrives with three hundred Men at Arms, and ſix hundred Arches. Monſieur *Charmy* ſets out likewiſe the ſame Night from S. *Omers* with his Forces, and ſent a hundred Men armed before with the Crowns to *Americ* to poſſeſs themſelves of the Caſtle. The Men accordingly were let in at the Poſtern Gate, the Crowns received, and themſelves put in hold; which done, the Gates of the Town are opened, and the King marches out firſt to encounter Monſieur *de Charmy*, coming on with his Forces, who perceived himſelf betray'd, and therefore put his People into the beſt poſture of defence he could. The King of *England*, becauſe he would not be known to be there in Perſon, put himſelf and the Prince under the Colours of the Lord *Walter Manny*, and then fell to a ſharp Engagement with them, in which he was twice beaten down on his Knees by *Mongeur de Riboumont*, a ſtrong and valiant Knight (with whom he fought hand to hand) but recovered himſelf, and in the end took *Riboumont* Priſoner. *Charmy* was alſo taken, and all his Forces defeated. King *Edward* the Night after (which was New-Years-Night) feaſted with the Priſoners, and gave *Riboumont* in honour of his Valour a rich Chaplet of Pearl (which he wore himſelf) for a New-Years-Gift, forgave him his Ranſom, and ſet him at liberty. The reſt paid dearly for what they got not, and were warned how they deal again in the ſame kind[c]. Yet the *Engliſh* not long after had better ſucceſs by the ſame Arts, and got the Caſtle of *Guiſnes* (a place of great Importance near *Calis*) for a Sum of Money given to one *Beaucomroy* a *Frenchman*; of which Caſtle, when the *French* King demanded Reſtitution, in conſideration of the Truce, King *Edward* returns anſwer, *That for things bought and ſold between their People, there was no Exception in the Truce*; and ſo held it.

The King goes over to Calis.

One Riboumont fought with the King.

1349.

A. D. 1350.

Shortly after this, the *French* King in whoſe Fate it was not to ſee better Fortunes, dy'd, and left his diſtreſſed Kingdom to his Son *John*, who endured far worſe Calamities. For in his and the two following Reigns, the *Engliſh* became ſuch powerful Maſters of *France*, that they turned all into Blood and Confuſion, and might have been abſolute Maſters of it, had not their Civil Diſſentions among themſelves given *France* time and leave to recover its Liberty and Strength. King *Edward* the next Year went again in Perſon with his Fleet to Sea, to encounter certain *Spaniſh* Ships paſſing from *Flanders*, loaden with Cloth and other Commodities, which after a ſharp Fight, and much Blood ſhed on both ſides, he took, with their Cargo of rich Goods. And this he did, becauſe the *Spaniards* the Year before had entred the River *Gironne*, and taken certain *Engliſh* Ships laden with Wines, and ſlew all the *Engliſh*. In the mean time, the King's Forces in *Guien* were not idle, but there were many Conflicts between the *French* and them. In *Britain* alſo the War continu'd, and was hotly maintain'd between the two Ladies, the Widow of *Monfort*, and the Wife of *Charles de Blois* (who was a Priſoner in *England*.) Divers Propoſitions of Peace had been made by the Pope's Legates, and Commiſſioners had often met, to the great Expence of both Kings, but nothing was concluded; and ſo temporary Truces were ſet on foot to gain time. Theſe Delays not only conſumed our Men, but Treaſure, for the War was not able to maintain it ſelf, tho' invaſive. The Money was here alter'd, and abated in Weight, and yet made to paſs according to the former Value. And whereas before there were no other peices of Money, but Nobles, and half Nobles, with ſmall pieces of Silver called *Sterlings*; the King cauſed Groats and Two-pences of equal Value with the Sterling-money to be coined, which raiſed the Prices of Commodities, that uſually riſe or fall, according to the plenty or ſcarcity of Money, made Servants and Labourers to raiſe their Wages. Whereupon a Statute was made in the Parliament now held at *Weſtminſter*, to reduce the ſame to the uſual Rates given before the late great Mortality. This cauſed much diſcontent among them, eſpecially againſt *William Edington* Biſhop of *Winchester*, the King's Treaſurer, who was thought the Adviſer of the Abatement of the Coin. In this[d] Parliament alſo were ſeveral Orders made for the governing and ordering the Staple, becauſe the King being diſpleaſed with the People of *Flanders* for diſappointing him of the Match between his Daughter and their young Earl *Lewis* (who was eſcaped into *France*, and marry'd to the Duke of *Brabant*'s Daughter) had removed the Mart, or Staple of Woolls from their Towns, which were greatly enriched thereby, and cauſed it to be kept at *Weſtminſter*, *Chicheſter*, *Canterbury*, *Lincoln*, *Warwick*, *York*, *Newcaſtle*, *Exeter*, *Carmarden*, *Briſtol* and *Hull*, judging it more convenient to enrich his own Towns, than Strangers, by the Commodities of his Kingdom. An Act alſo was made in this Parliament that all Wears, Mills, and other Stoppages of Rivers, which hin-

Money made to go above its Value.

1351.

Several good Acts made.

[a] He was perſwaded againſt it by his Queen; for that the Pope, who had caus'd *Charles* King of *Bohemia* to be crown'd Emperor, and moſt of the Eccleſiaſtical Electors, the beſt Friends in thoſe Days, would have been his Enemies.

[b] The Lord *Geoffrey de Charny*.

[c] The King turn'd out *Sir Americ de Pavia*, and made the Lord *Beauchamp* Governour of the Caſtle. The *Sir Americ* fell afterwards into the hands of the *French*, and for his Perjury to them was degraded, his Tongue cut out, and then hang'd and diſmember'd. *Du Cheſne.*

[d] Beſides the following Acts made this Parliament, there was alſo an Act made, forbidding, that any Perſons ſhould bring any Bull, or Inſtruments from *Rome* into the Realm, or carry any Proceſs thither, to the prejudice of the King's Subjects, under pain of incurring a Premunire, *i. e.* being put out of the King's Protection, and forfeiting their Lives, Bodies, Goods and Cattels. *Stat. Prov.* 27. *Edw.* 3. c. 1.

dred

A. D. 1351. Reg. 25.

dred the Paſſages of Lighters, Boats, and other Veſſels up and down the Country, ſhould be removed. An Act very advantagious to the Kingdom, but through Bribing and Corruptions of great Men, it took no effect. So that that Age had only the Honour of making ſo good an Ordinance. It is ſaid alſo, that another Act was made this Parliament at the earneſt Requeſt of the *Londoners*, that no common Whore ſhould wear any Hood, except ſtriped with divers Colours or Furs, and their Garments reverſed, the wrong ſide outward; a good deſign to make ſo foul a Sin become infamous, and at length odious.

After this Parliament, *Henry* Earl of *Darby* is created Duke of *Lancaſter* [a], and *Ralph* Lord *Stafford* Earl of *Stefford*, and *Charles de Blois*, who had been a Priſoner long in *England*, was releaſed for forty thouſand Florins, and permitted to return into *Britain* to provide the ſame. Great Mediation was made by the Pope to reconcile the two Kings, and Commiſſioners met to conclude a Peace. Articles were propounded, of which the Chief was, *viz.* 'That the King of *England* 'ſhould hold all the Lands of the Dutchy of '*Aquitain* without Homage, and quit his Title 'to the reſt of *France*, but the *French* would not 'yield to it, (tho' after they were forced to accept of the ſame Article at the Treaty of *Britigny*.) Whereupon the King of *England* being incenſed, would not here of any farther Prorogation of the Truce, tho' much urged to it by two Cardinals ſent on purpoſe from *Avignion* by Pope *Clement* VI. and prepares a-freſh for the War. And firſt the Prince of *Wales* grown now a Man, is appointed by Parliament to go into *Gaſcoigne*, with a thouſand Men at Arms, two thouſand Archers, and a great number of *Welſhmen*; and in *June* following ſets out with three hundred Sail of Ships, attended with the Earls of *Warwick*, *Suffolk*, *Salisbury*, and *Oxford*, the Lords *Chandois*, and *James Audley*, Sir *Robert Knolles*, [b] Sir *Frank de Hall*, and many others.

The Pope mediates for a Peace between the Kings of England *and* France.

1353. About *Michaelmas* following the King himſelf went over to *Callis* with another Army, taking with him his two Sons, *Lionel* of *Antwerp*, now Earl of *Ulſter*, in right of his Wife *Elizabeth*, Daughter and Heir to *William Burgh*, and *John* of *Gaunt* Earl of *Richmond*. There met him at *Callis* a thouſand Men at Arms out of *Germany*, *Flanders* and *Brabant*, which he had hired, ſo that his Army conſiſted of three thouſand Men at Arms, and two thouſand Archers on Horſeback, beſides Archers a-foot. The City of *London* ſent him three hundred Men at Arms, and five hundred Archers, all in one Livery, at their own Charge. But with all this great Force he could effect nothing, becauſe the *French* King would not be drawn to engage him, in regard he was too powerful, and his People under diſcontents; but he ſo removed all Proviſions out of his way, that the King of *England* was forced to return. The Diſturbances of *France* aroſe at this time from *Charles* King of *Navarr*, who had marry'd *Jane* the *French* King's Daughter, a Prince of an active Spirit, ſubtil and proud, by reaſon of his great Eſtate and high Blood, being the Son of *Lewis* Count *D' Eureux*, and *Jane* Daughter to King *Lewis Huttin*, who was diſinherited of the Crown of *France* by *Philip the Long* her Uncle, by the *Salick* Law, but preferr'd by him to be Queen of *Navarr*, in whoſe Right this *Charles* her Son had the Title of that Kingdom, and other great Inheritances with it. But he not being content with them, coveted alſo the Countries of *Champagne* and *Bry*, which belong'd to his Mother by the ſame Right as the Kingdom of *Navarr* did; and taking himſelf wrong'd enter'd into violent Courſes; but not daring to complain directly of the King, he falls upon the Conſtable of *France*, as the Chief of his Council, and one of whom he was moſt jealous, in regard of the King's Favour to him, and in the end cauſed him to be murther'd in his Bed at *L' Aigle* in *Normandy*, ruſhing himſelf up into his Chamber, with his Brother *Philip* of *Navarr*, two of the *Harcourts*, and divers others of his Retinue; and then flying to his City of *Evreux*, juſtifies the Act to be lawful. The *French* King, tho' much diſpleaſed at the cruel Fact, yet was forced not to reſent it, and promiſes the King of *Navarr*, if he would come and crave his Pardon, he ſhould have it. Upon this he appears at *Paris* before the Council to give a Reaſon of the Fact, is condemned as guilty of Treaſon, (notwithſtanding the King's Promiſe) and committed to Priſon, and could be hardly releaſed at the Requeſt of three Queens, *viz.* his Mother, Siſter and Wife. Being diſmiſſed, he goes preſently in his Paſſion and offers his Service to the King of *England* (who knew well enough how to make uſe of ſuch a powerful Member) and withal ſurprizes ſeveral pieces in *Normandy*, endeavouring all he could to draw the Affections of the People from their King, when he had moſt need. Theſe Injuries the *French* King for a while diſſembles, till he could find ſome advantage againſt him, which at length fell out thus. *Charles* his eldeſt Son being lately inveſted in the Dutchy of *Normandy*, was viſited by all the great Men of the Country, among whom came the King of *Navarr*, and is Royally feaſted at *Roan*. The *French* King having notice of it at *Paris*, ſets out with a Body of Men, takes him at Dinner with his Son, and without any proceſs of Law cauſes four of the Chief that maſſacred the Conſtable to be preſently executed, of which the two *Harcourts* were part, and ſends the King of *Navarr* under a ſtrong Guard to *Arras*, and his chief Servants to other Priſons. This ſudden Execution enraged the Friends of *Navarr*, and eſpecially *Philip* his Brother, who with *Jeffrey Harcourt* the Uncle of the executed Brethren, poſted over into *England*, exclaiming againſt this barbarous Murther, begging aid of King *Edward* in revenging ſo notorious an Injuſtice, and offering him their Hearts, Goods, Towns and Havens to let him into *Normandy*, which the King was not backward to accept and entertain.

A. D. 1353. Reg. 27.

King of Navarr diſturbs the French *King.*

King of France *impriſons the King of* Navarr.

K. Edward *goes again into* France, *but did nothing.*

And firſt the King ſends over the Duke of *Lancaſter* with four thouſand Men at Arms, who by the help of ſo great Forces, wins many ſtrong Towns; and in the mean while himſelf, that he might be well furniſhed for ſo great an Action, obtains of his Parliament, which he called for that Purpoſe, a Tax of fifty Shillings of every Sack of Wool for ſix Years next enſuing; by which Impoſition it was thought (ſay our Hiſtories) that our King was able to expend a thouſand Marks Sterling a Day; ſo great a Vent was there at that time for Wools. Soon after this Parliament broke up, the King, as hardy as couragious, went with his Army to recover *Berwick*, tho' it was then Winter, which had been of late

1355.

The Duke of Lancaſter *ſent into* Normandy.

[a] This was done by the general Conſent of the whole Parliament, and he was inveſted by the Cincture and Sword, with Power to hold a Court of Chancery, in the County of *Lancaſter*. *Rot. Pa.* 25. *Edw.* 3. *P.r.* 1. N. 18.

[b] This Expedition was in the Year 1355. and Sir *Franck van Hall*, whom Mr. *Daniell* places among thoſe who went with Prince *Edward* to *Gaſcoigne*, commanded the *German* or *Flemiſh* Auxiliaries, that ſerved the King in *Picardy*. *Henry de Knighton*. *Rob. Aves*.

A. D. 1355. Reg. 29.

Scotland re-signed to K. Edward.

1356.

The French King hath the Prince of Wales at an advantage.

1356.

The Prince obtained a great Victory at the Battel of Poictiers.

surprized by the *Scots*, and not only recovered the Town, but had the whole Kingdom reſigned to him by [a] *Robert Baliol* King of *Scots*, who had indeed the beſt Title to that Honour, but had not ſo good an Intereſt as his Competitor King *Alexander*[b] (then a Priſoner in *England*) who had a very powerful Party there, yet both of them were Kings to their own ſides, to the great Diſtraction of the Kingdom [c]. So that all the neighbouring Nations were in great Troubles, but *England*, which flouriſhed with Victories and Triumphs. While the King was buſied at home, the Prince of *Wales* enters *Guien*, paſſes over *Languedoc* to *Tholouſe*, *Narbonne* and *Burges*, without any oppoſition, deſtroying and ſpoiling the Country where he went; and being loaden with ſpoil, returns to *Burdeaux*. The *French* King being thus aſſaulted on all hands, gathers together all the Force he could, and firſt goes againſt his Enemy in *Normandy*, and recover'd many of his loſt Towns, and might have prevailed there, had not the Prince of *Wales*, who was got abroad again, and had invaded *Tureine*, obliged him to carry his Army from thence to oppoſe him, and ſtop his Courſe; to which end he marched towards him with his whole Army, cauſing all the Towns and Paſſages upon the River *Loyr* to be ſtrongly guarded. The Prince knowing himſelf too weak to encounter ſo great Forces as the *French* King was bringing up againſt him, retreats again through *Tureine* and *Poictou* towards *Burdeaux*, but was purſued by the *French*, who within two Leagues of *Poictiers* had him at an advantage. At this Inſtant came two Cardinals [d] from the Pope to mediate a Peace between them, and prevailed ſo far upon the Prince, that he was contented to reſtore to the *French* King what he had gained upon him, but without prejudice to his Honour, in which he ſaid, *He ſtood accountable to his Father and his Country*. But the *French* King ſuppoſing that he now had his Enemy at his Mercy, would accept of no other Conditions, but that the Prince ſhould deliver him four Hoſtages, and ſurrender up himſelf and Army into his Hands, to be uſed according to his Diſcretion, otherwiſe (notwithſtanding the Legate's Perſuaſions to milder terms) he would immediately ſet upon the Prince with his Army (which was ſix to one [e].) The Prince being reduced to theſe Straights, that he muſt yield either to diſhonourable terms, or fight immediately, prepares for a Battel, taking what advantage he could of the Ground, and providently getting the benefit of the Vines, Shrubs and Buſhes on that ſide, where he was likely to be aſſaulted moſt furiouſly by the *French* Horſe. The Succeſs anſwered the Prince's Expectation; for the *French* Cavalry, to whom the *French* King deſigned to give the Honour of the Victory, with ſome diſcontent to the reſt, being upon their firſt aſſault entangled among the Vines, were ſo diſorder'd and gall'd by the *Engliſh* Archers, without harm or danger to themſelves, that they were forced to give ground, and the whole Army was by that means conquer'd, and the Prince, who muſt have been ruined by delay, purchaſed ſo memorable a Victory, as was never before attained by the *Engliſh* with ſo few hands. For the *French* King [f] himſelf and youngeſt Son *Philip* (who valiantly defended his Father, when his other two Brothers had forſaken him, for which afterward he had the Title of *Hardy*, and Dukedom of *Burgogne* given him) were taken Priſoners, and with them *Jaques de Bourbon*, Count *de Ponthieu*, the Archbiſhop of *Sens*, *John d' Artoys*, Count *D'Eu*, *Charles de Artoys*, his Brother Count *de Longueville*, *Charles* Count *de Tancarvile*, the Counts of *Vendoſme*, *Salbourge*, *Dampmartin*, and *La Roche*, with many other eminent Lords, beſides two thouſand Knights, Eſquires, and Gentlemen, which the Conquerors holding to be [g] too great a Number to be kept Priſoners, releaſed many of them. The *French*, who beſt knew their own Loſſes, relate, that there were ſlain in this Battel ſeventeen hundred Gentlemen, among whom were fifty two Bannorets, and many of the Nobility, as *Peter de Bourbon*, the Duke *D'Athens* Conſtable of *France*, *Jan de Clermont* Marſhal, *Jeffrey de Charny*, High Chamberlain. Three of the *French* King's Sons eſcaped (for they were all in the Battel) *viz. Charles* the *Dauphin*, who was the firſt ſo entitled, *Lewis* afterward Duke of *Anjou*, and *John* Duke of *Berry*, all of them Men of great Action in the following times. This Blow might ſeem to have given *France* a compleat overthrow, and ſubdu'd it entirely to the Crown of *England*; but that it was a Body of ſo many ſtrong Limbs, and ſo great extent, that it is almoſt impoſſible to weaken it ſo much, but that it will recover at length again, as it did ſoon after. The Prince of *Wales* in this Battel gained a double Victory, the one by his Sword, and the other by his Courteſie; for he viſited the Captive King with all the Reverence and reſpect due to his Majeſty, comforted by the Examples of like Fortunes in War, and aſſured him of all fair Treatment, according to his Dignity. The Chief Nobles, who attended the Prince in this Action, were the Earls of *Warwick*, *Suffolk*, *Salisbury*, *Oxford*, and *Stafford*, the Lords *Cobham*, *Spencer*, *Barkley*, and *Baſſet*, and of *Gaſcoigne*, *Le Capital de Beuſe*, the Lords *Pamier*, *Chaumont*, and others. But the moſt remarkable Inſtance of Honour and Valour was the Lord *James Audley*, who having vowed to be the foremoſt of the Battel, performed his Word, and confirmed it with many Wounds, for which the Prince having rewarded him with five hundred Marks *per Annum*, Fee-ſimple in *England*, he preſently gave it to four of his Eſquires, who had underwent the ſame Dangers with him. The Prince knowing it, aſked him, Whether he did not accept his Gift? He anſwer'd, *Yea*; *but thoſe Men had deſerved it as well as himſelf, and had more need of it.* The Prince was pleaſed at this Reply, and gave him five hundred Marks more, as if he reſolv'd, that ſo much Worth ſhould not go [h] unrewarded.

All things being carefully ſettled and accommodated by the Prince after the Battel, he retir'd with his Priſoners firſt to *Burdeaux*, and ſhortly after he paſſes with great Glory into *Eng-*

A. D. 1356. Reg. 30.

The first Dauphin of France.

The King of France taken priſoner.

The Prince's love to Courage.

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[a] It ſhould be *Edward Baliol*. [b] King *David*. There was no King *Alexander*, either of the *Baliol* or *Bruce* Family. *Tollent*.
[c] King *Edward Baliol* ſpent the reſt of his Days in *England* on a Penſion of 2000 *l.* a Year allowed him by the King.
[d] Of *Perigort* and St. *Vitalis*.
[e] The *French* had fifty thouſand Horſe, and as many Foot; the *Engliſh*, according to the Seigneur *Riboumont*'s Account, who was ſent by King *John* to view Prince *Edward*'s Army before the Battel, not above eight or nine thouſand Men in all. The two Armies fought in the Fields of *Beauvoir*, ſix Miles from *Poictiers*, on *Monday* the 19th of *September*, 1356. *Froiſſard*.
[f] He was taken by Sir *Denis de Morbeque*, a Knight of *Artois*, in King *Edward*'s Service.
[g] The *Engliſh* are ſaid to have taken more *French* Priſoners than their whole Army contained.
[h] The Prince is ſaid alſo at this time, after he had given moſt devout Thanks to God for this wonderful Victory, to have given all his Soldiers particular Thanks for their Bravery, and diſpenſed as great a Largeneſs to every one of them, as the Straightneſs of his Fortune at that time would allow.

land,

A. D. 1357. Reg. 31.

land [a], now the Theatre of Triumphs: The *French* King was lodg'd at the *Savoy*, then a noble Palace of *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*'s. Many Priſoners upon reaſonable Ranſome, and not a few upon the *French* King's Word (who undertook for them) were releaſed and ſent home honourably. *David* King of *Scots*, who had been a Priſoner eleven Years in *England*, was at the earneſt Solicitation of his Queen *Joan*, King *Edward*'s Siſter, releaſed; upon an Obligation to pay him an hundred thouſand Marks Striveling [b] in ten Years: The Security the King had of *France*, was a means to grant this Prince his Liberty. The *French* King remained a Priſoner in *England* four Years, in which time many Overtures and great Offers were made for his deliverance, but nothing effected. *Charles* the Dauphin, a very prudent Prince, who manag'd the Kingdom in his Father's Captivity, endeavour'd all he could to procure a Contribution of his factious People to ranſome his Father; but could not prevail. A Parliament was at length called to conſult about it, and the Dauphin very gravely propounded to them the neceſſity of recovering and redeeming their King, in order to the Safety of the Kingdom; but after many Meetings of the Committee of fifty, to whom it was referred to avoid Confuſion, there was a Reſolution produced to the Dauphin, much different from what he expected: For inſtead of an Aid and Contribution, they require a Reformation of the State; and firſt the Biſhop of *Laon*, who was choſen their Speaker, beſought him to keep ſecret whatſoever ſhould be ſpoken to him by the States. The young Prince anſwers, That it was derogatory to his Station in the Kingdom to receive Rules and Laws by his Father's Subjects, and thereupon commanded them upon their Allegiance, to ſpeak their Intentions. Ths Biſhop then complains of the ill Management of the publick Revenues, demands a ſpeedy Redreſs, and that Commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to call all Perſons anſwerable to an Account. 'That all 'the preſent Managers of the Treaſury ſhould 'be diſplaced; That the Moneys and all Affairs 'of State ſhould be manag'd henceforth by four 'Biſhops and twelve Burgeſſes, of which thoſe 'of the City of *Paris* ſhould be the Chief, and 'that without this Council the Dauphin ſhould 'do nothing; and in Concluſion, they require, 'That the King of *Navarre* ſhould be ſet at Liberty: Which things, if he would cauſe to be 'granted, they would give any reaſonable Tax 'for Redemption of their King. To theſe Demands the Prince deſired time to give an Anſwer [c], thinking by delays to ſeparate and diſunite their Councils; but the Deputies at length grew cold, and ſo nothing was done at that Meeting, ſave that it ſo much infected the Subjects, and eſpecially the People of *Paris*, that they demanded to have the King of *Navarre* deliver'd immediately according to the Decrees of the Deputies; and at length ſo prevailed with *Pinguigny*, the Governour of *Artoys*, who had the keeping of him, that he was releaſed after nineteen Months Impriſonment, comes to *Paris* accompany'd with a ſtately Train, and ſo much Confidence, as if he would ſhew that he intended to revenge himſelf, and was receiv'd with univerſal Joy of the Citizens; to whom he declares with great Eloquence, what Wrongs he had receiv'd, and intimated, that he had a Title to their Crown, and ſo put that City into ſuch a Combuſtion, that the Redemption of the King was quite laid aſide, and the Prince was forc'd by an Act of Abolition to pardon the King of *Navarre*, and all his Complices for all former Offences to pacifie them. The Prince ſeeing the Perverſeneſs of the *Pariſians*, went to other Cities and Provinces to ſollicit for Moneys towards the Redemption of his Father, leaving his Brother *Philip* Duke of *Orleance* at *Paris* to keep them in the beſt Order he could, in his Abſence. The Province of *Languedoc* is highly commended in the *French* Hiſtories for the firſt who made the largeſt Offers to purchaſe their King's Liberty, in the Aſſembly of the three States at *Tholouſe*, promiſing in it to their Governour the Count *D' Arminiacque* not only to contribute their Revenues, and moveables, but to ſell their Wives Jewels to raiſe a ſufficient Sum for it; and to teſtifie their Sorrow for their King's Misfortunes, they order'd, That no coſtly Cloaths, Feaſting, Plays, or other Paſtimes, ſhould be us'd in their Province, during the time of their King's Captivity. *Champaign* follow'd this Example; but nothing could prevail with the People of *Paris* to give any thing. The King of *Navarre* had won them not only from their Obedience, but taught them to put off all Humanity, and put them into ſuch Flames of Rebellion, that when the Dauphin return'd to the City, the Provoſt of Merchants beſet his Houſe with three thouſand Artificers in Arms, and ruſhing up into the Prince's Chamber with ſome of his Company, ſlew *Jan de Conflans* and *Robert de Clermont*, in his Preſence, becauſe, as he pretended, they being his chief Counſellors, had given him bad Advice; takes off the Prince's Hat from his Head, and having put on himſelf his own as the City Livery, went out to the Throng, and cauſed the Bodies of theſe two Noblemen to be drawn along the Streets, that the Rabble might applaud the Murther. Then the Provoſt writes in the Name of the whole City to all the great Towns to join with them, and take their Livery, as the Prince had done for the Reformation of the State; and in the mean time, they compoſed a Council among themſelves, of which the Biſhop of *Laon* was Preſident: And the Provoſt, with ſome of the Univerſity chief Heads, aſſuming a Sovereign Power to order all Affairs of State as a Commonwealth. In ſo great a confuſion was the Kingdom without an Head, and ſo ready to ſhake off all Regal Authority and Power.

A. D. 1357. Reg. 31.

Contributions for the Redemption of the French King.

The State of France during their King's Captivity.

The King of Navarre ſet at Liberty.

A Tumult in Paris.

The Dauphin thus diſgraced and perplexed, with much Difficulty got out of that tumultuous City, and flies into *Champaign*, where he aſſembled the States at *Vertus*, whom he found Loyal and ready to yield him all Aſſiſtance. The reſt of the great Towns refuſing alſo with much Diſdain to joyn with the City of *Paris*, offer him their Aid: So that he was much encourag'd, and likely to have effected his Deſires in a ſhort time, had not the King of *Navarre*, who ſought his Deſtruction, raiſed new Troubles in the State, and taken Arms againſt him; by which means not only he was much hinder'd in his Deſigns, and the Malecontents of the Nation encourag'd to diſturb the Peace (for the Peaſants, who had been undone by the Soldiers, and miſerably plunder'd by their Lords, armed themſelves in the Country of *Beauvaſis*, and reveng'd themſelves upon the Gentry and ſuch as had done them wrong, ſpoiling and burning their Houſes, killing their Wives and Children in a barbarous manner, and Troops

Some Cities hold Loyal, but the King of Navarre promotes Tumults.

[a] He Landed at *Plymouth* on the fifth of *May*, 1357. and went with his Royal Priſoner by eaſie Journeys to *London*, where King *John* made his Publick Entry, mounted on a ſtately white Courſer, the Prince of *Wales* riding by his ſide on a little black Nag. *Froiſſard.*

[b] Sterling.

[c] 'Till he could ſend to his Father, whoſe Anſwer was, *He had rather continue a Priſoner to an Honourable Enemy, than return Home, and be a Slave to his own Subjects.*

A. D. 1359. Reg. 33.

of disbanded Soldiers, who had nothing to subsist of, joyned together in Companies, and ravag'd the Kingdom) but also hinder'd the Redemption of their King; so that King *Edward*, who longed to fill his Treasure with a large Price for his Ransome, began not only to exact Homage of the Captive King for his Kingdom of *France*, but resolved to make an end of this Work with the Sword, and take Possession of the Kingdom of *France* by Force[a], which the Captive King would not resign to him. Wherefore he passes over into *France* with eleven hundred Sail, and Lands at *Callis* with a mighty Army[b], which he divided into three parts, committing one to the Conduct of the Prince of *Wales*, another to the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the third he leads himself: And first he marches to the City of *Arras*, which he took within three Days, thence into *Champaign*, where the Cities of *Sens* and *Nevers* are surrender'd to him. The Dutchy of *Burgogne* being terrify'd with these Examples, redeem'd it from Spoil, by paying to the King two hundred thousand Florins of Gold[c]. Being furnished with this Treasure, King *Edward* marches up to *Paris*, where the Dauphin (who having lately overcome the Faction, and executed the principal Mutiners, was created Regent) had posted himself with a considerable Body of Men, who in the common Danger flocked together to defend their Country, and would not (by the Example of his Father and Grandfather) be drawn out to hazard them, but only stood upon his Defence; which the King of *England* seeing, after many Provocations, he raised the Siege and[d] returned into *Britain* to refresh his Army. In the mean time, the Regent lays in a great store of Victuals, and provides that he might have enough to maintain his Soldiers without oppressing the Inhabitants, and with extream Diligence so fortify'd the City, that King *Edward* returning with all his fresh Power, was not able to do any thing against him, as he expected; and so the City, that so lately was like to have endanger'd the whole Kingdom, was now the only means to save it. From *Paris* therefore King *Edward* goes with his Army towards *Chartres* with a design to besiege that City; but in the way he was so affrighted with a terrible Storm of Hail, Thunder and Lightning, which fell upon his Army, that he vow'd he wou'd make Peace with the *French* King upon any reasonable Conditions, as he shortly after[e] did at the Treaty of *Britigny* near *Chartres* upon these Articles, *viz.* 'That the Country of *Poi-* 'tou, the Fiefs of *Thouars* and *Belleville*, the 'Countries of *Gascoigne*, *Agenois*, *Perigort*, *Li-* 'mosin, *Cahors*, *Torbe*, *Bigorres*, *Rovergne*, *Angou-* 'lesm in Soveraignty, with the Homages of the 'Lords within those Territories; *Monstruel* on 'the Sea, *Ponthieu*, *Callis*, *Guines*, *La Merke*, 'Sangote, *Boulogne*, *Hames*, *Vales*, and *Onis*, 'should he under the Command of the King of 'England; That King *John* should pay for his 'Ransom three Millions of[f] Scutes of Gold, of 'which six hundred thousand to be presently 'paid in hand, four hundred thousand the Year 'following, and the remaining part in the two 'next Years upon reasonable demand: And in 'Consideration of the former Grants, the King of 'England, and his Son the Prince of *Wales* as well for themselves as their Successors, for ever 'should renounce all the Right which they pretended to the Crown of *France*, the Dutchy of 'Normandy, the Countries of *Tourin*, *Anjou* and 'Main, the Soveraignty and Homage of the 'Dutchy of *Britain*, and the Earldom of *Flan-* 'ders; and within three Weeks King *John* should 'be carry'd to *Callis*, and set on Land at the 'King of *England*'s Charge, except the Expences 'of his House. And for the sure Performance of these Articles on the King of *France*'s part, the King of *England* was to have these Hostages deliver'd to him, *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou*, *John* Duke of *Berry* (his Son) *Philip* Duke of *Orleance* his Brother, *John* Duke of *Burgogne*, the Counts of *Bloys*, *Alenzon*, *S. Pol*, *Harcourt*, *Poncian*, *Valentinois*, *Grand Pre*, *De Brenne*, *Des Forrests*; the Lords *Vaudemont*, *Consey*, *Piennez*, *De S. Venant*, *De Preaux*, *De Momerancy*, *De Garanciecis*, *La Roche*, *Guion*, *Eston-teville*, *Le Dauphine*, *d' Averigne*, *d' Andrigil*, and *De Craon*, sufficient Securities for the said Sums and Conditions. The *Scots* also were not to be aided by the *French* King, nor *Flemmings* by the *English*: *Charles* King of *Navarre*, and his Brother *Philip* were likewise comprehended in these Articles, *&c.* This Agreement of Peace enter'd into by both Kings, was ratified by their two eldest Sons *Charles* and *Edward*, and sworn to by the Nobility of both Kingdoms. The Hostages were thereupon deliver'd to King *Edward*; who departing from *Honfleur*, brought them over into *England*, leaving the Earl of *Warwick* in *France* to compleat the Peace[g]. King *John* is honourably attended to *Callis*, ready to be deliver'd at the Payment of the first part of his Ransom, which to raise the City of *Paris*, pays one thousand Royals, and by their Example other Cities contributed their Proportions: And so King *John* was again set at Liberty[h] after having remain'd about five Years a Prisoner in *England*, the two Kings parting from each other with all outward Demonstrations of Brotherly Love.

King Edward *goes again into* France.

Paris *stands out against King* Edward.

The Treaty of Britigny.

The King of France *freed.*

King *Edward* being returned home, calls a Parliament, wherein the Form of Peace between him and the *French* King was read, approv'd on by all the States, and an Oath taken by all the Nobility to observe the same for their parts. And here the King restored the Houses, Lands, and Tenements, which he had taken from the Friars Strangers, *An. Reg.* 12. to maintain him in his *French* Wars; which now being ended, he granted them to them again in as free a manner as they before had held them: A rare Example of Justice in this King, it being seldom known that a Prince will part with any thing he hath gotten. And now was the Glory and Happiness of *England* a little allay'd by a great Mortality, call'd, *The Second Pestilence*, by which many Noblemen died, of whom the chief was *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, one of the Royal Blood; a Prince eminent for his Wisdom and Valour, who had been a chief Actor in all these Wars, and a principal Support to the Crown of *England*, whose Daughter and Heir was a little before marry'd to *John of Gaunt* (by a Dispensation from the Pope for their too near Consanguinity) whereby he was Duke of

1361. *A Parliament call'd to ratify the Peace of* Britigny.

A great Pestilence again.

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[a] He made a Vow never to return into *England* 'till he had brought *France* to his Terms.

[b] It consisted in all of an hundred thousand Men. *Froissard.*

[c] Amounting to about 35000 *l.* Sterling.

[d] He had not been in *Bretagne* before in this Expedition.

[e] Yet with a seeming Unwillingness, and by the importunate Persuasions of the Duke of *Lancaster*, and *Simon de Langres* the Pope's Legate.

[f] A Scute of Gold is 3 *s.* 4 *d.* Sterling, or as others 6 *s.* 8 *d.*

[g] The Treaty was ratified by the Dauphin Regent of *France* before King *Edward* returned to *England*. *Du Chesne.*

[h] The 15th of *October*, 1560. he was but four Years one Month a Prisoner. On the Peace King *Edward* left off the Title and Arms of *France*.

A. D. 1362. Reg. 36.

Lancaſter. And ſhortly after, by the like Diſpenſation, the Prince of *Wales* marries the Counteſs of *Kent*[a], the Daughter of *Edmund*, Brother to *Edward* II. The King upon this Marriage gives to the Prince of *Wales* the Dutchy of *Aquitain*, reſerving to himſelf[b] Homage and Fealty; and ſhortly after ſent him over with his Wife and Retinue to keep his Court there. His Son *Lionel* Earl of *Ulſter* is ſent into *Ireland* with an Army of fifteen hundred Men, to guard his Earldom againſt the *Iriſh*, and was created Duke of *Clarence* in the next Parliament held at *Weſtminſter* in *November*, and continued till the Feaſt of S. *Brice*, his Birth-day, and fiftieth Year of his Age. This Day, that he might render remarkable to his People, and make it a Jubilee, he ſhewed himſelf exceeding Gracious to the Nation, freely pardoning many Offenders, releaſing Priſoners, recalling baniſh'd Perſons, *&c.* And upon a Petition of the Commons order'd, that all Pleadings which before were in *French*, ſhould be made in *Engliſh*, that the Subjects might underſtand the Law, *by which he holds what he hath, and is to know what he doth.* An excellent Act, and worthy of ſo great a Prince; but he had deſerved greater Honour, if he could have freed it from thoſe Difficulties and Myſteries, which render it a greater Affliction to the People than a Remedy. In it alſo was made a Statute for Purveyors (as there had been many before) enacting, That no Proviſions for the King's Court ſhould be taken up, but for ready Money, under a ſevere Puniſhment. For which Eaſements the Parliament granted him 26 *s.* upon every Sack of Wool tranſported for three Years. And ſo both People and Prince were generally pleaſed, ſaving that ſome particular Men look'd upon themſelves aggrieved by removing the Staple from *England* to *Calis*, on purpoſe to enrich that Town of his own acquiring, which might make it to be born withal. And as this greateſt of *Engliſh* Princes was careful to enlarge his Dominions, and make his People Great abroad, ſo alſo to reform their Vices, and make them Good at home. And to this end, in the next Parliament held at *Weſtminſter*, *Anno Regn.* 37. he cauſed to be enacted certain ſumptuary Laws to prevent all Exceſs both in Apparel and Diet, appointing every degree of Men, from the Shepherd to the Prince, what Habits and Stuffs they ſhould wear, prohibiting all Ornaments of Gold and Silver, Silks, and rich Furs to all, except Perſons of Quality; by which foreign Superfluities were excluded from the Nation, and our own Manufacture only uſed. The Labourer and Huſbandman appointed but one Meal a day, and what Meats they ſhould eat, *&c.* By which means Gluttony and Drunkenneſs, thoſe Vices which have enfeebled the Nation ſince, were totally baniſhed. So careful was this wiſe and frugal King to preſerve his Subject's Eſtates from exceſs. And as provident was he for the ordering and ſecuring of his own Treaſure, committing the Cuſtody of it to Conſcience and Religion For by a Certificate ſent to Pope *Urban*, *Anno Regn.* 39. concerning Pluralities, and the Eſtates of the Churchmen in *England*, there were more Clergymen in Office about the King, than about any Prince in *Chriſtendom* beſide. For firſt *Simon Langham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was Chancellor of *England*; *William Wickham* Archdeacon of *Lincoln*, keeper of the Privy-Seal; *David Weller* Parſon of *Sommerſham*, Maſter of the Rolls; ten Beneficed Prieſts, Civilians, Maſters of Chancery; *William Mulſe* Dean of S. *Martin le Grand*, Chief Chamberlain of the Exchequer, Receiver and Keeper of the King's Treaſure and Jewels; *William Aſhby* Archdeacon of *Northampton*, Chancellor of the Exchequer; *William Dighton* Prebendary of St. *Martin's*, Clark of the Privy-Seal; *Richard Cheſterfield* Prebendary of St. *Stephen's*, Treaſurer of the King's Houſe; *Henry Snatch* Parſon of *Oundle*, Maſter of the King's Wardrobe; *John Newnham* Parſon of *Fenni-Stanton*, one of the Chamberlains of the Exchequer, and Keeper of the Treaſury and Jewels; *John Rowsby* Parſon of *Harwich*, Surveyor and Controuler of the King's Works; *Thomas Brittingham* Parſon of *Aſhby*, Treaſurer to the King for the Parts of *Guiſnes*, and Marches of *Calis*; *John Troys* Treaſurer of *Ireland*, a Prieſt, and beneficed there. *Theſe Men, who were deſtitute of Feminine Allarements to Expence and Pomp, and devoted to pious Thriftineſs, were thought the fitteſt to be truſted with his Riches by this wiſe King.*

A. D. 1362. Reg. 36.

King Edward's Acts of Grace at the 50th Year of his Age.

All Pleadings ordained to be in Engliſh.

Laws for Cloathing.

King Edward's Care to preſerve Treaſure, and his Confidence in the Clergy.

Shortly after this[d] three Kings came to viſit the King of *England*, the King of *France*, King of *Scots*, and King of *Cyprus*. The occaſion of the *French* King's coming was chiefly to free ſome Hoſtages[e] that remained here, and to clear himſelf of the Imputations, laid to him, for not obſerving the late Peace in all points; wherewith his Nobles were much diſcontented, and many Conteſts aroſe about it; ſo that in an Aſſembly of the States at *Paris*, certain Lords, whoſe Homages by the Treaty were due to the King of *England*, proteſted againſt it, alledging, 'That the King 'could not diſpoſe of the Sovereignty of his 'Kingdom, nor alienate his Demeſne, and there'fore they would not ſubmit to it. Nevertheleſs the *French* King, leſt King *Edward* ſhould look upon it as Contrivance between the King and his Subjects, publiſhed his Edict to command the Obſervation of the Treaty, and certified the King of *England* of it. Beſides, he had reſolved upon an Expedition to the Holy War, and deſired to ſettle all things at Peace at home before his going. And theſe were the Occaſion of his coming, and not his Love to the Counteſs of *Saliſbury*[f], as was imagined by ſome. But howſoever it was, this King ſhewed a ſtrange Inclination to return to his Goal, where he had endured ſo much affliction, and where ſhortly after his coming he ended his Life[g], much lamented of the King of *England*, who ſolemnly attended his Corps to *Dover*, from whence it was conveyed to S. *Dennis*, and there entomb'd with his Anceſtors. The Debate for the Dutchy of *Britain* was about this time ended by the Death of *Charles de Bloys*, who was ſlain in a Battel near *Vannes* by *John de Monfort*, and the *Engliſh* Forces commanded by the Lord *Latimer*, Sir *John Chandois*, and Sir *Hugh Caverley*. *John de Monfort* marries *Mary* the Daughter of King *Edward*, and by his Conſent did Homage for that Dutchy to *Charles* now

K. Edward viſited by three Kings at once.

King of France dy'd in England.

1364. *The Quarrel about Britain ended.*

[a] She was called the Counteſs of *Salisbury* by ſome Hiſtorians, becauſe ſhe had in her Youth been betroth'd to *William Mountacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, from whom ſhe was divorced by conſent.

[b] Which the Prince paid to his Father before his Departure.

[c] He granted a general and ſpecial Pardon. *Rot. Par.* 36 *Edw.* 3. c. 15.

[d] One *Henry Picard*, a wealthy Citizen of *London*, magnificently treated theſe four Kings, to his great Honour. *Henry Picard* was Mayor in the Year 1357. when King *John* made his Entry into *London* as a Priſoner. He was a Wine-Merchant, and treated them at his Houſe, ſince called the *Vintry*. *Stow's* Survey of *Lond.* p. 255.

[e] To excuſe his Son the D. of *Anjou's* ſtealing away from *Calis*, where he was out upon his Parole, being one of the *French* Hoſtages, and eſcaping into *France*, having broken his Word and Honour, engag'd to the *Engliſh* to be a true Priſoner. *Froſſ.*

[f] As Sir *Richard Baker*, and ſome other modern Writers, falſely relate.

[g] On the 8th of *April*, 1364.

King

A. D. 1364. Reg. 38.

King of *France*, compounding with the Widow of *Charles de Bloys* for a Sum of Money, and some Eſtate in Land. And now Peace began to flouriſh, which is unwelcome to none but Soldiers, of which many, whom the War had bred, and Peace would not maintain, getting into ſtrong Bodies in *France*, did much miſchief, till a new Employment was found for them in the *Spaniſh* Wars, which happen'd ſoon after. A Company of them paſſed over into *Italy* under the Conduct of Sir *John Haucut* [a] a great Warriour, who found ſuch Entertainment among the Princes there for the Reſtoration of military Diſcipline among them, and ſuch Honour and Eſtate by his Valour, that his Fame remains to this Day, and his Statute (tho' he was but a Taylor) is there ſet among their Princes, moſt memorable for Virtue and Actions. So able was *England* at that time to furniſh the World with great Commanders.

Sir John Haucut famous in Italy, and by them call'd Johannes de Acuto.

1366.

And now is this mighty King come to the fortieth Year of his Reign, which if it had been the laſt, he had dy'd the moſt glorious Prince of the World, having always hitherto had Fortune his Friend; but after this he ſuffer'd a Declination in his Glory, and his Age and Frailties brought ſome Blemiſhes upon his Actions. *Charles* V. King of *France*, ſurnam'd the Wiſe, having learned, by the Sufferings of his Father and himſelf, to manage a Crown before he had one, by his prudent Government got great advantages of him, and by the Advice of a wiſe Council, and good Conduct of his Wars by *Gueſelin*, a *Britain*, choſen Conſtable of *France*, recovered his Eſtate and Power.

Charles K. of France gains much from the K. of England.

1367.

The Prince of *Wales* remaining in the Dutchy of *Aquitain*, with a great Court, and many military Attendants, which had no Employment, was ſollicited by *Peter* King of *Caſtile* [b], whom his Baſtard-Brother *Henry* had driven from his Kingdom to aſſiſt him in recovering it; which the Prince, having obtained his Father's Conſent, and being allured to, by the large Promiſes of Requital made by the ſaid *Peter*, undertakes. The Cauſe was much better than the Perſon. For this *Peter*, Son to *Alphonſus* II. King of *Caſtile*, was become intolerable to his Subjects, by his many tyrannical Cruelties acted upon them, oppreſſing and deſtroying his Nobles to enrich himſelf, and after murthering his Wife (who was the Duke of *Bourbon*'s Daughter, and Siſter to the preſent Queen of *France*) by the Inſtigation of his Concubine *Maria de Padilla*, whom he after marry'd. Theſe Actions of his ſo incenſed his People, that they adhering to his Baſtard-Brother *Henry*, a more virtuous Prince, crown'd him King of *Spain* at *Bargos*, and forced *Peter* to fly his Kingdom. *Peter* being thus rejected of his People, and expelled his own Dominions, fled to the Prince of *Wales*, and obtained of him ſo much, that he went with an Army of thirty thouſand, attended by his Brother *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*, and many other *Engliſh* Lords, to re-inveſt him in his Kingdom. *Henry* had to ſupport his Poſſeſſion the *French*, under the Command of *Gueſelin* Conſtable, and *Dandreben* [c] Marſhal of *France*, beſides ſo many *Caſtilians*, *Chriſtians* and *Sarazens*, as made him up an Army of near an hundred thouſand Men. Upon the Confines of *Caſtile* theſe

Prince of Wales aſſiſts the King of Caſtile, and reſtores him to his Kingdom.

A. D. 1367. Reg. 41.

Princes and their Armies came to a Battle [d], and the Prince had the Victory, *Henry* being put to flight, the *French* Captains taken Priſoners, and *Peter* placed upon his Throne again at *Burgos*. The Work being done, the Prince required the promiſed Reward, but *Peter* could not, nor would provide it; but having tired him with Delays, forced him at laſt to return to *Burdeaux*, without Money to pay his Army, and which was worſt, without Health, which he never after recovered. This Succeſs proved not fortunate to either. *Peter*, an ungrateful Tyrant, enjoy'd not his Right long, but was ſoon after diſpoſſeſſed again, taken and put to Death. The Prince of *Wales* returning out of *Spain* without Reward, was forced to find out ways to content his Soldiers, who wanted their Pay; and impoſed a new Tax upon the *Gaſcoignes*, of Fevage, or Chimney-money; which ſo diſcontented the People, that they exclaimed againſt the Government of the *Engliſh*, and appealed to the King and Court of *France* for Redreſs. The King of *France*, at the earneſt requeſt of the great Lords, and others, who by the late Treaty were obliged to hold of the Crown of *England*, ſends a Gentleman to the Prince of *Wales* at *Burdeaux* to ſummon him to anſwer to their Complaints before him and his Court at *Paris* [e]. At the ſame time alſo the Lords *Arminiacq*, *D' Albert*, *Peregort*, *Cominges*, and many others, made their Proteſtations againſt the King of *England*, in behalf of the Crown of *France*, 'which, ſaid they, they were by Nature 'to obey, and not a ſtrange Prince; That it was 'againſt the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom 'to ſeperate them from the Crown; That the 'Contract was made in Priſon, and therefore 'conſtrained, and ſo not to be obſerved by the 'Right of Nations. So that they were reſolved to ſpend their Lives and Eſtates, rather than be under the Government of *England*. And by their Example the Cities of the County of *Ponthieu* ſubmitted themſelves to *Guy* Count *de S. Poll*, and *Guy de Chaſtillon*. The King of *England* diſpleaſed with this Breach of the Treaty, complains to the Pope, and the Emperor *Charles* IV. who made a Journey into *France* on purpoſe to determine the Buſineſs, and reconcile the two Kings. The Ambaſſadors on both ſides declared their Cauſe to him. The *Engliſh* alledged firſt, 'That this Treaty 'having been made more for the advantage of '*France* than *England*, in that we reſigned there- 1369. 'by not only our Title to *Normandy*, *Tourain*, and '*Anjou*, the richeſt Countries of *France*, but our 'Title to the Crown, that we might have the 'Sovereign Dominion of the Dutchy of *Aquitain*, 'the County of *Ponthieu*, with ſome other pieces, 'which by Right of Inheritance belonged to the 'Crown of *England*, whereby the Effuſion of 'Chriſtian Blood was prevented, *France* had 'Peace, and their King reſtored upon as reaſon- 'able Conditions as could be deviſed. Notwith- 'ſtanding this, the *French* King (who himſelf, 'with all the Council of *France*, had agreed up- 'on the Peace, and ſworn to obſerve it) hath 'contrary to the Law of God and Nations (after 'he had gotten his Hoſtages by Fraud) ſeized 'upon the Dutchy of *Aquitain*, and Country of 'Ponthieu, without denouncing War, &c. The

The ill Succeſs of the Prince's Expedition into Caſtile.

The French Princes refuſe Subjection to K. Edward.

The Emperor made Umpire between the Kings of England and France.

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[a] Sir *John Hawkwood* was the Son of a Tanner in *Eſſex*, and bound Prentice to a Taylor in *London*, but going to the *French* Wars, roſe by his Valour to the Honour of Knighthood. He paſt into *Italy* after the Peace; was mightily eſteem'd by *Barnaby* Duke of *Milan*, who gave him his natural Daughter in Marriage. He afterwards ſerved the Republick of *Florence*, who when he dy'd erected a noble Monument for him in that City, where his Statute on Horſeback ſtill remains. He is called by the *Italians Johannes Acutus*, or *de Acuto*. *Paulus Jovius Elog. Illuſt. Vir. lib.* 2. [b] Sirnam'd the *Cruel*.

[c] The Seigneur *Arnold d' Endreghan* Mareſchal of *France*.

[d] On the 3d of *April*, at *Najara*, in the Province of *Rioxa* in *Old Caſtile*.

[e] The Prince anſwer'd, *We ſhall be willing to wait on our Uncle the King of* France *at* Paris, *ſince he hath thus invited us; but it ſhall be with our Helmet on our Head, and attended by ſixty thouſand Men.*

French

A. D. 1369. Reg. 43.

French reply, 'That we by the Treaty ought to 'have immediately drawn our Army out of '*France*, but did not during all King *John's* 'Reign, by which means the Peace was more 'offenſive to them than the War, they being 'forced to purchaſe the departure of our Soldiers 'at more Charge than would have maintain'd an 'Army: So that the Breach was on our ſide. 'That King *Edward* was bound by it to renounce 'his Title to the Crown of *France* in an open 'Parliament of both Realms, which he had not 'done. And as to the Releaſe of their King, 'they ſaid, that it coſt *France* more Gold than 'it did to redeem their King S. *Lewis*, with his 'Nobles and whole Army, when taken by the 'Solden of *Egypt*, an Infidel. Thus both ſides defended themſelves. But the *French* King (it ſeems) tho' willing to get in what he could of his Country, yet was unwilling to renew the War, and therefore courted the King of *England* to Peace by many Preſents. But *Edward* ſeeing himſelf thus deluded, prepared to vindicate himſelf by the Sword; and having borrowed great Sums of Money of the Clergy, [a] ſends over *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*, and *Humphrey Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, with a mighty Army to *Callis*, to invade *France* on this ſide, while the Prince of *Wales* endeavour'd to recover the revolted Towns of the other. But the Duke returned a little after without effect. *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick* was then ſent over with freſh Supplies, but dy'd in the Journey. Sir *Robert Knolls* [b], a Man highly celebrated in thoſe times for his Conduct and Valour, was ſent with another Army, conſiſting of many great Lords, who diſdaining to be commanded by one that they accounted their Inferiour, overthrew themſelves, and fruſtrated that Expedition [c]. Thus the *Engliſh* loſt their ground, and the *French* King grew greater both in Power and Alliance. For *Margaret*, the only Daughter and Heir of *Lewis* Earl of *Flanders*, to whom King *Edward* ſought to match his Son *Edmond*, was won to marry *Philip the Hardy* Duke of *Burgogne*, Brother of the *French* King. This much vexed the King of *England*, who to revenge himſelf the better, calls a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, wherein he reſumes his Claim to the Crown of *France*, and deſires an Aid of his Subjects to recover it, and obtained it. The Clergy granted him fifty thouſand Pounds to be paid the ſame Year, and the Laity as much. For the levying of which every Pariſh in *England* was rated at firſt to pay 23 *s.* 4 *d.* (the Great to help the leſs) upon a Suppoſition there had been Pariſhes enough to have made up that Sum. But by a Certificate made in return to the King's Writs, ſent out to enquire what Number of Pariſhes there were in every Shire, they found it came ſhort, and then they rated every Pariſh at 5 *l.* 16 *s.* (the Greater to help the Leſs) and ſo of 8600 Pariſhes found to be in the 37 Shires, 50181 *l.* 0 *s.* 8 *d.* was raiſed. But in regard of the great Poverty of *Suffolk* and *Devonſhire*, the 181 *l.* was abated, and ſo the King received 50000 *l.* for the Laity. Upon the grant of this Supply, the King again confirmed [d] the great Charter, and the Charter of Foreſts, and promiſed that they ſhould be obſerved in all points, which in moſt of his Parliaments was his firſt Act, as appears by the printed Statutes. And now *John* Duke *Lancaſter*, and *Edmund* Earl of *Cambridge*, are ſent with Forces into *Aquitain* to aſſiſt the Prince of *Wales*, who after he had taken *Limoges* [e] that had revolted, his Health not holding out to perform any more, left the proſecution of the War to his Brother, and with his Wife, and young Son *Richard*, born at *Burdeaux*, returns home into *England*, and reſigns to his Father the Dutchy of *Aquitain*. The Duke of *Lancaſter*, after the departure of the Prince, did little elſe but provide himſelf a Wife. For being a Widower by the Death of his Wife, who dy'd about two Years before, near the time of the Queen *Philippa's* Death, he marry'd *Conſtance* the Daughter of *Peter* King of *Caſtile*, by whom he had (after her Father's Death) the empty Title of King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, but left it to his Daughter to poſſeſs. For *Katherine*, whom he had by her, being marry'd to *Henry* the Grandſon of the Uſurper, *Henry* the Baſtard, and in her Right now King of both thoſe Realms, became Queen of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, and left her Poſterity Kings of *Spain*. *Edmund* Earl of *Cambridge* marry'd at the ſame time *Iſabel* the Daughter of King *Peter*, and both of them ſhortly after return'd into *England*, tho' without Victory, yet with Wives. *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, a little before, had marry'd *Violenta*, the Daughter of the Duke of *Milan* in *Italy*, where they feaſted him ſo much, that he dy'd ſoon after. The City of *Rochel*, which yet held out for the *Engliſh*, had endured a long Siege both by Sea and Land; to relieve which important place, the Earl of *Pembroke* is ſent with forty Ships well mann'd and victuall'd, and furniſh'd with twenty thouſand Marks to defray the Charge of the Voyage. But encountering the *Spaniſh Armado*, which was ſent to aid the *French* in this Siege by *Henry* King of *Caſtile*, after a long and cruel Fight he was taken Priſoner, and his Navy utterly deſtroyed. King *Edward* himſelf, tho' now aged, ſets forth with a mighty Army to recover theſe Loſſes, but loſt the more, Winds and Fortune being againſt him to beat him back; ſo that all his Preparations, in which he had ſpent nine hundred thouſand Marks, were to no purpoſe. Shortly after *John* Duke of *Lancaſter* went over to *Callis* with another, which he led through *France* by the way of *Avergne*, and loſt many of his People in the Mountains for want of Victuals, and almoſt all his Horſe; ſo that he came to *Burdeaux* with his Army almoſt ſtarv'd. After he had refreſhed them well, he made ſome attempts upon the Enemy, but without effect; the Date of the *Engliſh* Victories was out, and all things were unſucceſsful. The Duke returns the next Year, and all *Gaſcoigne* revolted, except *Burdeaux* and *Bayon*. King *Edward* obtained another Supply of the Parliament, a tenth of the Clergy, and fifteenth of the Laity, towards theſe Wars. But ſought all means to end them by a Treaty; a very unlikely way to do any good. Yet two Years were ſpent therein at *Burges* and other places, at great Charges by Commiſſioners, and with much Debate. The *French* having now the advantage of the Time, would make their own Conditions, requiring *Callis*, and Reſtitution of great Sums of Money, which would not be granted. So that nothing but temporary Truces could be gotten,

The Engliſh *unſucceſsful againſt* France.

1370.

A Tax given K. Edward *to recover* France.

1371.

8600 *Pariſhes in* 37 *Counties of* England.

A. D. 1371. Reg. 45.

The Prince of Wales *goes ſick into* England, *and the Duke of* Lancaſter *ſent into* Aquitain, *where he marry'd.*

1372.

The Earl of Pembroke *taken Priſoner in relieving* Rochel.

1373.

Truces with France, *to the* Engliſh *loſs.*

[a] He reaſſumed the Title and Arms of *France*, and promiſed to give his Subjects all they could conquer in *France*.

[b] He roſe from a common Soldier to the Poſt he was in.

[c] Sir *Robert* did what he could. He marched through *France* to the Neighbourhood of *Paris* with a ſmall Army, and defied the *French* King, who durſt not come out of his Quarters. But afterwards the young Lords grew mutinous, and he diſmiſſed his Soldiers.

[d] This King confirmed the Great Charter twelve times in his Reign; which ſhews not only how willing the King was to humour his Subject's Diſtruſts, but alſo how much the Laws and Cuſtoms contained in it were valued by them.

[e] The Prince was ſo angry with the Inhabitants of *Limoges*, that he put four thouſand of them to the Sword.

and

A. D. 1373. Reg. 47.

and in them the *Engliſh* and their Party had always the worſt.

K. Edward *miſled in his Old Age.*

Nor was the ſtate of the King's Affairs better at home than abroad. The Sickneſs of the Prince grew deſperate, the Government diſorder'd, the King in his Age miſled, the Treaſure exhauſted, and all Affairs ill managed. A Parliament [a] was call'd at *Weſtminſter* to cure theſe Evils, in which the King's Wants were laid open, and Supplies required; but the whole Body of that Aſſembly, weary of bearing ſuch continual Burthens, inſtead of contributing, prefer Complaints, charging the King's Officers with Fraud, and humbly begging, that [b] the Duke of *Lancaſter*, the Lord *Latimer* then Lord Chamberlain, Dame [c] *Alice Peirce* the King's Concubine, and one Sir *Richard Sturry*, might be removed from Court. Theſe Complaints and Deſires were ſo vehemently urg'd by their Speaker, Sir *Peter la Mare* [d], that the King, rather than not be ſupply'd, gave way to them, and all thoſe Perſons are immediately expell'd from Court. The Prince was thought to favour theſe proceedings, becauſe there was no good Correſpondence between him and his Brother the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who manag'd all under his aged Father, and whoſe Ambition might be dangerous to his young Son *Richard*, whom he was like to leave to his Mercy. In this Parliament, the King being now in the 50th Year of his Reign, to gratifie his Subjects, granted another General Pardon, as a ſecond Jubilee, only excepting [e] *William Wickham* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who was lately fallen under the King's Diſpleaſure, through the procurement of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and forbidden to come to the Parliament. But this Jubilee was turn'd into Sorrow by the Death of the [f] Prince of *Wales*, which happen'd while this Parliament ſate: A great loſs to the State, being a Prince endued with all excellent Virtues, and free from all Vices. His Death chang'd the face of Affairs. The late excluded Perſons return to the Court, and their former Places; and ſo this Parliament (tho' call'd the good Parliament) produced ill effects by their Petitions. For Sir *Peter de la Mare*, at the Suit of *Alice Peirce*, an impudent Woman, was committed to a perpetual Impriſonment at *Nottingham*. The Duke of *Lancaſter* is [g] enſtated in the Regency, and manages all the Affairs of the Kingdom. But King *Edward*, to prevent the miſchiefs which might ariſe by diſordering of the Succeſſion, providently ſettled the ſame in Parliament upon *Richard* of *Burdeanx*, creating him firſt Earl of *Cheſter* and *Cornwall*, and then Prince of *Wales*; which made much for his Safety againſt the Deſigns which the Duke of *Lancaſter* had form'd to ſupplant him. For this Confirmation by the Parliament, which he had offended, and the Breach he had with the *Londoners* ſoon after, deterr'd him from ſo much as attempting that which his Son in the next Reign effected. But yet in the Station he was in under his Father, he play'd the King very much, and carry'd himſelf very imperiouſly. And firſt he ſhews his Authority upon the Earl of *March*, commanding him to go over to guard *Callis*, and the parts adjoining, which the Earl refuſed, and choſe rather to lay down his Office of Earl Marſhal, than obey his Command in that. His Office the Duke gave to Sir *Henry Percy*, one of his intimate Friends. About this time the Parliament met again at *Weſtminſter*, (whether it was a new one, or the laſt prorogued, I know not) and thither the Duke himſelf brings Prince *Richard* (being about eleven Years old) and places him in the King's Seat, having taught him to demand a Subſidy, which was two Tenths to be paid in one Year, or Twelve-pence in the Pound of all Merchandiſes ſold for one Year, and one Pound of Silver for every Knight's Fee, and of every Fire-Houſe one Penny. And this Demand the Duke earneſtly urged, ſaying, 'That one of them 'muſt of neceſſity be granted, becauſe the Ene'my had proclaimed War, and purpoſed to in'vade the Realm. The Knights of the Parliament (who were all pack'd by the Duke, as 'tis ſaid, except twelve, which he could not remove) required a time to give their Anſwer, and ſo a day was appointed. The major part made choice of one *Hungerford*, a Creature of the Duke's, to give their Anſwer. The other would have Sir *Peter de la Mare* to be enlarged, and deliver theirs, and anſwer to what could be objected againſt him before the Lords in Parliament, and ſubmit to their Judgment. Then the Duke demanded Aid of the Biſhops, but they refuſed to treat about it, without their Brother the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who was prohibited from coming to the Parliament; and ſo nothing was obtained, and the Duke diſappointed, which he ſhew'd no ſmall Reſentment of afterwards.

A. D. 1376. Reg. 50.

Richard *demands a Tax.*

The King gives Pardons in the 50th Year of his Reign.

The Prince dy'd.

Richard *the Prince's Son made Prince of* Wales.

Another Accident happen'd now, which much interrupted this and all other Affairs. [h] A certain Divine, named *John Wickliffe*, being depriv'd by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* of a Benefice in *Oxford*, which he was found unjuſtly to hold, grew thereupon diſcontented, (an Humour which generally breeds Schiſms) enveighed in his Sermons, and other Acts in the Schools, againſt the Abuſes of Churchmen, Monks, and other Religious Orders, (which were indeed not ſo free from Scandal, but that they deſerved blame) and had by

A ſtir about John Wickcliffe, *and his Doctrines.*

[a] This Parliament was called the Good Parliament.

[b] Who made too wide Signs of affecting the Crown.

[c] Who was grown ſo inſolent, that (as if ſhe was the King's Vicegerent) ſhe would ſit in the Courts of Judicature, controul the Judges, and manage them as ſhe pleaſed.

[d] He was a Knight of *Herefordſhire*, but not Speaker of this Parliament, as *Walſingham* and *Daniell* after him erroneouſly relate. *Chron. Eves.*

[e] This Biſhop had divulged, that the Duke of *Lancaſter* was not the King's Son, and that the Queen her ſelf told him in Confeſſion ſo; which coming to the Duke's Ear, he cauſed him to be deprived of his Biſhoprick, his Goods to be confiſcated, and himſelf injoined not to come within twenty Miles of *London*.

[f] Who dy'd *June* 8. 1376. in the 46th Year of his Age, upon *Trinity-Sunday*, the Day which he always kept with moſt ſingular Devotion, as preſaging the happy Reward of worſhipping the Trinity in Unity, which he was immediately to receive.

[g] Contrary to the Order of this Parliament, which provided, that ſince the King through Age and Weakneſs was unable to govern the Realm, twelve of the moſt ſage and diſcreet Lords ſhould diſpoſe of all National Affairs under him, by ſix at a time.

[h] Mr. *Daniell* ſeems to have taken up an Account of *John Wickcliffe*'s Preaching, and other Circumſtances, from his Enemies the Monks. He repreſents him a little better than a poor Pariſh-Prieſt, ſo ſtreightned for Preferment, that he wrongfully ſeized upon another's Benefice; and becauſe he was juſtly deprived of it, merely out of Anger and Diſcontent, he broached a Schiſm, and fictiouſly maintained ſeveral Anti-papiſtical Doctrines. But the Truth is far otherwiſe: For tho' his Parentage be not known to us, yet his Education and Life is manifeſt enough. He was brought up in *Merton*-College in *Oxford*, where he took his Degrees to Doctor of Divinity, and performed all his Exerciſes with great Applauſe, according to the Reputation he had for Learning in that Univerſity. He was once ſent Ambaſſador by this King to the Pope, and his Commiſſion is extant in Mr. *Fox*, p. 390. and bears Date *July* 26. 1391. He was Reader in Divinity ſeveral Years in *Oxford*, and was only through force of Truth induced to hold the Doctrines againſt the Real Preſence, Pilgrimages, Purgatory, *&c.* He had a Living in *Oxford*, where through Zeal to reform the Church, he preach'd the ſame Doctrine, and ſo enraged the Monks, that they procured *Simon Sudbury* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to ſilence and deprive him. Several Noblemen favoured and encouraged him, if for any politick Ends, 'twas their fault; we find not that he uſed their Favour for any Intereſt, but to defend himſelf in Preaching the Divine Truth. We wonder Mr. *Daniell* ſhould not have informed himſelf better of *Wickcliffe*'s Condition. Mr. *Wood* in his *Antiq. Oxon.* c. 1. p. 184, 186. ſays, He was Warden of *Canterbury* College in *Oxford*.

his

A. D. 1376. Reg. 50. his Doctrine there and at *London*, gotten himſelf many Followers (who after were called in Contempt *Lollards*) profeſſing Poverty, going bare-footed, and poorly clad in Ruſſet; which made them (as Extreams uſually are) the more noted, and get the more into the Opinion of the People, who are apt to embrace Novelties, and uſually beguiled with Diſguiſes, being more apt to believe than judge. Among other his Doctrines he taught, That neither any King nor Temporal Lord could give any thing in Perpetuity to Church-men; and that Temporal Lords, if they needed, might lawfully take away the Goods of ſuch Religious Perſons to relieve themſelves in their Neceſſities by the Example of

1377. *William Ruſus*, &c. A Doctrine very pleaſing to great Men, who embrace Sects, either thro' Ambition to get, or Fear of loſing, or thro' Hatred, that they may revenge themſelves. This Man the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and Sir *Henry Peircy*, much favour'd and encourag'd, extolling him both for his Learning and Integrity of Life; which ſo embolden'd him, that he daily in one Church or other publiſh'd his Opinions freely: Whereupon, at length, he is cited to anſwer before the Archbiſhop and Biſhop of *London*, and others in St. *Paul's*. At the day appointed the Duke of *Lancaſter* and Lord Marſhal went to conduct him, and by the way he was animated by his Followers not to fear the Biſhops. When they came to S. *Paul's* the Preſs was ſo great, that hardly any Paſſage could be made into the Church; whereupon the Marſhal uſing ſome Violence, thruſt in among the People; which *Courtney* the Biſhop of *London* obſerving, forbad him to do, ſaying, 'If he had 'known that he wou'd have behav'd himſelf ſo 'in that place, he ſhould not have come into it. The Duke hearing theſe words, angrily replied, 'That the Marſhal ſhould execute his Authority 'whether he would or not. When they were come to our Lady's Chapel, the Duke, Barons, and Biſhops ſitting down; *John Wickliffe* being ſent for by the Lord Marſhal, was by him deſired to ſit down, becauſe as he ſaid, *The Man had much to anſwer to, and needed a convenient Seat.* The Biſhop of *London* told him, That it was againſt all Law and Reaſon, that a Perſon cited before his Ordinary ſhould ſit, and thereupon angry words aroſe between the Lord Marſhal and the Biſhop. The Duke takes the Marſhal's part, and ſharply reproved the Biſhop, and the Biſhop returns the like to the Duke; who in great Rage, ſeeing he could not prevail, ſwore, 'That he would pull down the Pride 'of him, and all the Biſhops of *England*: And 'tho' you truſt, ſaid he, to your Parentage, that 'ſhall do you no Service. The Biſhop anſwer'd, 'I truſt not to my Parents, nor any Man living, 'but in God only, in whom I ought to truſt. The Duke, as if he whiſper'd in his Ear, told him, 'That he had rather pull him out of the 'Church by the Hair of the Head, than ſuffer 'ſuch Indignities and Affronts; which Words the *Londoners* over-hearing, ſwore with a loud Voice, 'They would loſe their Lives, rather than 'ſuffer their Biſhop to be thus injur'd, and threa-'ten'd to be pull'd out of his own Church. And their Fury was the greater towards the Duke, becauſe the day before in the Parliament (of which he was Preſident) it was requir'd in the King's Name, that from thenceforth there ſhould be no more a Mayor of *London*, but a Captain appointed for the Government of the City, and that the Lord Marſhal of *England* ſhould arreſt Offenders within the Liberties, as in other places. About this Buſineſs, and the Wrong offer'd to their Biſhop, the Citizens aſſembled the next day, to conſult among themſelves what to do; which, as they were concerting upon, the Lord *Fitz-Walter* and *Guido Brian*, came into the City. The People ſeeing them, furiouſly ran to them, and had like to have fall'n foul upon them for coming unſent for at that time: But the Lord *Fitz-Walter* proteſted, That he came for no other end, but to offer his Service to the City, being by Inheritance their Standard-bearer; and therefore thought himſelf oblig'd to take all Injuries offer'd to them as done to himſelf, and deſir'd them to ſtand upon their own Defence. At this they preſently take Arms, aſſault the Marſhal's Inn, and breaking open the Gates brought forth a Priſoner in his Shackles, and ſet him at Liberty, but found not the Lord Marſhal, whom they ſought, being at Dinner that Day with the Duke at *John de Ipres's*[a] Houſe. Then did the furious Multitude run to aſſault the *Savoy*, the Duke's Houſe; which a Knight of the Duke's Retinue ſeeing, went in haſte to the Place where the Duke dined to acquaint him with this Uproar in the City. The Duke hearing it, leaps ſo haſtily from the Table, that he broke both his Shins againſt the Form, and with Sir *Henry Peircy*, paſſes over by Boat to *Kenſington* near *Lambert*, to the Prince and Princeſs his Mother, to complain of the Violence offer'd him by a riotous Rabble of the Citizens. In the mean time, the Multitude coming to the *Savoy* met a Prieſt, who being inquiſitive to know the Buſineſs they were about, was anſwer'd, 'They were going to take the Duke 'and Lord Marſhal, and compel them to releaſe 'Sir *Peter de la Mare* from his unjuſt Impriſon-'ment. The Prieſt replied, 'That Sir *Peter* was 'a Trayor to the King, and deſerv'd to be hang'd. The Rabble at theſe words cry'd out, 'This is 'Peircy, the Traytor to *England*, his Speech be-'trays him, tho' in Diſguiſe, and preſently they fell upon him and kill'd him. The Biſhop of *London* hearing of this Tumult, leaves his Dinner, and goes in haſte to the *Savoy*; where he admoniſhing the People to be mindful of the Holy Time of *Lent*, and beſeeching them for the Love of Chriſt to deſiſt from ſuch ſeditious Attempts, and aſſuring them that all things ſhould be ended for the Good of the City: He ſo pacified them that they forbore to aſſault the Duke's Houſe, having miſſed of his Perſon, whom in their Fury they had certainly deſtroyed, if they met with him, as alſo the Lord Marſhal; but to ſhew their Anger, they hung up his Arms revers'd in Sign of Treaſon, in all the principal Streets of the City. The Princeſs, from *Kenſington*, ſent *Albert de Vere*, *Lewis Clifford*, and *Simon Burleigh* to the Citizens to perſuade them to make their Peace with the Duke. They returned Anſwer, 'That for her Honour they would do whatever 'ſhe commanded, but enjoyn'd the Meſſengers to 'require the Duke to ſuffer the Biſhop of *Win-'cheſter* and Sir *Peter de la Mare* to have their 'Lawful Tryal according to the Cuſtom of *Eng-'land*. They ſent likewiſe ſome of their chief Men to the ſick King to excuſe themſelves for this Tumult; proteſting, 'That they were not pri-'vy to it, but endeavour'd all they could to ſup-'preſs it, but could not do it, becauſe the whole 'Commonalty were in a Commotion; being in-'form'd, That all their Liberties were likely to 'be taken from them by Parliament. The King

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The Duke of Lancaſter *favours* Wickliffe.

Wickliffe *ſummoned before the Biſhops at S.* Paul's.

The Londoners *take the Biſhop of* London's *part.*

The Citizens aſſault the Marſhalſea and Duke's Houſe.

The Citizens in their Tumults kill a Prieſt.

The Biſhop of London *appeaſes the tumultuous Citizens.*

The Citizens ſubmit to the Princeſs, and excuſe themſelves to the King.

[a] An Eminent Merchant.

[b] *Kennington.*

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told them, 'It was never in his Thoughts to deprive them of their Liberties, but desired rather to enlarge them; and therefore required them to rest satisfied, and keep their People in Peace and Order, which upon this Answer they easily did. But they could not hinder Rhymes and Libels (those secret Stings of Discontent) which were spread daily about the City to defame the Duke, and make him odious to the People; for which the Duke caused the Authors to be excommunicated by the Bishops. But notwithstanding these harsh Proceedings of the Duke's, very incommodious as well to himself as the King, yet the Commons being assembled in Parliament, granted the King a Tax, upon condition that being levied, it should be put into the hands of certain Earls and Barons to be disposed of according to the Occasions of the King and Kingdom. This Tax was perfectly new; every Person, Man and Woman, within the Kingdom above fourteen Years of Age, was to pay 4*d.* a Head, those that lived upon Alms only excepted. The Clergy likewise granted 12*d.* a Head for every Person beneficed, and 4*d.* for all other Religious Persons: A mighty and unknown Aid, never granted to any King before, but a Precedent to the following Reigns; in the next of which it caused the greatest popular Insurrection, that ever was seen in the Kingdom. And so the Parliament ended, but not the Duke's Displeasure against the City: For the Mayor and Aldermen were brought before the King at *Shene*, and advised to submit themselves to the Duke, and crave Pardon for their grevious Offences. They protest as before, that they could not stop the Rage of the Multitude, who committed those Insolencies, and beseeching the King not to punish them who were innocent and ignorant of the Fact; promised the Duke to use all means that they could to bring in the Malefactors, and oblige them to satisfie his Honour, and more they could not do. Upon this Answer, they were sent from the Court, and shortly after put from their Places by the Duke's Power: Sir *Nicholas Brember* was made Mayor instead of *Adam Staple*, and other Aldermen put in their Places. The King was desirous to have reconciled them to his Son, but Sickness disabled him from his Design, Death forced him to give over the World by its near Approaches. At his last Moment, when he stood most in need of Attendants, tho' they did not of him, he was deserted by all; his Concubine packing up all she could lay her hands on, even to the Rings of his Fingers, left him; which tho' a very bad Example, and like such a Woman's, yet was imitated by his Counsellors and Attendants, who forsook him and left the Room where he lay a dying empty; which a poor Priest[a], who was passing by observing, enter'd, and going to the King's Bed-side, whom he found sensible, he besought him to remember his Saviour, and beg pardon of his Offence, (which none before would do) and so wrought upon him by his Advice, that he resign'd his last Breath, with many Sings of a sound Faith and hearty Repentance, at his Manour of *Richmond* (or *Shene*) *June* 21. *A. D.* 1377. in the 64th Year of his Age, and fifty first Year of his Reign.

The first Poll Tax.

A Tax granted the King in his Sickness.

The Duke of Lancaster's Revenge on the Citizens.

King Edward's Death.

He was a Prince best known by his Actions, the soonest a Man, and the longest that held so of any we read. He was of a comely Personage, of a good and graceful Stature, affable and courteous, well expressing himself. He was a great Lover of Justice, Order, and his People, the chief Vertues of a King. His Justice he shewed in making so many Statutes for the Execution of it, and the Oaths he caused his Justices to take for that end, and the severe Punishment he inflicted upon his Judges (*viz.* Sir *Henry Green*, and Sir *William Shipwith*) for their Corruptions. He also better'd the Form of publick Justice, which his Grandfather began, and settled it so as it remains to this day. His Care of the Order of the Nation is proved from so many Laws made to restrain Excesses in all kinds. His Love to his People he expressed by often easing their Grievances, and Willingness to give them Satisfaction at all times, particularly in granting the Observation of their Charters in most of his Parliaments; and when (*Anno Reg.* 14.) they were jealous, that upon his assuming the Title of King of *France* he would subject *England* to that Crown; he passed a Statute to clear their Doubts, that this Kingdom should remain entire as before, without any Violation of their Privileges. He was very circumspect in all his Actions, never undertaking any thing but what he had means to perform; which his Subjects knowing, yielded him more Taxes readily, than any of his Predecessors had before him, and he was as careful to expend them for the Good and Honour of the Kingdom. He was indeed covetous to get Money, but without the oppressing any Man, as his Grandfather did the Judges, Jews, and his other Officers. His Gifts were never profuse, or misplaced, so as to hurt his Treasure, Fame or Reverence with his People. In fine, he was a Prince who knew his Work, and did it; and therefore was he better obeyed, more respected, and better served than any of his Predecessors.

His Character, of Justice.

Love to his People.

His Works of Piety were many. He founded the Abby of *Eastminster* for *Cistertians*, near the Tower, a Nunnery at *Deptford*; the King's Hall in *Cambridge* for poor Scholars; an Hospital at *Callis*, and S. *Stephen*'s Chapel at *Westminster*, and the Church he endowed with 300 *l. per Annum.* He enlarged the Chapel at *Windsor*, and made a Provision not only for the Churchmen, but twenty four poor Knights. These were his publick Works, the best Monuments to perpetuate the Memories of Princes. Besides these, his private Buildings were many; as the Castle of *Windsor*, which he re-edified and enlarged, the Castle of *Quinborough*, Fortifications at *Callis*, and other Places. He shewed his Magnificence in his Triumphs and Feasts, which were sumptuous, with all due Rites and Ceremonies to preserve Reverence and Majesty. To conclude, He was a Prince whose Nature was so suitable to his Office, as if he were made only for it. His Failures are to be imputed to Age, in which Princes are never happy, their Vigour and Fortune departing usually together. His Queen was a Lady of excellent Vertue, who tho' she brought him little or no Estate, yielded him much Content, some Alliance and a fair Issue. She conspired to advance his Honour and Power, and was very gracious and loving to the Nation, doing many pious Actions; among which, *Queens College* in *Oxford* is a Monument of her Goodness and Name. She bare him seven Sons, of whom five lived to have Children; *Edward* Prince of *Wales*[b],

His Works of Piety.

Buildings.

Magnificence.

His Queen.

[a] He was a Priest or Chaplain of the Houshold. *Tho.* of *Walsingham* Hist.

[b] From him the Title of the Line of *York* to the Crown was derived by his Daughter *Philippa*, Married to *Edmund Mortimer*, by whom she had *Roger Mortimer*, whose Daughter and Heiress *Ann* in Right of the Lady *Philippa*, on the Death of *Richard* the Second was Heir to the Crown.

Lionel

A. D. 1377. Reg. 51.

Lionel [a] Duke of *Clarence*, *John* [b] Duke of *Lancaſter*, *Edmund* Earl of *Cambridge*, afterwards Duke of *York*, and *Thomas* of *Woodſtock* Duke of *Gloceſter*. Five Daughters, of which four lived to be married; *Iſabel* the eldeſt to *Ingelram* Lord of *Coucy*, Earl of *Soiſſons* and *Bedford*; *Joanna* to *Alphonſo* the eleventh King of *Caſtile*, but ſhe dy'd before ſhe lay with him; *Mary* to *John Monfort* Duke of *Britain*, and *Margaret* to *John Haſtings* Earl of *Pembroke*, by whom ſhe had no Iſſue. Thus we have ſeen the beginning and end of this great King: He ſtepp'd over his Father's Head to the Throne, which tho' it was not his Fault, yet had its Puniſhment in that he had a plentiful Iſſue, but had no Son of his own to ſit on his Throne, but left his Crown to a Child of eleven Years of Age, expoſed to the Ambition of his Uncles, to a factious and diſcontented People, and broken and ſhatter'd Inheritances abroad, having Loſt all his gettings in *France*, but *Calis*.

A. D. 1377. Reg. 51.

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES *in the Reign of* Edward III.

IN the fourth Year of his Reign, on the 16th of *July*, there happen'd a great Eclipſe of the Sun, and the Rains were ſo violent this Year, that the Harveſt did not begin till *Michaelmas*. At *Chriſtmas* a mighty Weſterly Wind overthrew ſeveral private Houſes and publick Edifices, tore Trees up by the Roots, and did a vaſt deal of Miſchief.

In his 9th Year the Rains were ſo fatal, that the Corn was ſpoil'd, a Dearth enſu'd, Wheat being ſold for 40*s.* a Quarter, as much as 20*s.* a Buſhel now, and the Cattel was deſtroy'd by a Murrain.

In the 12th Year it rain'd almoſt continually from the beginning of *October* to the beginning of *December*, and then came a Froſt upon it, which laſted twelve Weeks; yet, tho' the Corn was deſtroy'd by it in a great meaſure, the War with *Scotland*, ſays my Author, made Money ſo ſcarce, that all ſorts of Grain were ſold at a reaſonable Rate.

In his 13th Year one hundred and twenty Laymen and ſeveral Prieſts, beſides Women, were drown'd by an Inundation of Water at *Newcaſtle upon Tine*.

While the Battel of *Creſſy* was fighting, in the 20th Year of his Reign, there fell a violent Storm of Hail, accompany'd with an Eclipſe, and terrible Thunders, at which time prodigious Flights of Crows hover'd over the *Engliſh* and *French* Armies.

In his 22d Year it rain'd from *Midſummer* to *Chriſtmas* ſo conſtantly, that there was not one Day or Night dry together. This wet Seaſon caus'd great Floods, and a Peſtilence, which rag'd for a whole Year: The Earth was at the ſame time barren, and even the Sea did not produce ſuch Plenty of Fiſh as formerly. The Mortality was ſo great, that in the City of *London* two hundred Corps were bury'd every Day in the *Charterhouſe-yard*, beſides thoſe interr'd in other common burying Places, and this laſted from *Candlemas* to *Eaſter*.

His 27th Year was remarkable for the Scarcity of Corn and Proviſions in *England* and *France*, occaſion'd by a great Drought: 'Twas call'd the *Dear Summer*, Rye was brought out of *Zealand* to ſupport the Poor, who otherwiſe muſt have periſh'd for want of Suſtenance.

In his 34th Year Men and Beaſts were deſtroy'd in ſeveral Parts of *England* by Thunder and Lightning; many Houſes were burnt and ruin'd by it, and ſtrange Sights were alſo ſeen. The ſecond Mortality happen'd, ſo call'd to diſtinguiſh it from that we have mention'd already: This latter was the more remarkable, becauſe it ſeiz'd generally on Men; and in the ſame Year, if we may give Credit to the Continuator of *Nic. Trivet*'s Hiſtory, two Caſtles were ſeen in the Air, the one in the South-eaſt, the other in the South-weſt, out of which Caſtles about Noon there ſeem'd to ſally ſeveral Troops of arm'd Men. The Band that came forth of the Caſtle in the South-eaſt appear'd in White, and the other in Black: They fought for ſome time, the White conquer'd at firſt, but in the end the Black got the Victory.

In his 39th Year the Rains were again violent, and a great Dearth and Peſtilence follow'd: Flights of Sparrows fought in the Air, and many of them dropp'd dead down to the Ground. *Caxton.*

In his 42d Year a Comet appear'd in *March* between the North and Weſt, the Beams were darted towards *France*, and were thought to preſage new Troubles to that Kingdom in the following Year. The Weſtern Parts of *England*, and *Oxford* particularly, were ſorely afflicted with a Peſtilence.

This King's Reign, as it was Glorious in Arms, ſo it was renown'd for the Arts and Sciences which flouriſh'd in his Days, more than in any of the former Reigns ſince the Norman *Invaſion.*

Edward the Black Prince, *John of Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter* his Father-in-Law, *Edmund* Earl of *Cambridge*, afterwards Duke of *York*; the Earl of *Warwick*, the Earl of *Huntington*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Earl of *Stafford*, the Earl of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Arundel*; the Lord *Cobham*, the Lord *Baſſet*, the Lord *Thomas Holland*, the Lord *Walter De Manny*, the Lord *Spencer*, the Lord *Chandois*, the Lord *James Audley*; Sir *John Copland*; Sir *Thomas Felton*, the *Capital de Beuſe* Knight of the Garter, born in *Gaſcoigne*; Sir *Robert Knolles*, Sir *Hugh Calverly*, Sir *Thomas Piercy*, Sir *Hugh Haſtings*, Sir *Baldwin Freville*, Sir *John Harleſton*, Sir *James Pipe*, Sir *Thomas Dagworth*, and Sir *John Hawkwood*, were all of them famous for their brave Actions in War: As thoſe that we are about to name, were for their Vertue and Learning, *John Baconthrope*, Doctor of both Laws in the Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Paris*; *William*

[a] From him the Title of the Line of *York* to the Crown was derived by his Daughter *Philippa*, Married to *Edmund Mortimer*, by whom ſhe had *Roger Mortimer*, whoſe Daughter and Heireſs *Ann* in Right of the Lady *Philippa*, on the Death of *Richard* the Second was Heir to the Crown.

[b] From him by the Marriage of *Blanch*, ſole Heireſs of *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, Son of *Henry* Earl of *Lancaſter*, Son of *Edmund* Earl of *Lancaſter*, Brother to *Edward* the Firſt, was derived the Title of the *Lancaſtrian* Family to the Crown; which the three *Henry*'s ſucceſſively enjoy'd, as Heirs of that Family, but yet with much War and Bloodſhed, as we ſhall ſee in the Courſe of this Hiſtory. This Title was very little made uſe of, and indeed was a very weak one; for all the Sons of *Edward* the Third, and the Poſterity of *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, Son of *Edward* the Firſt, had a Prior Title to the Deſcendants of *Edmund* Earl of *Lancaſter*, younger Brother to *Edward* the Firſt.

Ockham, *John Bloxham* a Carmelite Fryar, *William Alnwick* a Fryar Minor, *John* of *Thanet* an excellent Muſician, and a Monk at *Canterbury*; *Hugh* of St. *Neot*, a Carmelite Fryar, an Eminent Divine, and *William* of *Alton* a Black Fryar; *Richard Stradley* who wrote ſeveral Treatiſes of the Scripture; *William Herbert* a *Welſhman* and Fryar Minor, *Richard Comington* a Preacher, *William* of *Exeter*, *Lucas Boſden* a Carmelite Fryar, *Thomas Wallice* a Dominican Fryar, a great Divine; *Thomas Pontius* a Monk of *Canterbury*, *John Ridewall* a Gray Fryar, *Henry Coſtſay* a Fryar Minor, *Geffrey Allevant* of *Yorkſhire*, a Carmelite Fryar; Dr. *Simon Burnſtone*, Provincial of the Dominican or Black Fryars; Dr. *Walter Burley*, who wrote a Comment on *Ariſtotle*'s Ethicks, Schoolmaſter to Prince *Edward*; *John Berwick*, Reader to the Fryar Minors in *Oxford*; *William Notingham*, *Robert Glacton*, of *Huntingtonſhire*; *John Poleſteed* of *Suffolk*, *Walter Kingham*, *Thomas de Hales* a Fryar Minor, *Robert Eliphal* a Gray Fryar, *Geffrey Grandfeild* an Auguſtine Fryar, *Hugh Wirely* a Carmelite Fryar of *Norwich*, *William Emcourt* a Black Fryar of *Boſton*, *Hugh Ditton* a Fryar Preacher of *Cambridgeſhire*, Dr. *Adam Carthuſianus*, *John Lutterel* a Mathematician, and an Eminent Philoſopher; *Walter Cotton* and *Thomas Eccleſton*, both Gray Fryars; *John Folſham* a Carmelite Fryar of *Norwich*, *Benet* of *Norfolk*, *William* of *Southampton* a Black Fryar, *Adam Nidzard*, A.M. *William Siſſy* a Fryar Minor, *John Repingale* a White Fryar, *Chriſtopher Mothuſenſis* a Black Fryar, *Richard Aungerville* Biſhop of *Durham*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*; *John Mauduith* a Divine, *John* of *Olnie* in *Gloceſterſhire*, a Carthuſian Monk; *Thomas Staveſhaw* a Fryar Minor of *Briſtol*, *Robert* of *Leiceſter* a Franciſcan or Gray Fryar, *John* of *Northampton* a Carmelite Fryar and a Mathematician; *Robert Warſop* of *Yorkſhire* a Black Fryar at *Tickhill*, *William Bruniard* a Black Fryar, *Richard Role* an excellent Divine, *John Guent* a *Welſhman*, a Franciſcan Fryar, Provincial of his Order; *Rodulph Radiptorius* a Fryar Minor, *Robert Holcoth* a Black Fryar, *William Milverly* a Logician, *John* of *Tewkesbury*, *Thomas Bradwardin*, born in *Hartfield* in *Suſſex*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he wrote againſt the *Pelagians*; *Richard Wetherſet*, *William Breton* a Gray Fryar, *John* of St. *Faith*, born in *Norfolk*, a Carmelite Fryar in *Burnham*; *John Goodwick*, born alſo in *Norfolk*, an Auguſtin Fryar at *Linne*; *William Rothwell*, *Geffrey Waterton* a Monk of *Bury*, *Richard Fitz-Rafe*, Pupil to *John Baconthrope*, and afterwards Archbiſhop of *Armagh*; Dr. *Richard Killington*, *William Griſant* a Phyſician, who lived at *Marſeilles*, he was call'd *Anglicus* from his Country, his Son roſe to be Pope, and bore the Name of *Urban* the Vth; *John Paſchal*, born in *Suffolk*, Biſhop of *Landaff*; *Adam Woodham* a Fryar Minor, *Simon Henton* a Black Fryar, *William de Pagula*, Dr. *John Wickliffe*, *Geffrey Hardeby* a Black Fryar of *Leiceſter*, *William Binham*, *Roger Conway* a *Welſhman*, and a Gray Fryar; *Richard Billingham*, *William Doroch* a Lawyer, *John Killingworth* a Philoſopher, Aſtronomer, and Phyſician; *William* of *Coventry* a Carmelite Fryar, *John Eaſtwood* a Philoſopher, *Thomas Ratcliffe* an Auguſtine Fryar of *Leiceſter*, *Bartholomew Glanville*, deſcended from the Family of that Name, Earls of *Suffolk*; *Robert Computuſta* a Monk of *Bury*, *John Wilton*, *Simon Wickengham*, *John Deir* a notable Divine, *Simon Iſlip* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *George Chadley*, *John* of *Tinmouth*, *Peter Babien*, *Walter Winburne*, Divines; *Nicholas* of *Lyn* a Carmelite Fryar, and an Aſtronomer; *John Ridington* a Fryar Minor in *Stafford*, *Adam* a Monk of the Ciſtercian Order, *Roger Wihelpedale* a Mathematician, *John Elin* a Carmelite Fryar, born in *Norfolk*; *Thomas de Sturly*, *Sertorius Gualenſis* a *Welſhman*, *Simon de Tunſteed* of *Norfolk*, Provincial of the Gray Fryars; *Lewis Caerleon* a *Welſhman*, an Aſtronomer and Mathematician; *John Garanſon*, *Nicholas Durham* a Carmelite Fryar of *Newcaſtle*, *William Fleet* an Hermit, who preach'd up Repentance to the *Engliſh*; *John* of *Stafford* a Fryar Minor, *Thomas Rugſteed* a Black Fryar, *Ralph Stride* a Logician. *William* of St. *Faith* a Carmelite Fryar of *Norfolk*, *Thomas* of *Dover* a Monk of that Abby, *John Stokes* an Auguſtine Fryar of *Suffolk*, *John Horneby* a Carmelite Fryar of *Boſton*, *Henry Bederick* an Auguſtine Fryar, *Simon Alcock* a Divine, *Utred Balton* a *Welſhman*, and a Monk at *Durham*; *William Jordan* an Auguſtine Fryar, *John Hilton* a Fryar Minor, *William* of *Lincoln* a Carmelite Fryar, *Adam Saxlingham* the ſame born in *Norfolk*, *Simon Mepham* Prebend of *Chichеſter*, a great Divine; *John Bampton* a Carmelite of *Cambridge* and *John Wickenham*, a Gray Fryar; *Nicholas Trivet*, Son of Sir *Nicholas Trivet*, one of the King's Juſtices; *John Everſden* a Monk of *Bury*, *Robert Langland*, *Roger* of *Cheſter*, *John Burgh*, *Walter Hemingford* a Canon of *Gisburn*, *Richard Chicheſter* a Monk of *Weſtminſter*, wrote a Chronicle from the Invaſion of the *Saxons*, *Anno* 449. to the Year 1348. *Ranulp Higden*, *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*, *William Thorn*, *John Bromyerd*, *Adam Hereford*, *Thomas Stubs*, *John Cluni* an *Iriſhman*, *John Malvern* a Monk of *Worceſter*, Hiſtorians; and Sir *John Mandeville* the great Traveller, who dy'd at *Liege* the 17*th* of *November*, 1372.

THE

KING RICHARD THE II.nd

THE LIFE and REIGN OF RICHARD II.

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His Age and Deſcent.

RICHARD II. ſurnam'd of *Burdeaux*, a City in the Province of *Guienne* in *France*, becauſe he was born there, when his Father, the moſt illuſtrious *Engliſh* Hero, *Edward* the Black-Prince was Duke of *Aquitain*, ſucceeded his Grandfather *Edward* III. in the Throne of *England*, *June* 21. 1377. He was but eleven Years old when he began his Reign; but there appear'd in him ſo great a pregnancy of Wit above his Years, and ſo ſweet a Diſpoſition, ſet off with an admirable Beauty and Proportion of Body, that the People were enamour'd with him, and as if the Virtues of both his immediate Anceſtors were united in him, received him for their King with univerſal Joy and Satisfaction; the loſs of their brave Prince *Edward* III. ſo lately deceaſed, was quite forgotten, being ſwallow'd up with the hopes of that Happineſs which they promiſed themſelves under this his Succeſſor. And indeed their high Opinion of this young Prince was much confirm'd by the firſt Action which he undertook after he was King, *viz.* the Reconciliation of the Duke of *Lancaſter* and City of *London*, in which he ſhew'd a Prudence and Moderation much above his Age. For whereas the Citizens, who had gotten a certain Information of the King's approaching Death, had made an Addreſs to him, then Prince of *Wales*, the day before his Grandfather's deceaſe, aſſuring him of their Service and Fidelity, if their preſent King ſhould die, and petitioning his Highneſs to mediate betwen his Uncle the Duke of *Lancaſter* and them; he return'd them not only promiſes of his Love and Favour to their City, but of his Endeavours to effect their Deſires; and accordingly the very next day ſpoke to his Uncle about it, and brought him to ſubmit to his Deciſion. Of which he gave the Citizens notice immediately by the Lord *Latimer*, Sir *Richard Adderbury*, Sir *Simon Burley*, Prince *Richard*'s Tutor, and Sir *Nicholas Bond*, whom he ſent on purpoſe upon that Meſſage, and to tell them, that he expected the like Submiſſion from them. The Citizens were a little afraid, leſt the Influence which the Duke had upon him might prove to their diſadvantage, if they ſhould leave the matter entirely to his Judgment; but Sir *Richard Adderbury* giving them hopes of a good Concluſion, brought them to yield; and ſo certain Aldermen going along with them to him (then King) at *Shene* near *Richmond*, were reconciled honourably to the Duke in the Name of the whole City; and in favour to them, the King alſo releaſed Sir *Peter de la Mare* from his Impriſonment, and receiv'd him into his ſpecial Grace.

The Duke of Lancaſter and Londoners reconcil'd.

The only thing which threaten'd a diſturbance to the Nation being thus compoſed, the next Care was to ſettle the Crown upon the young King's Head; and to that end, *June* 16. was appointed for his Coronation. This the Nation took for a fit opportunity of teſtifying their Affections to him; and therefore all things by general conſent were ſo prepared, that it might be as magnificent and ſplendid as poſſible. The Duke of *Lancaſter*, who for his Dukedom of *Lancaſter*, and Earldoms of *Leiceſter* and *Lincoln*, was admitted upon his Claim to be High Steward, Bearer of the King's chief Sword, call'd *Curtana*, and Carver at that Solemnity, (which two laſt Offices he executed by his Deputies the Earls of *Darby* and *Stafford*) held the Steward's Court ſeveral days in *Weſtminſter*-Hall, to receive the Claims of ſuch Perſons as by certain Tenures or Cuſtoms were to officiate at that Ceremony, and ſuch as were of an inferiour degree, he put Noblemen into their places, that none but Perſons of the beſt Quality might attend upon the King at it. On the day before the Coronation, the King rode through the City to *Weſtminſter* in great State, and being royally attended by his Nobles and Great Men, the Citizens in his paſſage gave him large Demonſtrations of their Loyalty and Affections, having adorn'd their Houſes with rich Tapeſtry, and erected ſeveral coſtly Pageants, the Conduits ran Wine, and the People in crouds ſaluted the King with loud Acclamations, and wiſhes of Bleſſings and Proſperity. The Duke of *Lancaſter*, and the Lord *Piercy*, who rode before the King, behav'd themſelves with ſo much Obligingneſs and Reſpect to the Citizens all along, that all the Spectators were fully perſuaded, that the late Reconciliation made between the City and them was real and hearty. The King lodged at *Weſtminſter* that night, and the next day was crown'd in the Abby-Church, by *Simon Sudbury* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with the uſual Ceremonies of Anointing, giving him the Sword of Juſtice, taking an Oath of him for the good Government of the Nation, and requiring the People's Conſent to have him for their King. After his Coronation, the King return'd to *Weſtminſter*-Hall to Dinner; but before he ſate down, he created four Earls, *viz.* His Uncle *Thomas Woodſtocke*, Earl of *Buckingham* and [a] *Northampton*; *Thomas Mowbrey*, the younger Brother of *John* Lord *Mowbrey* Earl of *Nottingham*; *Guiſhard Angoliſm*, a *Gaſcoigne*, his Tutor [b], Earl of *Huntington*; and *Henry Piercy* [c], Son of *Henry* Lord *Peircy* Earl of *Northumberland*, allowing his Uncle and Tutor a thouſand Marks a Year a-peice out of his Trea-

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His Coronation.

Several Creations at the Coronation.

a He was Earl of *Northampton* before, that Title being brought him by his Wife, eldeſt Daughter of *Henry de Bohun* Earl of *Northampton*. *Camb. Brit. Tit. Northamp.*

b His Governour.

c 'Twas the Lord *Henry Piercy* Lord Marſhal, who was created Earl of *Northumberland*, and not his Son *Henry*, afterwards ſurnam'd *Hotſpur*.

ſury,

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ſury, till he could provide them an Eſtate of equal Value. He alſo made at the ſame time nine Knights. The next day was celebrated a very devout Proceſſion by the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots and Clergy, to pray for the Peace of the Realm, and proſperous Reign of the King. *Thomas Brinton* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* preach'd, and in his Sermon pathetically exhorted all Men to Peace and Unity, conjuring all of a ſuperiour degree to deal gently with the Commons, and the People to obey their Superiors willingly; but moſt of all, the Nobility, who were to be about the King, to give him a Religious and Virtuous Example, leſt the King being either by their Flattery or Vices miſled, the People ſhould have cauſe to curſe them. Thus was the young King fully ſettled in his Throne; but becauſe he was himſelf, by reaſon of his tender Age, unable to rule, the Government was committed to the Care of the King's Mother[a], his two Uncles, *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, and *Edmund* Earl of *Cumbridge*, and certain Biſhops, who were as well to provide for the Security and Happineſs of the Nation, as the Education of the King.

The French and Scots infeſt the Nation.

But notwithſtanding the ordering and ſupreme diſpoſal of all things was put into ſo many hands, and thoſe of ſuch Perſons, whoſe Conſcience, Intereſt and Honour were obliged to manage all Affairs, for the good both of the King and People; yet as if a Kingdom could never be govern'd well by Guardians, or as if many Governours were very little better than none, the old Enemies of the Nation, the *French* and *Scots*, thought the Minority of the King a fit opportunity to annoy and ſpoil it. The *French*, who had been making Preparations for that end in King *Edward*'s Reign, and had mann'd out a Fleet juſt before his Death, to revenge all the Loſſes they had ſuffer'd by his victorious Sword, entred the narrow Seas immediately after his deceaſe, and while the Nation was buſied in ſettling their new King, invaded the Coaſts of *England*, and did much miſchief, which they continu'd for ſeveral Months without oppoſition.

Ry and the Iſle of Wight plunder'd and burnt.

On S. *Peter*'s day, *June* 29. they put in with fifty Sail at *Ry* in *Suſſex*, and having rifled and plundered the Town at their pleaſure, ſet it on Fire, and ſo departed, leaving the miſerable and helpleſs Inhabitants to quench the Flames with their Tears. [b] From hence they coaſted to the Iſle of *Wight*, and enter'd it without Reſiſtance. The Houſes they ſpoil'd of all ſuch Goods as were valuable, and eaſily carry'd to their Ships, but ſpared the Buildings from burning, having compounded with the People of the Iſle for a thouſand Marks to forbear that Cruelty; and ſo left it, ſooner perhaps than they intended, becauſe they could not, after ſeveral attempts, make themſelves Maſters of the Caſtle of *Carisbrook*, which was bravely defended againſt them by the valiant Governor of it, Sir *Hugh Tyrrell*.

Winchelſea bravely defended by the Abbot of Battel.

From hence they return'd back to do the like at *Winchelſea*, ſuppoſing that the terror of the Sufferings of their neighbouring Town of *Ry* would have made it an eaſie Prey to them, but they found the contrary at their coming. For the Abbot of *Battel*, being a Man of Courage, and ſome Skill in Warlike Affairs, had ſo fortify'd and mann'd the Town for its defence, that the *French* could gain no entrance into it; yet ſuppoſing it to be eaſily taken, they ſent to the Abbot to redeem it from Aſſault; but the Abbot return'd them anſwer, *That he had no reaſon to redeem what was not loſt.* The *French* hereupon having in vain endeavour'd to draw the Defendants out of the Town to a pitcht Battel in the Fields, fell to battering the Walls with ſuch Engines and Warlike Inſtruments as they had brought with them on purpoſe, but with no ſucceſs. So that they were forced to leave the Town with little advantage. But in the mean time they ſent a Party to *Haſtings*, which finding almoſt void of People, who were gone to maintain the Siege of *Winchelſea*, they burnt and utterly conſumed it. Their next attempt was upon the ſmall Town of *Rottington* in *Suſſex*, near *Lewis*, where the Prior of *Lewis*, Sir *John Faleſley*, Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, and one Mr. *Brookes*, ſo zealous for the preſervation of their Country, that they did not conſider what Forces they had to do it with, encountred them boldly with an unarm'd and undiſciplin'd Rabble; and tho' they kill'd many of their Enemies, yet were in the end beaten, the Prior and Knights, with ſome others, being taken Priſoners, and an hundred ſlain. Many other Towns they plunder'd and robb'd, as *Portſmouth*, *Dartmouth*, and *Plymouth*; by the Spoils of all which, having fill'd their Ships, they return'd home; and ſoon after their arrival, beſieged the Caſtle of *Arde*[c], which they got not by their own Valour, but the Treaſon of the Lord *Gurney*, a *German*, the Governour of it, who for a Bribe reſign'd it to them. But he had but ſmall Enjoyment of his baſe Gain, being ſoon taken by Sir *Hugh Calverley* Governour of *Callis*, and ſent into *England* to ſuffer the deſerved Puniſhment of his Treachery. The *Scots* in the mean time were not idle, (tho' not ſo miſchievous as the *French* deſired them) for they aſſaulted the Town and Caſtle of *Roxborough*, then in the poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, and having gain'd it with no ſmall loſs to themſelves, took what was of any price out of it, and then burnt it. Thus was the Nation miſerably afflicted by a double Enemy, and little or no care taken to ſecure the People from them; whether out of negligence, deſign, or want of Shipping, or whether it was forborn till a Parliament could meet, and provide ſome more effectual Remedy againſt them, is uncertain; yet the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who had the chief Management of publick Affairs, brought an incurable Odium upon himſelf from the People ever after, becauſe he did not endeavour their Relief ſo diligently as his Place and the People's Neceſſities required.

The Caſtle of Arde gotten by the French.

About *Michaelmas* a Parliament met, to rectifie the Diſorders, and provide for the Security of the Nation, the firſt thing they went upon[d] was the puniſhment of *Alice Peirce*, the late King's Concubine, who had been the cauſe of many Miſchiefs in the laſt Reign, and for that end had been baniſh'd from the Court, and made to take an Oath, that ſhe would never return again; but, as it generally happens, that thoſe who allow themſelves in one Sin, ſeldom make any Conſcience of committing another, ſhe kept her Oath no longer than the fear of the Parliament was removed; ſhe became as great at Court, and as inſolent as before, and caus'd Sir *Peter de la Mare*, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, to be impriſon'd. Theſe impudent Actions the Parliament thought fit to

First Parliament.

Alice Peirce baniſh'd.

[a] His Mother was not one of thoſe appointed by the great Council of Peers to be his Protectors. *Holinſhead.*

[b] They Landed in the Iſle of *Wight* in *Auguſt*, and having done what Miſchief they could, they reimbarked, and in their return burnt *Haſtings*, *Portſmouth*, *Dartmouth* and *Plymouth*.

[c] The Town of *Ardres*, near *Calis*.

[d] It was not the firſt thing they went upon. The firſt was upon the Petition of the Commons, to appoint a Council to be joined with the King's Officers, and to adviſe him in the Affairs of the Government. Theſe Counſellors were appointed by the Parliament, *viz.* the Biſhops of *London*, *Carliſle*, and *Salisbury*, the Earls of *March* and *Stafford*, Sir *Richard de Stafford* and Sir *Henry L'Eſcrop* Bannorets, Sir *John Deverouſe* and Sir *Hugh Degrave* Knights. The next thing the Commons did, was to grant the Tax deſired, and then they proſecuted *Alice Peirce*, or *Porters*. *Rot. Par.* 1 *Rich.* 2.

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take notice of, and Sir *Peter de la Mare* contributed his utmoſt to have them puniſh'd, which was by general conſent thus agreed upon: That ſhe ſhould be baniſh'd, and all her Goods confiſcated, which was immediately done[a]. Then the Neceſſity of a Tax being made known to them, to provide a Navy for the defence of the Kingdom, againſt the Invaſion of the *French*, and their Confederates the *Spaniards*, there was granted to the King two Tenths of the Clergy, and two Fifteenths from the Laity; yet upon theſe Conditions, that the Monies collected ſhould be depoſited in the hands of two eminent Citizens of *London*, *William Walworth* and *John Philpott*, who were to take care that they were expended for the publick Good: 2. That for the future the King ſhould maintain his State and Wars out of his own Revenues, which if well manag'd were judg'd ſufficient to maintain both. The Laws which the King made in Compenſation of this Tax, for the good of the People were ſeveral. He confirm'd the Great Charter[b], Charter of Foreſts, and the many good Laws of his Anceſtors unrepeal'd; and enacted, 'That the Peace ſhould be carefully 'preſerved, and Juſtice impartially done to all 'his Subjects; That the Prelates, and the reſt of 'the Clergy, ſhould have a Remedy by Action of 'Treſpaſs againſt all Purveyors, who contrary to 'the Laws of his Predeceſſors, did without their 'conſent take away their Corn, Hay, Beaſts, or 'Carriages from their Houſes, Mannors, or 'Granges for the King's uſe, and ſhould recover 'treble Dammages; That Perſons that ſhall main-'tain any Quarrels, if Officers of the King's Ex-'chequer, or other Courts, ſhall loſe their places, 'and others be fined at the King's pleaſure; That 'all Perſons that ſhall arreſt any Clergyman in 'his Church, or the Church-yard, or while he is 'performing Divine Service, ſhall ſuffer Impri-'ſonment, and be ranſom'd at the King's Will, 'but ſhall firſt make ſatisfaction to the Perſon 'arreſted. The King alſo confirm'd the Pardon 'granted by his Grandfather in the fiftieth Year 'of his Reign. In this Parliament it was farther moved, 'That the Clergy might be reſtrain'd by 'Statute from impoſing Money-penance upon Of-'fenders, becauſe by this means the Church ex-'hauſted the Treaſure of the Nation. The Clergy hotly oppoſed the Propoſition, and the King unwilling to diſoblige the Churchmen, order'd, 'That 'the Prelates ſhould proceed therein as formerly, 'according to the Canons of Holy Church, and 'not otherwiſe. But tho' the Commons could not prevail in the reſtraint of their own Clergy's Exactions, they were more ſucceſsful in oppoſing the Pope's Encroachments; for they obtained ſeveral Acts, whereby it was order'd, 'That the Pope's 'Collectors ſhall gather the firſt Fruits of Bene-'fices in this Realm no longer, and that the Cler-'gy ſhould not pay them; That no Man ſhould 'procure any Benefice by proviſion from *Rome*, 'on pain of being put out of the King's Protecti-'on; That no *Engliſhman* farm any ſuch Benefice 'of any Alien, on the like penalty. In it 'tis 'ſaid, the *French* had ſix thouſand Pounds year-'ly from *England* by ſuch Benefices; That a Re-'medy be provided againſt the Pope's Reſerva-'tions of Dignities Elective, they being againſt 'the Treaty made with the Pope by King *Ed-'ward* III. Theſe Matters being thus ſettled and debated, the Parliament broke up about the Feaſt of *All-Saints*.

Taxes granted, and Laws made.

After the Parliament was riſen, the Governours of the Nation being enabled to act againſt the Enemy, began to think upon ſome ways to revenge the laſt Summer's Loſſes, ſuſtain'd by the People from the *French*; and having received Information, that the *Spaniſh*-Fleet lay at *Sluce* in *Flanders*, richly laden with Wines, and other Commodities, and waiting only for a fair Wind to return, they ſent out a great Fleet, under the Command of the Duke of *Britain*, Earl of *Buckingham*, the Lords *Latimer* and *Fitz-Walter*, Sir *Robert Knolles*, and other choſen Captains, to intercept them in their paſſage; but by contrary Winds they were ſo diſpers'd and ſhatter'd, that they could at that time effect nothing. A little after *Chriſtmas*, Sir *Hugh Calverly* Governour of *Callis* was more fortunate in his Adventures againſt the *French*. For making an Inroad towards *Bulloigne*, he plunder'd twenty-ſix Veſſels, beſides Barges, which lay in the Haven, and a great part of the Suburbs of that Town; and in his return, drove along with him into *Callis* a great Booty of Sheep and Oxen, which he found in the Paſtures adjoyning, to the great enriching of his Garriſon. He alſo recover'd the Caſtle of S. *Mark*, on the ſame day the *French* had it betray'd to them by the *Picards*, whom Sir *Hugh* homag'd. Not long after, Sir *Hugh* with his Garriſon Soldiers made an attempt upon the Town of *Eſtaples* on the Fair-day, when the Merchants of *Paris*, *Amiens*, *Bulloigne*, and *Lutterell*, had brought great Quantities of Goods thither to ſell, which all became an eaſie prey to the *Engliſh*. The more valuable and portable they carry'd back with them, the reſt they ſold to the Merchants themſelves for a great Sum of Money, reſolving otherwiſe to have burnt them. While the Garriſon at *Callis* thus acted its part under its valiant Captain, the Fleet under the Earl of *Buckingham* being gotten together, and new rigg'd, ſet out to Sea, and cruiſing upon the Coaſt of *Britain* near *Breſt*, took eight *Spaniſh* Ships, and might have taken more, had not their own Diviſions and the tempeſtuous Weather been an Impediment to their farther Succeſs. While the King's Ships were thus employ'd againſt the Enemy, divers private Men and Towns provided Ships, and obſerved all opportunities of annoying them. The Lord *Peircy*[c] with one great Ship and ſome ſmall Veſſels putting out to Sea, met with a Fleet of fifty Sail of *Spaniſh* and *Flemiſh* Ships, laden with *French* Merchandize, which to attack look'd more couragious than prudent; yet he was ſo fortunate, that he took two and twenty of them, the reſt eſcaping by flight. The Inhabitants of *Winchelſea* and *Ry*, who had felt ſo much of the *French* Cruelty, being bent upon a ſharp Revenge of their late Sufferings, fitted out a certain Number of Ships, with ſufficient quantity of Men and Proviſion; with which they made an Inroad into *Normandy*, enter'd and plunder'd the Towns of S. *Peter's Haven* and *Willet*, where they found and recover'd many of the Goods, which the *French* had lately taken from them, and having ſet the Houſes on Fire, took their Ships, and got home ſafe. Thus did the *Engliſh* in ſome meaſure repay the *French* for the Injuries they had done them, and free their Coaſts a-while from their Depredations.

A. D. 1378. Reg. 2.

Several Actions of the Engliſh *againſt the* French.

Took ſeveral Priſoners.

The Duke of *Lancaſter* about this time, thro' ſome diſguſt or ſuſpicion, deſired leave of the King to retreat from Court to his private Habitation at *Kellingworth* Caſtle, and obtained it;

Duke of Lancaſter *retires from Court, but undertakes to ſecure the Nation from the* French.

[a] The next Year. She married Sir *William* of *Windſor*, and they obtained a Reverſal of the late Judgment in Parliament. *Rot. Parl.* 2. *Rich.* 2.

[b] It appears by the Statutes made in this his firſt Seſſion of Parliament, Cap. 1. That he confirmed the *Liberty of the Church*, and the *Great Charter of Foreſts*. The *Magna Charta*, or *Great Charter*, is not mentioned, but that was always done of Courſe at the beginning of every Seſſion.

[c] It ſhould be Sir *Thomas Peircy*.

but

A. D. 1378. Reg. 2.

but before he retir'd, he ſettled ſuch Governours about the King as were more pleaſing to the People, *viz.* * *William Courtney* Biſhop of *London*, *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, and ſeveral others, yet becauſe the Biſhop of *Salisbury* and Lord *Latimer* were put in the Number, they were not fully contented, and thro' a deſire of ſecuring the Nation from their Enemies, he requeſted that the Money granted the laſt Parliament for that end might be put into his hands, and he would take care to guard the Coaſts from the Incurſions of the *French*, and their Confederates for the ſucceeding Year. Some of the Nobility oppos'd his Propoſition, but it was at length conſented to, and the Duke immediately ſet himſelf to provide a ſufficient Navy for the Safety of the People, and hired eight Ships of the City of *Baion* to joyn with it; but before the Duke's Ships were ready (whither thro' neceſſary, or wilful delay, is not known) one *Mercer*, a deſperate *Scot*, having gotten together a ſmall Number of *Scotch*, *French*, and *Spaniſh* Ships, enter'd the Haven of *Scarborough*, and ſeizing upon ſeveral Ships in it, carry'd them away to *Scotland*. This Miſchief he did to that Town, becauſe his Father, who had been taken not long before by ſome Northern Veſſels, was by the Earl of *Northumberland* committed Priſoner to *Scarborough* Caſtle. This Succeſs much encourag'd him and his Crew, ſo that he greatly infeſted thoſe Seas; and tho' the Duke of *Lancaſter* had undertaken to prevent ſuch Evils and Complaints of it were brought to the King and his Council, yet none appear'd to oppoſe the Pirates, ſo that thoſe Parts of the Kingdom ſuffer'd many Calamities from them. The News of theſe things being brought to *London*, *John Philpott*, an Alderman, and a great Lover of his Country, pitying the Miſeries of the People reſolv'd upon a Relief at his own Charge; and fitting out ſuch a Number of well-built Ships, as would conveniently carry a thouſand Men, with all Ammunition and Proviſion, which he hired and paid himſelf, he ſet out to Sea with them himſelf being their Captain, and found out *Mercer* and his Aſſociates, whom he immediately ſet upon, and after a ſmart Engagement conquer'd; taking *Mercer* himſelf, and all the Veſſels he had cary'd from *Scarborough*, with fifteen *Spaniſh* Bottoms well laden with rich, tho' ill gotten Goods. With Spoil and Victory *Philpott* returns to *London*, where he met with Acclamations from the People, but no welcome from the Nobles, who envy'd him that Honour which they had not either Courage or Fidelity enough themſelves to ſeek and gain. For he was ſent for to come before the Council, to give an Account of his Action; which tho' they could not diſlike, yet much blam'd him for daring it without a Commiſſion from the King and his Council; and *Hugh* Earl of *Stafford* charg'd him with doing a very unlawful Act to levy Arms in the King's Dominions without his Leave. But Mr. *Philpott* made a modeſt and ingenious Defence, telling them, 'That it was not out of any Deſire or 'ambitious Aim to get himſelf a Name, or raiſe 'to himſelf the Reputation of being a great Sol-'dier, that induc'd him to venter his Money 'and Men to vanquiſh the *Scotch* Pirate, but 'merely out of Love to his Countrymen, and 'for the Honour of the Nation, that the Sloth 'of ſuch as ought to have ſecured the Nation, 'might not ruine the People and make it con-'temptible. This Anſwer ſo ſatisfied the Council, that he return'd with as much Commendation from ſome of the Nobility as he was receiv'd by the City with Applauſe.

Alderman Philpott's *Bravery.*

A. D. 1378. Reg. 2.

While the Duke of *Lancaſter* lay at Anchor with his Ships, getting in Proviſion and Ammunition ſlowly, and with unneceſſary Delays, ſome of his Men weary of their unmanlike Idleneſs, and of plundering their own Brethren, ſet out to Sea under the Command of the Earl of *Salisbury* and *Arundel*, and ſailed towards the Coaſts of *Britain*; Sir *Peter* and Sir *Philip Courtney*, two Brothers, who had the Command of ſome Ships, ſpying certain Veſſels belonging to the Enemy inconſiderately aſſaulted them, being the whole *Spaniſh* Fleet; and tho' they bravely fought and defended themſelves, yet in the end were beaten, moſt of their Men, who were good Gentlemen of *Somerſetſhire* and *Devonſhire*, being ſlain, and Sir *Peter* with ſome others were taken Priſoners. This Misfortune at their firſt ſetting out much diſheartned them, but yet they perſiſted in their Deſign, and went on in their intended Voyage, which proved ſome Compenſation to their former Loſs; for being arrived, they found the King of *Navarre* fall'n into a Difference with the King of *France*, and very deſirous of an Alliance with the King of *England*: Whereupon, for a certain Sum of Money lent to the ſaid King, and a Confederacy eſtabliſh'd between the *Engliſh* and him. The Haven of *Chierburg* was put into the Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, whereby an eaſy Entrance was made for them at all times into *Normandy*, and preſent occaſion given them to annoy the *French*; but this advantagious Alliance was not thought ſufficient to compenſate the Loſs of the Gentlemen that were kill'd, and taken Captive at the beginning of this Voyage: Yet the *Spaniards* did not long eſcape without Loſs; for the Ships of *Baion* coaſting about the Kingdom to defend it from the Enemy, took fourteen Ships laden with Wine and other Goods.

The Duke of Lancaſter's Preparations and Succeſs.

The Haven of Chierburg put into the hands of the Engliſh.

In the latter end of this Year Pope *Gregory* XI. wrote a Letter to the King, requiring him to aſſiſt the Biſhops in ſuppreſſing *John Wickliffe* and his Adherents; but that the Biſhop's Heat ſtirred up by his Letters to them almoſt of the ſame Date, was little encourag'd by the King's Authority, the Favour that *Wickliffe* found may ſerve for a Demonſtration. The Letters from the Pope to the King and Biſhops are printed at large in Mr. *Fox* Acts and Mon. in the beginning of this King's Reign.

Pope Gregory's Letters againſt John Wickliffe.

About *Midſummer* the Duke of *Lancaſter* having compleatly equipp'd his Ships, put out to Sea with a great Force, and landing in *Britain*, laid Siege to *S. Malo de Liſle*, an important Fortreſs in thoſe Parts. The Earls of *Buckingham*, *Stafford*, *Warwick*, and other Noblemen, who had great Experience in Warlike Affairs, manag'd it with much Art and Subtlety; but it was ſo well defended by the *French*, that the Duke was forced to raiſe the Siege and return home. A little after the Duke's Departure from *England*, *viz.* on *Aug.* 11. was committed a barbarous Murther in the Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*, which whether cauſed by the Duke or not, is uncertain; yet he was ſo far concern'd in it, as that it redounded much to his Diſhonour, and increaſed the Hatred of him among the People. The Occaſion of it was this: In the War, which the *Black Prince Edward* had in *Spain* for the Reſtauration of *Peter* King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, two Gentlemen *Robert Hawl*, and *John Shakell*, had by their Valour taken the Earl of *Denia* Priſoner; and that ſuch brave Actions might be encourag'd,

A barbarous Murther committed in the Sanctuary at Weſtminſter.

* This was done in Parliament the laſt Year, and not now by the Procurement of the Duke of *Lancaſter*.

the

A.D. 1378. the Prince himſelf, and Sir *John Shandois*, a chief Commander under him, gave him to the Gentlemen to make the beſt of his Ranſom. The Earl being thus left in their hands, made an Agreement with them for his Liberty, and left his Son with them as an Hoſtage, till the Ranſom was paid; which the Earl neglecting, the Earl's Son remained with them many Years. The Duke of *Lancaſter*, who had marry'd one of the Heireſſes of the Crown of *Spain*, but was kept out by their Uncle, caſting about him to find out all ways how to recover his Wife's Right, thought upon the Reſtitution of the Earl of *Denia*'s Son, whereby he might oblige his Father to engage in his Intereſt, and make a Party among his Friends for him. Wherefore the Duke ſends to Mr. *Hawl* and *Shakell*, in the King's Name, to deliver up their Priſoner; and becauſe they obſtinately refuſed, he cauſed them to be impriſon'd in the *Tower*. The Gentlemen, tho' thus unjuſtly handled, yet kept him; but after ſome time made their eſcape out of the Tower, and got to the Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*, where they hoped to find more Liberty and kinder Uſage. The Conſtable of the *Tower*, Sir *Allen Buxhall*, a great Friend of the Duke's, much troubled at this eſcape, contrived with the Lord *Latimer* and Sir *Ralph Ferrers*, two of the Duke's Creatures, to take them by Force out of the Sanctuary; and accordingly with a ſufficient Strength of arm'd Men enter'd the Abby-Church when the Monks were at Prayers, and ſeiz'd upon the two Gentlemen. Mr. *Hawl* made ſome Oppoſition, and was ſlain in the Quire, with a Monk, and his Servant who ſtood up for his Aſſiſtance; but Mr. *Shakell* they carry'd away with them to the *Tower*, from whence he at length got his Freedom, by reſigning his Priſoner to them, upon condition, that he ſhould receive an hundred Marks *per An.* and that the King ſhould found a Chantry of five Prieſts to pray for the Souls of Mr. *Hawl* and his Servant. This Violation of the Sanctuary was ſo highly reſented by the Archbiſhop, Biſhop of *London* and other Biſhops, that they excommunicated all that were Aſſiſtants in this Murther, except the King, Queen, and Duke of *Lancaſter*; and the Biſhop of *London* pronounced the Excommunication every *Sunday*, *Wedneſday*, and *Friday*, for a long time after. The King looking upon it as a Reflection upon himſelf and the Duke, ſent to the Biſhop to ceaſe it; who not regarding the Order, he was ſummon'd to *Windſor*, but he would not obey: Whereupon the Duke of *Lancaſter* in a Rage told the King that he would fetch the Biſhop by Force to him in ſpite of thoſe Rebels the *Londoners*, if he would give him leave. Theſe words loſt the Duke the Good-will of the City, and made him generally thought the Author of the Murther.

Second Parliament, and the Taxes granted and Acts made in it.

On the 20th of *October* the Parliament met at *Gloceſter*, out of Diſpleaſure taken againſt the *Londoners*. In it many things were propounded, but few concluded; beſides that the King had granted to him a Subſidy of a Mark for every Sack of Wooll, and Six-pence in the Pound for all Foreign Commodities brought into, and ſold in the Nation. The chief things enacted were, 1. Concerning Merchant Strangers, That it ſhould be lawful for them in all Places of the Land to buy or ſell all ſorts of Commodities by Wholeſale or Retail, which was a great Encouragement to Merchandize. 2. And whereas both Pope *Urban* and *Clement* had ſent to the King, Nobles, and Biſhops, to accept each of them for lawful Popes, the Legality of both Popes Election was debated, and in Concluſion it was agreed upon and paſſed into a Law, That Pope *Urban* was duly choſen, and ſo ought to be accepted and obey'd; That all Benefices of the Nation, which were held and enjoy'd by ſuch Cardinals, or others of the Clergy, as were Rebels to Pope *Urban*, ſhould be ſeized into the King's hands, and the Profits of them anſwer'd to him; That whoſoever ſhould purchaſe or obtain any Proviſions, or other Inſtruments from any other Pope than the ſaid *Urban*, ſhall be put out of the King's Protection. This Law is ſaid to have been made through the Advice of the Archbiſhop. 3. That all Perſons that ſhall report any ſlanderous words concerning any Biſhop or Nobleman, ſhall be impriſon'd till he can produce the Author of ſuch Calumnies. Some other things were propounded, but nothing enacted concerning them. The Archbiſhop complained of the late Violation of the Sanctuary of *Weſtminſter*, and deſired that ſome effectual Courſe might be taken to ſecure the Privileges of Sanctuaries; but the Nobles objecting the voluntary Abuſes of them maintained by the Clergy in protecting Debtors, Accountants, *&c.* the Archbiſhop dropp'd the Motion, leſt they ſhould be depriv'd of thoſe Advantages. Complaint alſo was made by the Commons againſt the Clergy for taking Timber as Tyth under the Notion of *Silva Cædua*; and it was deſired, that it might be limited to Woods of ten Years Growth, but the King anſwer'd them, That he would not alter common Uſage.

A. D. 1378.

The Scots infeſt and invade England.

Soon after the Parliament was riſen *Robert* King of *Scots* raiſed an Army to invade the Borders of *England*, being put upon it by the King of *France*; and one *Alexander Ramſey*, a valiant *Scot*, with forty of his Countrymen, ſurpriz'd the Caſtle of *Barwicke*, and ſlaying Sir *Robert Bointon*, the Governour of it, with the whole Garriſon, made themſelves abſolute Maſters of it. This firſt Attempt proved not only advantageous to the fortunate Aggreſſors, who ſeized much Spoil, and put the Governour's Wife and Children to pay two thouſand Marks for their Ranſom, but open'd a free Paſſage for the whole Army into *England*. The Earl of *Northumberland*, who had the keeping of that Caſtle and Town committed to him, as ſoon as he had received Information of it, raiſed an Army out of thoſe Parts for the Recovery of it; the Earl of *Nottingham*, the Lords *Nevill*, *Lucy*, *Graiſtocke*, and *Stafford*, Sir *Thomas Muſgrave*, and many other Knights and Gentlemen brought in their Aſſiſtance to him: So that the Earl had ſoon gotten an Army of above a thouſand Men well arm'd. With theſe he marched to *Barwicke*, and finding that the Townſmen had broken down the Draw-bridge, by which only the *Scots* could get into the Town; ſo that *Ramſey* and his Fellows could have no Aſſiſtance from their Army, which lay near. He laid ſiege to the Caſtle, and within nine days after his Arrival took it by a two hours Aſſault: All the *Scots* but *Ramſey* their Captain were put to Death, and he ſaved partly in reſpect to his Valour, and partly that he might diſcover the Strength and farther Deſigns of the *Scotiſh* Army. The Earl and Lords with the *Engliſh* Army being fluſh'd with this Succeſs, ſent out a Party of ſix hundred Men, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Muſgrave* to purſue the *Scots* Army, which upon the Loſs of *Barwicke* were a little withdrawn into the Country: But Earl *Douglaſſe* watching his Opportunity, fell upon them at ſuch an Advantage, that he utterly defeated them, taking Sir *Thomas* himſelf, and one hundred twenty more Priſoners, the reſt hardly eſcaping by flight. *In this Expedition the* Earl of *Northumberland*'s eldeſt Son *Henry*, behaved himſelf ſo bravely, that he was highly commended and admir'd.

A. D. 1379.

About *Chriſtmas* Sir *Robert Rouſe*, who was made Governour of *Chierburg* the laſt Summer, and had done many brave Actions againſt the *French* in taking Sir *Oliver Cliſſon*[a], and by other adventures, was call'd home, and Sir *John Herleſton* put in his place. Sir *Hugh Calverley* alſo was remov'd from his Government of *Callis*, and made Admiral, being joyn'd in Commiſſion with Sir *Thomas Peircy*, and *William Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury* ſucceeded *Calverley* as Governour of *Callis*. This noble Perſon began his Office with an Inroad into *France*, by which he took a great Booty of Cattle, and much enriched the Town. Nor was Sir *Hugh* leſs active againſt the Enemy by Sea, than he had been formerly by Land; for ſoon after he had ſet out, he took ſeven Merchant Ships laden with Goods, and one Man of War. The Merchants of *London* being angry with a *Genoeſe* Merchant, who had brought into Port a Ship laden with rich Spices, becauſe he would not ſell them at ſuch low Prices as they would give, but was departing to ſeek a better Market, fell upon him and ſlew him[b]; which unjuſt Action was very much reſented by the Government, and the Actors, as they could be taken puniſhed according to their deſerts. About this time began the Popes to ſtir up an Holy War, for the Eſtabliſhment of themſelves ſingly in the Papacy, and ſent their Agents into the Nations, which ſubmitted to them, to undertake a War againſt the Antipope. The Archbiſhop of *Caſſils* in *Ireland*, who had been lately at *Rome*, brought with him a full power from Pope *Urban* to excommunicate all Perſons that ſhould hold with *Clement*, or uphold his Cauſe; and becauſe the *French* were the chief Maintainers of *Clement*, who had eſtabliſh'd his See at *Avignion*, the ſame Archbiſhop in a Sermon preach'd at *London*, told the People, 'That the 'French were excommunicated, and that if ever 'they could hope for ſucceſs againſt that old Ene- 'my of the Nation, now was the time, when they 'would have no Courage to make Reſiſtance; or 'if they had, the powerful Curſe would ſo weaken 'their Hands, and bind them over to inevitable 'Ruin, that they would become an eaſie Prey to 'the *Engliſh*. Thus did the Vicar of the Prince of Peace blow up the Flames of War among Chriſtians; a very bad proof of ſo high Office, to act ſo directly contrary to the Practice of him, whoſe Deputy he pretends to be.

The Captains of Chierburg *and* Callis *changed.*

A Genoeſe *Merchant kill'd.*

War between the Popes.

A little after *Eaſter* the Parliament was aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, and ſome things ſettled of moſt neceſſity. For after the King, according to the uſual Cuſtom, had confirm'd the Privileges of the Church and the two Great Charters; the principal was about the Privileges of Sanctuaries, and particularly of that of *Weſtminſter*, which being found to be abuſed to protect Debtors againſt their Creditors, it was enacted, 'That all ſuch Debtors, 'as after they have made over their Goods and 'Lands by Feoffments, Deeds of Gifts, or other- 'wiſe, to their Friends, and had for protection 'fled into Sanctuary, ſo defrauding their Credi- 'tors, if they did not render up themſelves upon 'Proclamation made at the Gates of the Sanctua- 'ry, Judgment ſhould paſs againſt them, and an 'Execution be awarded upon their Goods and 'Lands, which were without ſuch privileg'd 'places, as well ſuch as are given by Colluſion 'as otherwiſe. By this Parliament a Poll-Tax was given to the King, but with a particular Exemption of the Commons, and therefore laid the more heavy upon the Nobility and Gentry; for Dukes and Archbiſhops were to pay * twenty Marks; Biſhops, Earls, and mitred Abbots, ſix Marks; Monks, ten Groats; and Gentlemen, and all the other Clergy, at a certain Rate, none was ſpared; but the Commons paid nothing.

Third Parliament, and its Acts and Taxes.

A. D. 1379.

* Some ſay ten Marks.

This following Summer the Plague ſo afflicted the Northern Countries, that the Inhabitants were many of them forced to remove their Dwellings into other parts of the Nation; and thoſe, whom either Neceſſity or Charity oblig'd to remain there, the *Scots* being ſure of no reſiſtance, ſo infeſted with frequent Incurſions and Robberies, that the Country was almoſt wholly depopulated.

A Plague in the North.

The Duke of *Britain*, who in the firſt Year of this King's Reign came into *England* to beg the King's aſſiſtance againſt his Rebellious Subjects, who by joyning with the King of *France* had expell'd him out of his Dominions, was now invited home by his Nobles, to return and accept the Government of his Country. He had hitherto ſollicited with ſmall ſucceſs, becauſe the Duke of *Lancaſter* thought to have got his Dukedom for himſelf, and for that end went over with a powerful Army; but the Conſtable of *France* oppoſed him with ſo ſtrong a Force, that he was obliged to give over the thoughts of it; but now he had ſufficient Aid granted him to attend him into his Country, and greater Forces promiſed to be ſent after him. On *Auguſt* 4. Sir *Hugh Calverley* and Sir *Thomas Peircy* ſet him aſhoar in his own Country, where he was received by his Nobility, and all his other Subjects, with a great deal of Joy, except ſome few who held great places under the *French* Government, and were likely to loſe them by his coming. But becauſe it could not be expected, but the *French* Faction would create him great Troubles and Diſturbance; therefore on the Feaſt of St. *Nicholas*, *Sept.* 10. the Army promiſed him, to maintain him in his Dignity, was ſent after him under the Command of Sir *John Arundel*, Sir *Thomas Baniſter*, Sir *Nicholas Trumpington*, and Sir *Thomas Delaware*, with others; but in their paſſage they met with ſo terrible a Tempeſt, that they could not touch the *French* Shoar, twenty five Ships were caſt away, moſt of the Captains drowned, and a great number of Soldiers. This unlucky Accident was look'd upon as a juſt Judgment from Heaven upon them for their Wickedneſſes, which they had committed on Shore[c], not only plundering Houſes, and robbing Churches, but raviſhing Men's Wives and Daughters, and carrying them on Board with them to ſatiate their Luſts, whom they caſt into the Sea when the Tempeſt began, and ſo inhumanly haſten'd the ruin of their Souls, as well as corrupted their Bodies.

Reg. 3. *Duke of* Britain *returns home, and has aid to ſettle him.*

Sir *John Harleſton*, and his Men, who held the Town of *Chierburg*, having Intelligence that the *French* had laid up great quantities of Proviſion in a Church and Mill adjoyning, as in Storehouſes, ſally'd out with a ſtrong Force, and poſſeſſed themſelves of them, tho' guarded and defended by the *French*. But in their return were encountred by Sir *William de Bourd*, the *French* Captain in *Mountbergh*, the Counter-Garriſon to *Chierburg*. The *Engliſh*, loth to loſe ſo ſoon what they had ſo lately gotten, ſtood upon their defence, and there follow'd a furious Battle. The *French* were the greateſt in Number, but the *Engliſh* in Reſolution, which Fortune ſo far favour'd, that by the help of a few freſh Men, who came out of the Town to their aſſiſtance, they ob-

The Engliſh *at* Chierburg *aſſault the* French.

[a] Sir *Oliver Gueſelin*, Brother to the famous Conſtable of that Name.

[b] They murther'd him for offering the King to fortifie *Southampton*, and make it a free Port for foreign Traders out of the Eaſt. The Merchants of *London* being jealous of their own Trade, to ſpoil the Project, cauſed him to be Aſſaſſinated.

[c] This Wickedneſs is particularly laid to the Charge of Sir *John Arundel*.

tain'd

A. D. 1380. Reg. 3.

tain'd a compleat Victory, taking Sir *William* himſelf, and a hundred and twenty Priſoners. But this advantage was allay'd by as great loſs to the *Engliſh* ſoon after; for ſeveral *Engliſh* Ships lying in the Haven of *Britain*, under the protection of the Caſtle, then kept by the *Engliſh*, under the command of Sir *John Clarke*, a valiant Captain, the *French* had intelligence of it, and going with a Squadron, ſent one Ship into the Haven, either to fire them, or draw the *Engliſh* Ships to a purſuit of it, by which means they might come into their hands. The *Engliſh*, not ſuſpecting the deſign, accordingly purſu'd the Ship, and Sir *John Clarke* and his Men went aboard to effect the taking of it, and ſo fell into the Ambuſcade. Sir *John* perceiving his danger, fought bravely to free his Ships, but all was in vain, the *French* were too ſtrong for them; and tho' few of the Men fell into the Enemy's hand, many being kill'd, among which was the Captain himſelf, and ſome eſcaping a ſhoar, they gain'd the Ships, but ſo ſhatter'd, they could not carry them home.

1380. About *Chriſtmas* the Earl of *Salisbury* was remov'd from the Lieutenancy of *Callis*, and Sir *John Devereux* was put in his place. Sir *John Harleſton* alſo was call'd home from *Chierburg*, and Sir *William* of *Windſor* ſent over to ſucceed him. About the Feaſt of St. *Hilary* a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, and ſate till the beginning of *March*. In this Parliament it was enacted, 'That ſince many 'of the richeſt Church-preferments of the Nation 'were got into the hands of Strangers, who nei-'ther could nor did do their Duty in hearing 'Confeſſions, preaching to, and teaching the Peo-'ple, maintaining Hoſpitality, or furthering the 'good of Men's Souls, contrary to the intent of 'the pious Donors, and the ancient Cuſtom of 'the Realm, whereby the Riches of the Nation 'was carry'd into foreign Parts; therefore no 'Alien ſhould hold any Benefices in *England*, nor 'any *Engliſhman* be a Farmer, Procurator, or At-'torney for ſuch Aliens, without an expreſs Li-'cenſe from the King and his Council. The Commons alſo petition'd, 'That a Proviſion ſhould be 'made againſt the Pope's Collectors of the firſt 'Fruits of all Eccleſiaſtical Benefices within this 'Realm, and that all Priors Aliens might be re-'mov'd out of their Houſes, and licens'd to de-'part the Nation, never to return, and that *En-'gliſhmen* be put in their places, anſwering the 'King's Revenues as they did. At the Requeſt alſo of the Lords and Commons, *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick* was made ſole Governour of the King's Perſon, inſtead of the greater number of Biſhops and Barons, which hitherto had enjoy'd that Office, becauſe they were found burthenſome and chargeable to the Nation; and he had a competent Salary allow'd him for his Care and Attendance. This Parliament granted to the King a tenth of the Clergy, and a fifteenth of the Laity, but upon condition that the King ſhould not ſummon another Parliament till the *Michaelmas* twelve-month after, which tho' at preſent he aſſented to, yet was not perform'd.

Fourth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

The Lady Joan Courtney marry'd to the Earl of S. Paul.

A little after *Eaſter*, the Lady *Jane de Courtney*, the King's half Siſter, was marry'd to the Lord *Valeran* Earl of S. *Paul*, who having been taken Priſoner in the *Marches* of *Callis*, was kept in the *Engliſh* Court, and by his winning Behaviour much engag'd the young Lady's Affections to him. The Princeſs her Mother was very much againſt the Match; but fearing leſt it might be prejudicial to the young Lady to croſs her Affections, ſhe yielded, and the King gave his Conſent, and for her Dower beſtow'd upon the Earl the Mannour of *Bieſleet*.

The Duke of *Britain* having been diſappointed of the Aids which he expected from *England* ſoon after his arrival, but were kept back by a Tempeſt, not knowing the Cauſe of the Delay, ſent a freſh Petition to the King for his aſſiſtance; whereupon ſeven or eight thouſand Men were raiſed to be conducted thither, under the Command of *Thomas Woodſtocke* Earl of *Buckingham*, Sir *Thomas Peircy*, Sir *Hugh Calverley*, Sir *Robert Knowles*, Sir *John Harleſton*, and other experienced Commanders; but to avoid the former danger by Sea, were ſet on Shoar at *Callis*, *June* 4. and ſo were to paſs through *France* into *Britain*. In their March through the Country, tho' they did much harm to the *French*, yet they met with no Oppoſition. The Duke of *Burgundy* would have fain oppoſed them, and the injur'd People were very ready and deſirous to cruſh their Inſolencies; but King *Charles*, being a very politick Prince, ſtrictly commanded his People not to engage them, who could have no Refuge in the midſt of their Enemies, but an irreſiſtible Boldneſs and Deſperateneſs; he order'd them to keep themſelves and Cattle cloſe in their Towns, while they paſs'd by, and in the mean time he ſo dealt with the *Britains*, that he made their Journey unſucceſsful; for the City of *Namz* deny'd utterly to receive them, and the *Britains* gave them a cold welcome; which Diſappointment did more damage to the *Engliſh*, than the *French* had ſuffer'd by them, and *Charles*'s Policy outdid their Force, tho' he liv'd not to ſee the ſucceſs of it. For that great Prince having been poiſon'd about the time that the *Engliſh* landed at *Callis*, was hardly preſerved by a *German* Phyſician a few Months, and dy'd *Sept.* 26. juſt as the *Engliſh* were paſſing the River *Sartie*, and left his Kingdom to his Son *Charles* VI. then but twelve Years old. This Accident might have prov'd fortunate to the *Engliſh*, had the Duke perſiſted in his Quarrel with *France*, eſpecially ſince there was a Diſſention among the *French* Princes of the Blood about the Regency and Government of the King's Perſon; but the Peers of *Britain* being more deſirous of Peace than War, and the *French* as willing to comply with them, the *Engliſh* were ſent home again, and a Peace concluded to no ſmall diſpleaſure of the Earl of *Buckingham*, and his whole Army, whom to appeaſe the Duke pretended, that his Nobles over-rul'd him, and forc'd him to it; which Excuſe did not ſatisfie the angred Soldiers.

A. D. 1381. Reg. 4.

Aids ſent to the Duke of Britain, and their ſucceſs. Reg. 4.

Charles the French King dy'd.

While the *Engliſh* under the Earl of *Buckingham* were paſſing *France*, the *French* and *Spaniſh* Gallies under the Command of the Lord *Oliver de Cliſſon*, and other great Men, much infeſted the Coaſts of *England*, eſpecially in the Weſtern parts, where they took ſeveral Ships; and at laſt, entring the *Thames*, burnt *Graveſend*, after they had plunder'd it, and ſo return'd with much Booty. About the latter end of *June* the Merchandizing Towns of the Weſt ſet out a Fleet to repreſs their Inſolencies, which being in purſuit of them, forced them into *Ireland* to *Kingſale*; but they were ſo aſſaulted from the *Iriſh* and *Engliſh* on both ſides, that above four hundred of them were ſlain, moſt of their Captains and Ships taken, beſides one and twenty Veſſels, which had been taken from the *Engliſh*, which they now recover'd; but four of the moſt deſperate of their Captains eſcaped, who being enrag'd at their loſs, got up what Force they could together, and obſerving their opportunity, came again upon the *Engliſh* Coaſts, robbing, killing, and burning in a more outragious manner than before; againſt whom, tho' the People oppos'd themſelves with what ſtrength they could get, and did ſome Execution upon them, yet they ſuffer'd much damage, for they burnt the Town of *Winchelſea*, and put the Abbot of *Battel*

The French much annoy England.

A. D. 1380. Reg. 4.

to flight, who came to defend it, as alſo *Rye*, *Haſtings*, and *Portſmouth*, were deſtroy'd and plunder'd by them; which having done, they retir'd for Fear.

The Scots *invade* England.

The *Scots*, who were always joyned with their old Confederates the *French*, in aſſaulting *England*, were not backward at this time to contribute their Aſſiſtance; and becauſe the *French* acted only as Pirates, without Declaration of War, therefore the *Scots* made this a Pretence of their Invaſion, that the Townſmen of *Newcaſtle* and *Hull* had taken one of their Ships worth ſix or ſeven thouſand Marks, tho' they took it not from the *Scots*, but from the Pirates that infeſted *England*. Whereupon the *Scots*, with a conſiderable Body of Men, enter'd *Cumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, ſpoiling and deſtroying the Country; and out of the Foreſt of *Inglewood* drove away forty thouſand Head of great and ſmall Cattle as was thought. It happen'd, that juſt at this time *Penrith* Fair was kept; of which, when the *Scots* had notice, they haſted thither; and finding none to oppoſe them, for the Tradeſmen, who were naked and unarm'd, hearing of their coming, had left their Goods to ſave their Lives; they ſeized upon all their Shops and Stalls, and returned loaden home by the City of *Carliſle*; which tho' ſtrong enough to defend it ſelf, yet made no Reſiſtance; and ſo the *Scots* got ſafe into their own Country, ſave that an Ambuſh of Archers cut off ſome few of them. The Earl of *Northumberland*, who was the Guardian of thoſe Northern Parts, hearing of theſe Miſchiefs done by the *Scots*, was preparing a ſharp Revenge againſt them, but was forbidden by Letters from the King and Council to proceed againſt them, till the time of Treaty with them was paſt, that it might be known, whether they would make any Satisfaction for thoſe Wrongs or no.

A Treaty with the Scots.

About *Michaelmas* the Duke of *Lancaſter*, the Earls of *Warlick* and *Stafford*, with other Noblemen, went with a great Army into the North, and lay on the Borders to treat with the *Scots*. This Negotiation, which laſted long, ended in a Truce till *Eaſter* following, but was ſo great a Burthen to the poor Inhabitants, that they had rather have had the *Scots* ſtill their Enemies, than the Company of their Friends with the Army that attended them, who did them as much Injury as they could have done. The Truce was indeed no Security to the *Engliſh*, the *Scots* ever making uſe of ſuch Ceſſations of Arms to plunder *England* the more fearleſly; for they never obſerv'd them longer than they could gain an advantageous Opportunity to break them. While the *Engliſh* Army lay here, ſome treaſonable Letters were found at *London* by a poor Man, ſeal'd with Sir *Ralph Ferrers*'s Arms, who was one of the King's Council, and directed to Sir *Bertram Glequrn*, the Lord *de la River*, Chamberlain of *France*, the Lord *Gueſelin*, and the Patron of the *French* Gallies. They were carried to Mr. *John Philpott*, and by him to the King and Council, who ſent him with them to the Duke of *Lancaſter*, that the Knight might be ſeiz'd and ſecur'd; which the Duke accordingly did, and impriſon'd him in *Durham* Caſtle, but upon his Examination at the next Parliament he was ſet at Liberty, four Barons being bound for his Appearance, till his Innocency could be more fully cleared.

Sir Ralph Ferrers *accuſed of correſponding with the* French.

Fifth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

The King called another Parliament to meet at *Northampton* in *November*, a place tho' not very convenient in Winter for the Entertainment of ſo great a Company, and ſo Auguſt an Aſſembly, yet was thought more fit than *London* at that time; becauſe he was reſolved to puniſh *John Kirby*, a Merchant of *London*, who was one of thoſe that had barbarouſly kill'd the *Genoeſe* Merchant: And it was feared, that his ſuffering in the City might occaſion ſome Tumult by the Intereſts of his Dependants or Friends, ſo he had his Tryal at *Northampton*, and was hanged. By this Parliament was granted to the King a * Tax of 6*s.* 8*d.* for every Prieſt and Nun, and 4*d.* by the Poll upon all Perſons whatever being of the Age of fourteen Years and upward (ſuch as took Alms only excepted) which was then thought ſo conſiderable a Sum, that it raiſed a great Diſcontent among the Commons, as we ſhall ſee, when we come to the Account of the Collection of it.

A. D. 1380. Reg. 4.

Soon after the riſing of this Parliament, which was about *Chriſtmas*, *Thomas Braintringham* Biſhop of *Exeter*, was put out of his Office of Treaſurer, and Sir *Robert Hales* Lord Prior of St. *John*'s Hoſpital in *Smithfield*, was put into his place; a very worthy and gallant Perſon, but not beloved of the Commons. Alſo a Marriage began to be treated of between the King and the Emperor's Siſter, and the Duke of *Tarſilia* and the Cardinal of S. *Praxedes*, came over to the King about it, The Cardinal made it a very advantageous Negotiation, for preſuming upon the King's Favour and Permiſſion, he ſold Indulgences, Confeſſional Letters, Portative Altars, Abſolutions and Diſpenſations at dear Rates to the ſuperſtitious People and Clergy, who glad of ſuch near Markets, catch'd at them eagerly, to the great enriching of the Cardinal.

1381.

The King's Marriage negotiated.

The Truce with the Scots *renewed.*

The Truce with the *Scots* being now juſt upon the Expiration, the Duke of *Lancaſter* was ſent into *Scotland* to procure a Continuation of the Truce for a longer time, *viz.* three Years. The Duke was the more zealous to promote a firm Peace at home, becauſe he had an Opportunity put into his hands, as he thought, of recovering his Wife's Right to the Crown of *Spain*, by a Breach between the King of *Portugal* and the Uſurper. The former had ſent to the Duke to aſſiſt him, and he diſpatch'd away his Brother *Edmund* Earl of *Cambridge*, with the Lords *William Beauchamp* and *Botreux*, and Sir *Matthew Gourney*, with a conſiderable Force to help him, intending to follow himſelf with greater Strength as ſoon as things were put into a ſettled Poſture at home; but while he was endeavouring to lengthen the Peace with a Foreign Nation, an unexpected Diſturbance, but very dangerous one, aroſe at home among the People upon this Occaſion.

An Expedition into Portugal.

The Rebellion of Jack Straw, *and the Occaſions of it.*

The Collection of the Poll-Tax, which was ſo much diſpleaſing to the Common People, began in the Spring, and being manag'd by indiſcreet and uncivil Officers, raiſed ſuch Diſcontents in moſt Counties of *England*, that they were every where almoſt ripe for Rebellion: For tho' 'tis probable the ſevere exacting of ſo ſmall a Sum would not have raiſed ſuch Combuſtions alone, yet meeting with other Grounds of Diſſatisfaction, which the People had long ſmother'd, it ſwelled them to ſo big a Bulk, that they could not keep longer in. The Government of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, the Exactions and Corruptions of Lawyers and Attorneys, and the Oppreſſion from Lords of Mannors by their Tenures of Villanage, had ſat very uneaſie upon their Shoulders a great while, and they longed for a Deliverance from both; but more eſpecially from the inſupportable Burthens of their Lords, whoſe Slaves and Servants they generally were, doing all their Work and Drudgery, as plowing, ſowing, carrying their Dung, cutting

* This Tax was propoſed by the Lords.

their

A. D. 1381. Reg. 5.

their Wood, and carrying it to their Houſes, which being a great Avocation from their own Buſineſs, and Diſadvantage to their Labours, they were glad of a juſt Cauſe and Opportunity of vindicating their Liberty. And this they were much the more encourag'd to do by the Sermons of a ſeditious Prieſt, nam'd *John Ball*, who in his Popular Diſcourſes told the Commons, 'That 'all Men were equal by Nature; That as Chil-'dren of *Adam* no Man is better than another; 'That if God had appointed any Man to Slave-'ry, he would have declared, who ſhould be 'Lords, and who Servants; That Servitude, 'which his gotten by unjuſt Force, is confirmed 'by as unjuſt Laws; and therefore he adviſed 'them to go to the King and require their Li-'berty, which if they could not obtain, to re-'cover it with their Swords. Whether theſe Inſtigations had produced any ſettled Reſolutions in the People to eaſe themſelves after that manner, is uncertain[a]; but that they made them more ready to lay hold of a ſlight Occaſion to rebel, is out of Queſtion, and ſo were the chief means to raiſe that Flame, which the Poll-Tax ſerved but as a Pretence to. This Rebellion firſt began at *Dartmouth* in *Kent*, where a rude Collector of the Poll-Groats having offer'd ſome Incivility to [b]one *Jack Tyler*'s Daughter, created a Quarrel with the Father; which coming to Blows, *Tyler* being a Thatcher, with his thatching Staff [c] beat out his Brains. The Fact was applauded by his Neighbours, but yet fearing he ſhould be puniſh'd for it, they gather'd together for his Defence, and in a ſhort time were become a large Multitude [d] able to defend themſelves againſt any Force almoſt whatſoever: For not only the People of *Kent*, but *Eſſex* united themſelves in one Body, and as if his Cauſe were common to them all, reſolv'd to vindicate themſelves and him from all ſuch unjuſt Oppreſſions and Abuſes. *Wat. Tyler* became the Head and Captain of this Rabble, which being ſo ſtrong as he thought to be beyond all Reſiſtance, and able to vindicate themſelves from all Wrongs, which they in their own Opinions ſuſtained from their Superiors; he firſt engag'd them each to other with an Oath, 'That they would be true to King '*Richard*, and the Intereſts of the Commons of '*England*; That they never would receive a '*John* (meaning the Duke of *Lancaſter*) for their 'King; That they would perſwade all their 'Neighbours to join in the ſame Cauſe, and 'would never yield to the Payment of any Tax, 'but a 15th. Being firmly united by this Oath, they began their March from *Maidſtone*, where their firſt Rendezvous was, towards *London*, plundering all that would not joyn with them in their Paſſage. At *Blackheath* they had a general Muſter, where they appeared to be ſixty thouſand, or as others ſay, an hundred thouſand ſtrong. The King hearing of the Approach of ſo great a Multitude in an Army, ſent to them to know the Cauſe of their tumultuous meeting, and they ſent him word, 'That they were come to ſpeak 'with him about Matters of Importance, and 'deſired him to come to them. The Meſſage being related to the King, it was debated in the Council, whether he ſhould go to them or no: Some thought it the beſt way to appeaſe them, but *Simon Sudbury*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Chancellor, and Sir *Robert Hales* the Treaſurer, were utterly againſt it, as not ſafe for the King's Perſon. This Advice was taken, and the Rebels Petition rejected, which as ſoon as they heard the Authors of, they vow'd they would cut off their Heads; but the King fearing that this Denial would provoke them, he went down by Water as far as *Rotherhith* to talk with them. They were pleaſed with his Preſence, and petition'd him to come a-ſhore among them, but that would not be granted: So that this new Diſtruſt created a greater Diſpleaſure againſt the King's Miniſters, and Perſons about him.

A. D. 1381. Reg. 5.

Rebels come to London, *and their Actions there.*

As ſoon as the King had left them, they marched forward to *London*, and on *Corpus Chriſti* Day, *June* 2. enter'd *Southwark*; where they plunder'd the rich Houſe-keepers, let out the Priſoners of the Marſhalſea and Kings-Bench, whom they liſted into their own Company. The Mayor and chief Men of the City adher'd firmly to the King, and ſhut up their Gates againſt them; but the Commonalty taking their part, and the Rebels themſelves threatning to burn all the Borough of *Southwark*, unleſs they had free Acceſs into the City; they were forced to open the Gates to them, as well for their own as Friends Safety. And now being Maſters of all the Wealth and Power of the Nation, they made no Law for their Actions, but their own Will; the Wine-Cellars and Shambles yielded them Dainties for their Bellies and Palates, and every Banker's Shop was their Treaſury. The meaneſt Peaſant knew no Want, when abundance of all things was at hand: But theſe Lawleſs Actions they juſtified by their Zeal for the common Good, and taking off ſuch as they called the Enemies of the publick, which they were not ſparing in the Execution of, or in deſtroying their Houſes and Poſſeſſions. For they burnt the Archbiſhop's Palace at *Lambeth*, and the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Houſe in the *Savoy*, with all their rich Furniture and Goods; which, as if they had been devoted to God, they would ſuffer no Man to reſcue from the Flames; but when one of their Company took a piece of Plate, and put it in his Boſom, they caſt him into the Fire. *S. John*'s Hoſpital in *Smithfield* alſo they ſet on fire, and the Mannor of *Highbury*, belonging to it. All the Profeſſors of the Law, which they could get into their Power, they put to Death; and entring into the Temple, they deſtroy'd all the Rolls or Records of the Chancery which they could find, with all Law-Books and Writings of the Students, and ſo they dealt with the other Inns of Court. They divided themſelves into three parts to prevent any Oppoſition, and remained one part in the City under *Jack Straw*, another at *Mile-End*[e], and a third at *Tower-Hill*[f]. The King and his Guards (tho' twelve hundred) were ſo much afraid of them, that they allow'd them to come into the *Tower*, and took out from thence the Archbiſhop *Simon Sudbury*, then Chancellor, and Sir *Robert Hales* the Treaſurer, and beheaded them on *Tower-Hill*. In the City alſo they were very ſevere to Foreigners, eſpecially the *Flem-*

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[a] 'Tis ſo far certain, as that he was among them at *Blackheath*, where he made this Sermon. He was a Priſoner in *Maidſtone* Goal, and had been ſet free by the Rabble, whom he excited to proceed from Riot to Rebellion, taking this Rhime for his Text,

When Adam *delv'd and* Eve *ſpan,*
Who was then a Gentleman?

[b] This was done at *Debtford* in *Kent*. The Fellow's Name was *Walter* or *Wat*, his Trade a Tyler, whence he is called *Wat. Tyler*.

[c] With his Lathing Hammer.

[d] An hundred thouſand Men.

[e] Theſe were the *Eſſex* Men to the Number of ſixty thouſand, who on Promiſe of Charters of Freedom, diſperſed and went Home.

[f] *Kentiſh* Men headed by *Wat. Tyler*.

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mings, and taking them out of the Sanctuaries, whither they were fled to eſcape their Fury, beheaded many of them. Their *Shibboleth* to diſcern them by, was to pronounce the words *Bread and Cheeſe*, which if they could not do, but ſaid as uſually, *Brot and Cauſe*, they inſtantly beheaded them. *Wat. Tyler*'s private Revenge in beheading his old [a] Maſter, *Richard Lyon*, in *Cheapſide*, for his neceſſary Severity to him when he was his Apprentice, much ſtain'd their glorious Pretences of reforming publick Diſorders, and puniſhing bad Miniſters of the State. Nor was it very agreeable to the Juſtice they pretended to obſerve, to open the Priſons of *Newgate* and the *Compters*, and let out thoſe Peſts of Societies, Thieves, Burglers, and other diſorderly Perſons, burning their Regiſters, that in more ſettled times they might not be again apprehended: But ſo it for the moſt part happens, Hypocrites can't keep the Vizzard on ſo cloſe, but their Pretences will be ſeen through, and their diſagreeing Actions betray the Wickedneſs of their Deſigns.

King's methods to appeaſe the Rebels.

The King compaſſionating the Miſeries of his People, which by force he was unable to relieve, conſulted with his Council about ſuch Courſes as were beſt to be taken to prevent them; and upon deliberation it was adviſed, That ſince Rebels, tho' ſtrong, are yet timorous, the King ſhould offer them all Pardon for their former Offences, and give them Charters of Freedom to confirm their Liberties for the future. The greateſt part of the Rebels accepted of the King's Favour, and eſpecially the *Eſſex* Men, who ſorry for their Diſloyalty, departed immediately home, leaving only ſome of their chief Men to get their Pardon and Charter of Freedom paſs'd and ſign'd. But *Wat. Tyler*, and his *Kentiſh*-Men, which were about twenty thouſand, ſtill continued unſatisfy'd, and perſiſted in their miſchievous Actions of plundering and killing whom they pleas'd. The King and his Council made larger Propoſals to him, but nothing would be accepted, tho' he pretended he would be quiet upon reaſonable Conditions; which that the King might know, and comply with for the Peace of the Nation, he with many of his Nobility, the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, and his Guards, went into *Smithfield*, and ſent one of his Attendants, Sir *John Newton*, to ſummons *Tyler* to a Parley with him. Sir *John* thinking it Condeſcenſion enough in the King to ſend for ſo mean a Subject, haſten'd *Tyler* to attend upon his Majeſty; but he told him, *he would come at his own time*; and tho' he ſet forward, yet did it ſo ſlowly, as if he had been as great a King, which he dream'd he ſhould ſoon be, and the King were to wait upon him. His delays cauſed Sir *John* to be ſent again, and to quicken his pace, without reſpect to him; which ſo angred the proud Rebel, that he drew his Dagger at him to kill him; and tho' he was in the King's Preſence, would not lay aſide his Fury: Whereupon Sir *John* was commanded by the King to deliver up his Dagger to *Tyler*, and ſubmit [b]. When the King and *Tyler* came together, as he gave very little Reſpect to the King, ſo his Demands were very unreaſonable; for he required, That the ancient Laws of the Land ſhould be aboliſhed; That the Sword, which was carry'd before the King, ſhould be deliver'd to him; and many other inſolent matters, unfit to be granted. *William Walworth* the Mayor of *London*, and *John Philpot* an Alderman, both Men of an undaunted Courage as zealous Loyalty, told the King, That the rude Behaviour of *Tyler* to him was intolerable, and deſired that the Mayor might have liberty to arreſt him, being in his Juriſdiction. The King doubting the iſſue of ſuch an Attempt, which their Paſſion would not ſuffer them to conſider, was very unwilling to permit them, but at laſt yielded; and *Walworth* immediately with his Sword ſtruck him from his Horſe [c], and being ſeconded with *Philpot*, and others that ſtood by, they kill'd him. The Rabble ſeeing their Captain dead, preſently incited one another to revenge his Blood, and bent their Bows to ſhoot at his Murtherers, as they call'd them. The King conſidering their unavoidable danger, though but fifteen Years of Age, rode bravely up to the People, and ſaid, *What will you kill your King? Be not troubled for the loſs of your Leader, I will be your Captain, and grant you what you deſire.* Theſe Words had ſo great an influence upon them, that they laid aſide their Intentions, and march'd with the King into St. *George*'s Fields, as ſure to obtain their Requeſts of him. In the mean time, *Walworth* poſted into the City, and brought back with him a thouſand Citizens well arm'd, who waited under Sir *Robert Knowles* to give the King aſſiſtance, when it was moſt ſeaſonable; and upon this notice, immediately march'd in good order into the Fields to the King. The Rabble were amaz'd at their approach, and flung down their Weapons, begging the King's Pardon; which being obtain'd, they fled, and got home as faſt as they could. The Nobles and others that attended the King, deſired him to execute three or four hundred of them inſtantly for a terror to others; but the King would by no means conſent to it, and only order'd, that the City ſhould give them no entertainment, and that the Heads of them ſhould be apprehended, and legally puniſh'd. The Tumult being thus compos'd, the King ſenſible of the Service which *Walworth* and *Philpot* had done him, with ſo great hazard of their Lives, conferr'd the honour of Knighthood upon them and ſome other Aldermen, *John Standiſh*, *Nicholas Brambre*, *John Lawnd*, and *Nicholas Twiford*; and as a perpetual Memorial of the City's Loyalty, commanded the Dagger to be added to their Arms, and gave alſo an hundred Pounds *per Annum* to *Walworth*, and forty Pounds *per Annum* to all the reſt. After this ſucceſs, the King return'd to the Tower, where he was receiv'd by his Mother with much Joy, and the more, becauſe ſhe knew him to be in great danger of Life from the numerous and heady Rout of his rebellious Subjects.

Wat. Tyler Captain of the Kentiſh Rebels.

Wat. Tyler kill'd, and the Rebels diſpers'd.

Rebels in other parts of the Nation.

While the former Commotions were about *London*, the Commons in other parts of the Nation raiſed the like Stirs and Tumult, under the ſame Pretences, being inſtigated by the Emiſſaries of the *Kentiſh* Rebels, *John Ball* and *John Wraw*, two ſeditious Prieſts, who had a ſpecial Talent of Haranguing the Rabble into Diſcontents and Rebellion. In *Suffolk*, about St. *Edmundsbury*, they were gather'd together into a Body of fifty thouſand, under the Command of *Robert Weſtbroom* an Inn-keeper, and *John Wraw* the abovementioned lewd Prieſt, as his Aſſiſtant. They made it their buſineſs alſo to go about the Country to plunder and murther Lawyers, Juſtices, and all ſuch as they imagin'd to be the Inſtruments of

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[a] This cannot be right, for Mr. *Lyons* was a very eminent Merchant, the ſame that had been in the former Reign condemned in a great Fine to the King for ſeveral Miſdemeanors, and *Alice Peirce* begged it off for him when ſhe was in favour. So 'tis not probable, that *Wat* the Thatcher or the Tyler was ever Prentice to him.

[b] He was angry with the Knight, becauſe he did not diſmount in his Preſence, but preſumed to talk to him on Horſeback.

[c] Sir *William Walworth* ſeeing *Tyler* begin to meddle with the Bridle of the King's Horſe, and play'd with his Dagger, ſhifting it from one Hand to the other, was afraid he meant ſome Miſchief to his Royal Perſon, and ſtruck him on the Head with his Dagger; Alderman *Philpot* ſeconded the Blow with his Sword, and ſo the Rebel came down.

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the People's Slavery. Theſe beheaded Sir *John Cavendiſh* Lord Chief Juſtice, who had his Dwelling in thoſe parts, and the Prior of *Bury*, *John* of *Cambridge*[a], forcing the Monks of the Abby to bring forth and burn thoſe Writings, by which the Privileges of the Monaſtery over the Townſmen were granted and confirmed; and leſt the Abbot, who eſcap'd from them, ſhould recover his former Immunities of them, they put a Croſs, Chalice, and other Jewels belonging to the Monaſtery into their hands, that the Abbot ſhould be oblig'd to ſeal a Releaſe of all Services to them for the recovery of them. In *Cambridgeſhire* alſo and the Iſle of *Ely* there were the like tumults, and many miſchiefs done by the ſeditious People, who ſhrunk away upon the firſt Proclamation of Pardon, and ſav'd themſelves. But in *Norfolk*, tho' they were as forward in diſquieting the Nation, yet they were not ſo wiſe to ſecure themſelves. *John Litteſter*, a Dyer of *Norwich*, whom they ſtiled *King of the Commons*, headed a vaſt Rabble, and with the ſame mad Fury deſtroy'd the Lawyers, Lords of Mannours, and ſuch as they believ'd Inſtruments of their Slavery. Theſe were, as they thought, more politick than their Fellows in other parts, in compelling ſeveral Gentlemen of that Country to join with them to increaſe their Numbers, and make themſelves the more conſiderable, as the Lord *Scales*, Sir *William Morley*, Sir *John Brewes*, Sir *Stephen Hales*, and Sir *Robert Salle*. This laſt was too Loyal to comply with ſuch a rebellious Rout, and too Bold to keep his Sentiments of their wicked and unjuſt Actions to himſelf; wherefore reproving both their Attempt, and the ill Conduct of it, he was knock'd on the Head by them. The reſt ſav'd their Lives with ſuch ſervile Compliances as were worſe than an honourable Death, for they were forced to ſerve *Litteſter* at Table upon their Knees[b], and outwardly applaud his brave Endeavours for the People's Liberties. They ſought to have brought *William Uſſord* Earl of *Suffolk* to the ſame Union with them, but he had ſome notice of their Intentions, and ſo timely made his eſcape, and went to the King. When the Proclamation of Pardon to the Rebels about *London* was publiſhed, they had news of it; but whether they ſuppoſed themſelves not included in it, or whether they diſputed with themſelves about accepting it, is uncertain; yet they kept together in a Body, and ſent three of their chief Leaders, with Sir *John Brewes* and Sir *William Morley*, with ſtore of Money[c] to obtain their Pardon. The Biſhop of *Norwich*, *Henry Spencer*, a Man of a Warlike Spirit, tho' a Clergyman, being zealous to purge his Dioceſs of ſuch Troublers of the Nation, was at the ſame time coming down with a ſmall Force, of eighty Lances, and a few Archers, and hoped by the aſſiſtance of ſuch as continued Loyal in his Dioceſs, to rout the Rebels. The Meſſengers from the Mutineers met the Biſhop near *New-Market*, who queſtion'd them about their Buſineſs, Company, and the People in Arms; and finding that three of the chief of the Rebels were with them, and that their Camp lay at *North-walſham* ſtrongly entrench'd, the Biſhop being hot in the purſuit of them, beheaded the three Leaders, ſet up their Heads at *New-Market*, and haſting forward with Sir *William Morley* and Sir *John Brewes*, gather'd an Army of ſuch Gentlemen and Commons, as flock'd to them in their paſſage; which making up no inconſiderable Body, the Biſhop aſſaulted their Camp, and routed them, tho' with ſome difficulty. *Litteſter*, and ſeveral others of his Aſſociates, he beheaded; but *Wraw*, with ſeveral Priſoners, were ſent up to *London* to receive the juſt Puniſhment of their Demerit. Thus was the Rebellion ended, and almoſt as ſoon ſuppreſſed as raiſed, not continuing above three Weeks, or thereabouts, from the beginning to the end of *May*, the heady Rabble wanting Skill and Courage to maintain their bad Cauſe.

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The King raiſes an Army.

The Nation being thus a little appeaſed, tho' not ſettled, the Governours with the young King thought it neceſſary, for the compleating of its Quiet for the future, to raiſe a good Army of ſuch as were firmly Loyal to the King, who might be able to ſuppreſs any Inſurrections hereafter, which were not a little to be feared, becauſe the Commons were yet in a ferment, and they had reſolv'd to puniſh many of the Leaders of the Rebellion, that were in Cuſtody in ſeveral places of the Nation, with as great ſeverity as their Crimes deſerv'd, which would probably incenſe the People, and cauſe new Stirs. The King thereupon call'd all his Friends together about *London*, and ſent into the Country to ſuch as he knew to be Men well-affected, and Perſons of Intereſt, to attend him, and bring what Men they could with them well arm'd; by which means he got in a few Days a gallant Army of above forty thouſand Men, which he muſter'd himſelf in Perſon at *Black-heath* with great pleaſure and ſatisfaction. As ſoon as this Force was got together about the King, news was brought him, that the Commons were riſen again in two parts, *viz.* in *Kent*, and in *Eſſex* about *Billerica*. The King, whether tried with the former Provocations, or exalted with the Preſence of his Army, which he wanted before, forgot all his former Gentleneſs, and immediately reſolv'd to go himſelf into *Kent*, and deſtroy the whole Country, and to ſend the Earl of *Buckingham* and Lord *Piercy* to repreſs the *Eſſex*-Men, to whoſe Petition for Liberty, though promiſed before, he reply'd, that[d] *Slaves they were, and Slaves they ſhould be.* But the Lords, by their earneſt Perſuaſions, allay'd the Fierceneſs of his Paſſion, and brought him to yield to more gentle and legal ways of proceeding againſt them. So the Earl of *Buckingham*, and Sir *Thomas Piercy*, with a good ſtrength of Men, went into *Eſſex*, and finding the Rebels entrench'd between *Billerica* and *Hatfield Peverell*, within Ditches and Carts; they aſſaulted their Camp, kill'd five hundred of them, and took eight hundred Horſes, the reſt eſcaping towards *Colcheſter*, which they ſollicited in vain to joyn with them, and from thence went to *Sudbury*. The Lord *Fitz-Walter* and Sir *John Harleſton* with a Body of Men purſu'd them ſo hard, that they ſlew and took them almoſt all Priſoners, and committed them to ſeveral Gaols in their own Country. And with the like ſucceſs did the King's Army ſubdue the ſeditious People of *Kent*. After the Compoſure of theſe Diſturbances, there appear'd a general Quietneſs over the Nation, which made way for the Puniſhment of thoſe Captains of the Rebels which were reſerv'd for Juſtice.

A ſecond Riſing in Kent *and* Eſſex.

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Several Rebels executed

The Lord Mayor of *London*, Sir *William Walworth*, had taken ſeveral of the chief of them, as *Jack Straw*, *Allen Threader*, *John Kirby*, and *John Starling*, who bragg'd that he had ſlain the Archbiſhop with his own hands; and being ſeiz'd within his Precincts, they were by Law to be tried before him, from whom they received the

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a *John* of *Cambridge* and *John de Lankinheath*, two Monks of that Priory, were both Beheaded.

b They managed themſelves ſo cunningly, that they became his Favourites, and were made this King of the Mob's Chief Officers, Sir *Stephen Hales* being his Carver.

c This Money was given 'em by the Citizens of *Norwich*, to ſave their Town from being burnt.

d *They were born Villains, and ſo they ſhould remain.* Something ſofter than to call them *Slaves*.

Sentence

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Sentence of Condemnation, to be beheaded; which was executed on them accordingly. *Jack Straw*, without any Promiſes, or Hopes of Pardon, ingenuouſly confeſſed at his Execution, 'That if they had been ſucceſsful in their Enterprize, and could have gotten all the Power into their hands, as they had no ſmall Reaſon to hope, being ſo very ſtrong, they intended to have ſlain the King, Noblemen, Biſhops, Monks, Canons, Parſons, and all the richeſt and wealthieſt of the Commons, and ſeiz'd upon their Poſſeſſions, leaving only the Fryars Mendicants to adminiſter Sacraments and divine Service: And when they had thus gotten all into their hands, they would have eſtabliſhed new Laws for the Government of the Realm, which they had contrived to divide among their Leaders; *Wat. Tyler* was to be King of *Kent*, and others of them in other Countries were to have their petty Kingdoms.' This, he ſaid, was true, as God ſhould help him in thoſe his laſt Moments. *John Ball*, who was taken about *Coventry*, was ſent up to the King, and try'd before him at S. *Albans*, with others of the Rebels, brought thither from *Hartford* Goal. *Ball* behaved himſelf with very great Irreverence to the King; and tho' he was adviſed to ſubmit and beg pardon, he ſcorn'd and deſpis'd his Moniters: So he was condemn'd and executed with fifteen others, *July* 15th. As for the reſt, the King ſent out his Judges with Commiſſions into the ſeveral Counties of the Nation to try them. Sir *Robert Treſilian*, Chief Juſtice, went into *Eſſex*, and the King himſelf accompany'd him at their Examinations. The *Eſſex* Men in a Body of about five hundred Men, addreſs'd themſelves bare-foot to the King for Mercy, and had it granted upon condition, That they ſhould deliver up to Juſtice the chief Inſtruments of ſtirring up the Rebellion; which being accordingly done, they were immediately try'd and hang'd ten or twelve, on a Beam at *Chelmsford*; becauſe they were too many to be executed after the uſual manner, which was by beheading. In other Counties alſo, where the Rebellion had come, were the like Executions done; and the Lords of Manors dealt with the like Severity with their Tenants, and puniſh'd many of them with Death: So that in divers places of *England*, no leſs then fifteen hundred are computed to have ſuffer'd for *this* their Diſloyalty; by which means the Miſchiefs they did to others, and the Blood they ſhed, was juſtly return'd upon themſelves.

Jack Straw's Confeſſion.

Wickliffe's Doctrines no cauſe of this Rebellion.

This Rebellion hath ſince been imputed to *Wickliffe* and his Followers Principles, of whom *John Ball* is ſaid to have been one; but that this is an Aſperſion invented by Monkiſh Hiſtorians, to blacken the Proteſtant Doctrines, may appear from hence, that the Rebels were very cruel to ſome of the chief Followers of *Wickliffe*, as the Duke of *Lancaſter*; and that *Wickliffe* himſelf, then reſiding upon his Parſonage of *Lutterworth* in *Leiceſterſhire*, was never called in Queſtion for this Rebellion; and tho' *John Ball*, who was a Franciſcan Fryar, was ſaid to be impriſon'd by the Archbiſhop for preaching *Wickliffe's* Doctrine; yet 'tis probable his Diſcontents, not Opinions, made him forward to promote theſe Diſturbances of the Nation, and therefore neither *Wickliffe* nor his Doctrines were to blame.

The Duke of Lancaſter in Scotland during this Rebellion.

The Duke of *Lancaſter* was all the time of theſe Commotions in *Scotland*, not ſo much to conclude the Peace, which upon the firſt News of them he ſuddenly clapt up; becauſe if the *Scots* had heard of them, they would certainly have rejected all Propoſitions for it, as to ſecure his own Perſon, to whom he knew they bore a deadly Hatred. The *Scots*, tho' vexed that the Duke had by his Policy debarr'd them from a great Advantage upon *England* by it, yet offer'd him twenty thouſand Men to guard himſelf againſt the Rebels, if he purpoſed to return home; or if he thought it better to ſtay till the Storm was ſpent, the Accommodations of *Holy-rood* Houſe; but the Duke accepted the latter, and abode ſome Months in *Scotland* extraordinary. This gave the tumultuous Multitude occaſion to report, That the Duke of *Lancaſter* was gone over to the *Scots*, and had obtained of them an Army to invade and conquer *England*; but as ſoon as the Rebellion was allay'd, the Duke cleared himſelf of that foul Aſperſion, by ſending a Meſſage to the King to give an account of the Reaſons of his ſtay; yet aſſuring his Majeſty, That if he had any Suſpicion of his Diſloyalty, he would either come to him without any Attendance, or at his Command go into a voluntary Exile. But the King giving no Credit to the Report, ſent him word, That he might return with his Retinue; and being come to Court, gave him an hearty welcome. Soon after his Arrival there happen'd a furious Quarrel between the Duke of *Lancaſter* and Earl of *Northumberland*; becauſe Sir *Matthew Redman*, Governour of *Barwicke* under the Earl, had deny'd the Duke Admittance into that Garriſon, when he was on the Borders of *Scotland*, by the Earl's Order. This Act the Duke complain'd of to the King in the Earl's Preſence, and accus'd him of Ingratitude, Unfaithfulneſs, and Diſobedience. The Earl being a Man of an high and angry Spirit, burſt out into foul and reproachful Language againſt the Duke; and was ſo very furious, that tho' the King commanded him Silence, yet he would not hold in his reproachful Language. Whereupon the King commanded him to be arreſted and impriſon'd; but the Earls of *Warwick* and *Suffolk* undertaking for his Appearance at the next Parliament, he was left at Liberty, and returned into his own Country. About this time the King made *William Courtney*, Biſhop of *London*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who was a zealous Oppoſer of *Wickliffe* and his Followers.

A. D. 1381.

A Quarrel between the Duke of Lancaſter and Earl of Northumberland.

About the beginning of *November* the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, and the Earl of *Northumberland*, and Duke of *Lancaſter* attended it; but with very large Retinues of armed Men, to the great Terrour of all Places where they came. The Earl and his Company were lodg'd in the City, and the Duke with his Men in the Suburbs, and both went every Day to the Parliament Houſe with their Guards, to the Amazement of the Citizens. The Quarrel between theſe two great Perſonages was firſt debated by the Houſes, and took up ſo much time before it was fully decided by the King, that News was brought of the Queen's Arrival at *Dover*, before they could proceed to any other Buſineſs; and ſo the Parliament was prorogued to give Attendance upon her Reception, and the Celebration of the Marriage: For many of the Nobility, and others of the Parliament, were ſent to receive her, and convey her honourably to the King's Preſence. Before ſhe came to *London*, the Mayor and Aldermen, with a great Company of the chief Citizens, met her at *Blackheath*, and led her into their City with great Honour and Reſpect; from whence ſhe was conducted in Triumph to the King at *Weſtminſter*. Within a few days ſhe was marry'd to the King by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, by the Name of *Ann*, the Daughter of the late Emperor *Charles* IV. and Siſter to *Winceſlaus* the preſent Emperor. Her Coronation ſoon follow'd, which was celebrated with infinite

Sixth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

The King's Marriage and Queen's Coronation.

Splendour

A. D. 1382. Splendour and Magnificence; all the Nobility of the Nation attending, and ſparing no Coſt to heighten the Glory and State of that day. Theſe Solemnities being ended, the Parliament met again ſoon after the Feaſt of *Epiphany*, and ſettled many good Laws for the publick Benefit: For after the Confirmation of the Liberties of the Church, the great Charters, and many old Laws found by Experience conducible to the Nation's Welfare, they eſtabliſh'd ſeveral new ones, *viz.* That no Gold or Silver ſhould be carry'd out of the Realm, either in Coin, or otherwiſe; it being found then, as well as now, that Traffick with ready Money impoveriſhes the Nation. That all Merchants, that were the King's Subjects, ſhould traffick in *Engliſh* Bottoms only. That no Wines ſhould be ſold for above ſix Marks by the Tun. That all Manumiſſions, Obligations, Releaſes, and other Bonds made by Force and Compulſion in the late Tumults, as being againſt the Laws of the Land, ſhould be void. That it ſhould be lawful for the King's Loyal Subjects to ſeize and apprehend all Perſons, whom they ſuſpect to be riotouſly aſſembled, if there be in number above ſix or ſeven, without the King's Writ, and impriſon them till they are brought to anſwer it. That ſuch Perſons as out of Zeal to the Safety of the King and Peace of the Realm had taken up Arms to repreſs and ſubdue the Rebels without a ſpecial Commiſſion from the King, ſhould be all pardon'd. That ſuch Perſons, as in the late Troubles had loſt their Charters, Releaſes, Obligations, Deeds, and other Monuments, (for the Rebels burnt many, and deſtroy'd them) upon their Petition to the King and his Council, and a Proof of the Contents of the Form and Tenure of them, their Rights, Titles, and Privileges, ſhould be confirm'd otherwiſe to them. That Strangers might perſonally ſell their Goods in *London*, without Impeachments to the Merchants of *England*. That no Furs nor Girdles garniſh'd with Gold or Silver, ſhould be worn, with ſome other Laws concerning the Regulation of Courts of Law, and Officers Fees. By this Parliament a Subſidy call'd a *Maletoſt* (which is a fiftieth part) was impoſed upon all Wools bought or ſold by the Merchants, and at the Requeſt of the Lords and Commons, the Lord *Scroop*, a Perſon eminent for his Knowledge and unbiaſs'd Integrity, was made Chancellor, and Sir *Hugh Segrave* Treaſurer, thoſe great Places remaining vacant ever ſince the Rebellion, wherein the Archbiſhop and Sir *Robert Hales* were ſlain [a].

The Death of the Earl of March in Ireland.

About this time *Edmund Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, Lieutenant in *Ireland*, dy'd in that Nation. He was nearly ally'd to the Crown by the Marriage of *Philippa* the only Daughter of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, by whom he had a large Poſſeſſions in the Province of *Ulſter*; and by his prudent Government, had before his Death ſettled that barbarous People in great Peace and Order; he left one Son, *Roger*, who ſucceeded him in the Earldom of *March*, and a Daughter, *Ann*, who by *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge* was Grandmother to King *Edward* IV. *John Wickliffe* alſo publiſhed an Explication of ſeveral of his Doctrines and Opinions, which the Archbiſhop and Biſhops were very zealous to ſuppreſs; as Mr. *Fox*, and our Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories relate it.

Seventh Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

On the *Tueſday* after the Feaſt of S. *John Portlatine*, *May* 6. another Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*; in which, at the earneſt Petition of the Knights of the Shires, *John Wraw*, a Prieſt, who had been active in raiſing the Rebellion in *Suffolk*, was tried, and after a Legal Sentence drawn and hang'd. In this Parliament, among other things of leſs Importance, one Act very memorable is ſaid to have been made, which began the firſt Perſecution that ever was among the *Engliſh* for the Chriſtian Religion, on the Followers of *Wickliffe*. By it it was enacted, That Commiſſions ſhould, upon the Certificate and Requeſt of the Biſhops into the Chancery, be directed by the Chancellor to the Sheriffs, and others, to apprehend certain Preachers of Hereſie, who without the Licence of their Ordinaries, preached not only in Churches and Church-yards, but in Market-places, and other Places of Concourſe, Sermons full of Errors and Hereſie, and their Followers, and to keep them in ſtrong Priſon until they ſhall juſtify themſelves according to the Law of the Holy Church. By Authority of this Act, the Biſhops not only proceeded with great Severity againſt the Followers of *Wickliffe*'s Doctrine, but as if the Power had been in their own hands, they procured Commiſſions from the King directed to themſelves to proſecute them, and ſo cruelly impriſon'd them in their own Houſes, and puniſh'd them as they pleaſed. But this Act, tho' put in our Statute-Books, was not paſſed by the Aſſent of the Commons (as Mr. *Fox* in his *Acts and Mon.* p. 406. ſhews) but was fraudulently procured of the King by the Biſhops to gratifie their own bloody Malice againſt thoſe whom they pleaſed to call Hereticks. A Subſidy was granted to the King by this Parliament, but upon condition, That it ſhould be expended upon a Navy to guard the Nation by Sea.

The firſt Act for puniſhing Hereticks.

Several memorable things happen'd.

This Summer ſome Ships that belong'd to *Ry* and the adjacent Towns, meeting with ſome Pirates engag'd them, and overcoming them took ſeven of their Ships (of which one was an *Engliſh* Ship, call'd the *Falcon*, belonging to the Lord *Latimer*) richly laden with Wine, Wax, and other Merchandize, which they had taken from others. Alſo [b] *John Northampton*, alias *Comberton*, Mayor of *London*, obſerving with Sorrow the Lewdneſs and Debaucheries of the Citizens, ſet himſelf with all Diligence to ſuppreſs them; and ſeverely puniſh'd all ſuch as he found guilty of Whoredom, by impriſoning both Sexes, and cauſing the Women to be carry'd thro' the Streets of *London* with their Hair ſhorn, as Thieves were in thoſe days uſually expos'd to Shame, with Trumpets and Pipes going before them; nor did he ſpare the Men more. The Biſhops pretending, that the Puniſhment of ſuch Immoralities belonged to their Juriſdiction rather than the Mayor's, were highly diſpleaſed with him, and forbad him; but that did not in the leaſt deter him from proceeding in ſo good a Work, ſo long as his Power laſted, tho' againſt the Biſhop's Will, who ought to have encourag'd him. Whether this uneven Zeal of the Church-men againſt Opinions and Doctrines, more than vicious Practices, were the cauſe of thoſe fearful Judgments which happen'd at the ſame time they were carrying on their Proſecutions, is hard for us peremptorily to determine; but certain it is, that many heavy Calamities befel the Nation at this time. Such an Earthquake was felt, as not only wrought great Terrours in the Inhabitants, but ſhook down divers Churches and Houſes in the Nation, and

[a] In this Parliament an Act of General Pardon paſſed, with ſome Exceptions to the following Towns, *Canterbury*, St. *Edmunds-Bury*, *Beverly*, *Scarborough*, *Bridgwater*, and *Cambridge*; which, it ſeems, had been moſt mutinous in the late troubleſome Times, and at laſt theſe Towns were alſo pardoned, by Petition of the Houſe of Commons.

[b] *John Wickliffe* is ſaid to have put the Mayor of *London* upon this Reformation of Manners in that City, becauſe he ſaw the Biſhops Miniſters tolerated all Lewdneſs for Money.

A. D. 1382. principally in *Kent*. Not many Days after happen'd a *Water-ſhake*, as it was call'd, which beat the Ships in the Havens ſo violently together, that many received no ſmall damage. And about S. *Thomas*'s-day there fell ſuch great Rains, as caus'd mighty Inundations, which drowned many Villages, and carryed away divers Bridges.

Reg. 6. *King's Diſpoſition at ſeventeen Years of Age.* The King, being now in his ſeventeenth Year, began to diſcover his Inclinations and Affections. He lov'd the State and Magnificence of a King, and was very Noble, Generous and Liberal, outgoing all his Anceſtors in ſtately Equipages, and the pompous Gallantry of a Court; but he lov'd not the burthenſome Cares and dangerous Atchievements of a Crown, giving himſelf up to Pleaſures and Eaſe, and favouring ſuch as moſt encouraged and applauded him by their Flatteries and Company in that courſe of Life. His beſt Friends, and wiſeſt Counſellors, knowing how much ſuch a Life was inconſiſtent with the Greatneſs and Intereſt of a King, could not countenance his Choice, but much diſapproved his Actions, to which he being too fondly addicted, and beyond all compulſive Reſtraints, became averſe to the Perſons and Counſels of ſuch as really tender'd his Advantage, and the flouriſhing State of his Reign, and pleaſed himſelf in the Company and Careſſes of thoſe Perſons which ſought to pleaſe him, with advantage to themſelves, magnifying his Power, and extolling that Life of Eaſe and Pleaſure which he naturally lov'd, as moſt ſuitable to the Happineſs and State of a King. The chief of theſe Men were *Alexander Nevill* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Robert de Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, a young and ſprightly Nobleman, *Michael de la Poole* a Merchant's Son of *London*, and Sir *Robert Treſcilian* Chief Juſtice. Theſe Men had the Ear, the Company and Favour of the King, whilſt others bore the heavy Toils and Troubles of Government, and ſcarce received Thanks for their pains; which raiſed Diſcontents in the one, and Pride and Inſolency in the other; Paſſions which can never ſubſiſt long quietly together, as this Accident diſcovers to us: One of theſe Favourites having obtain'd a Conceſſion of ſome part of the King's Revenues, went to the Lord Chancellor, *Richard Scroop*, to have it confirm'd by the Great Seal. The Chancellor, conſidering that Gifts are the Rewards of Deſerts only, and that it was hardly agreeable to the Truſt repoſed in him, to confirm ſuch Grants raſhly as the King had given indiſcreetly, put him off with this Anſwer, 'That the King was himſelf much in 'debt, and that all Profits of the Crown were 'therefore to be employ'd to the benefit of the 'King; wherefore he refuſed to ſet his Seal to 'ſuch Grants till the King was of greater Age and 'Judgment. The angry Petitioner goes immediately to the King, and with Aggravations of the Chancellor's Diſobedience, repreſents his Denial to him. The King, impatient of all Oppoſition at beſt, but much more now, being enrag'd by the Inſtigations of ſuch as were about him, ſent immediately to him to deliver up the Seal; but the Chancellor, having been put into that Office by the Parliament, refuſed to reſign it, till the King came himſelf in Perſon and demanded it of him; to whom he, with all due Reſpect, ſaid at his parting with it, 'That ſince his Fidelity to his Inte'reſts was ſo diſpleaſing to him, he never would 'again ſerve him in any place of Truſt, tho' he 'would obey him as a good Subject. The King having thus gotten the Seal, gave it [a] to *Robert Braybrooke* Biſhop of *London*. And tho' he pleaſed himſelf and Favourites in thus transferring that great Office, yet it much diſguſted the Parliament, who had put the Lord *Scroop* into it, and diſcontented the People, who accounted him the fitteſt Perſon of the Nation for that Office, becauſe of his impartial Juſtice and great Knowledge.

His Favourites.

Ld. Scroop the Chancellor remov'd, and the occaſion.

A. D. 1382.

Not long after this Change, the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, in the *Octaves* of St. *Michael*. In this Parliament, after the Confirmation of the Charter and old Laws in the uſual manner, it was enacted, 'That Deeds enrolled, which had been 'torn and defaced by the Rebels, ſhould be 'emplified under the King's great Seal, and ſuch 'Exemplifications ſhall be of as great Force as 'the Originals; which much pleaſed the King's loyal Subjects, whoſe Eſtates were endanger'd by the loſs of their Writings. *John Northampton* Mayor of *London* alſo procured an Act, in prejudice to the Fiſhmongers of *London*, 'That no Vi'ctualler ſhould exerciſe any Judicial Office, ei'ther in the City of *London*, or in any Borough, 'Town, or Sea-port, through the Realm, unleſs 'where no ſufficient Perſon elſe can be had for ſuch 'Office, in which Caſe ſuch Perſon was to abſtain 'from his Trade during the time of his Office. By this Act all Victuallers, *viz.* Fiſhmongers, Butchers and Grocers, (for ſo it ſeems they were then reputed) were debarr'd from being Mayors of *London*. Sir *John Philpot* was much againſt this Action of the Mayor, and is ſaid to have been put from the Bench of the City for oppoſing it. Mr. *Fox* in his *Acts and Mon.* p. 406. ſets down a Petition of the Commons of this Parliament, extracted out of the Parliament Rolls, Art. 52. wherein the Commons humbly requeſt of the King, 'That the Act 'made the laſt Seſſion, giving the Biſhops Autho'rity upon their Certificates into Chancery to re'quire Commiſſions to apprehend and impriſon the 'Preachers, Maintainers and Abettors of *Wick'liffe*'s Doctrines, ſhould be diſannulled, becauſe 'it was procured without their conſent; and the King yielded to their Petition. Yet by the Artifices of the Biſhops, the aforeſaid Repeal was ſuppreſſed, and Proſecutions carry'd on by virtue of the ſaid ſurreptitious Act, without the leaſt regard had to the Repeal; which is the Reaſon that that Act of Repeal has never ſince been printed among our Statutes. Theſe were the chief Matters tranſacted by this Parliament; for no Tax was granted but a ſingle fifteenth, inſtead of which the King granted a general Pardon to all concerned in the former Rebellion, excepting only ſome of the more notorious Leaders in it.

Eighth Parliament, its Acts.

The ſecond Holy War began now to be eſpouſed in earneſt in *England*. For Pope *Urban* ſent over his Bulls to *Henry Spenſer* Biſhop of *Norwich*, a Man better qualify'd for the Camp than Church, granting large Pardon of Sin, and promiſing as great Imputations of Merit and Happineſs, as if they had went againſt Turks and Infidels, to all ſuch as would either go in Perſon, or contribute Money to maintain a War againſt *Clement* the Antipope, and his Adherents. The Clergy preached up the Merit of this Expedition, and gained many Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, as well as great multitudes of the common People to undertake it. Nothing but Money (which they had gather'd in great Sums, yet not ſufficient for ſo chargeable an Undertaking) and the Conſent of the King and Nation were wanting to the intended deſign, both which they referr'd to the Conſideration of the next Parliament.

The War between the Antipopes.

Toward the latter end of this Summer, *Edmund* Earl of *Cambridge* return'd out of *Portugal*, with the *Engliſh* Army under his Command, much diſcontented for the ill ſucceſs of his Voyage. They had a very hard and dangerous paſſage, and when they

Earl of Cambridge returns out of Portugal.

[a] The King kept the Seal for ſome Days in his own Cuſtody, and Seal'ed ſeveral Grants with it himſelf.

arriv'd,

A. D. 1382. arriv'd, found the King of *Portugal*, who had invited them, very backward in his Preparations, as if he were hardly reſolv'd upon a War. They lay nine Months in *Lisbon* in Garriſon, without any Action of moment, giving their Enemy the King of *Spain* time to raiſe an Army, which with ſuch aid as he procured out of *France* thro' *Arragon*, was two ſtrong for Oppoſition. So that by that time the *Portugueze* and *Engliſh* were ready to fight, the *Spaniard* was irreſiſtible, and that King, who had no mind to fight at firſt, was in the end juſtly deterr'd from it. The *Engliſh* nevertheleſs being weary of Idleneſs, could not by the Perſuaſions of their General be kept from attempting ſomething. Wherefore they invaded the neighbouring Territories of *Spain*, and taking ſeveral ſmall Cities, put Garriſons into them. This angred the King of *Portugal* ſo much that he refuſed to pay the *Engliſh* according to agreement; which had like to have begotten a Quarrel between them, tho' Confederates; for the *Engliſh* had purpoſed to plunder the Country, and ſatisfie themſelves. But this Breach being compoſed, the King of *Portugal* made a Peace with the King of *Spain*, and ſent away the *Engliſh* with all ſpeed, as if he had been glad to rid the Kingdom of ſo terrible Gueſts. The Earl of *Cambridge* was ſo much incens'd with this unexpected Treatment, that he departed in a great anger, and would not leave his Son behind him, tho' he had affianced him to the King of *Portugal*'s Daughter. His arrival in *England* was no good news to the Duke of *Lancaſter*, whoſe Title became ſo much the more worthleſs, as his Enemy was more ſucceſsful.

1383. *Ninth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.* A little after *Chriſtmas* a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, to which the Conſideration of the intended Expedition againſt the Adherents of Pope *Clement* was referr'd, and upon a full Debate diſallow'd; but the Clergy and their Friends at length made ſuch Intereſts that it was permitted, and a fifteenth which had been granted to the King by the former Parliament was given for the carrying on the Expedition, and only a tenth granted by the Clergy, reſerved for the King's uſe. *The Biſhop of Norwich's Expedition againſt the Abettors of Pope Clement.* The Biſhop of *Norwich* having received this Encouragement, ſent out his Letters immediately unto all Parſons of his Dioceſs to preach up the Merit of this Holy War, and pronounce Pardon of Sin to all that would go to it; and his Brethren in other Dioceſſes did the ſame: Which had ſo great an effect, that by the entrance of the Spring he had an Army ready to attend him of fifteen thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe. The chief Men, who accompany'd the Biſhop in this War, were Sir *Hugh Calverley*, Sir *William Farrington*, *Henry* Lord *Beaumont*, Sir *William Elmham*, Sir *Thomas Trivet*, Sir *John Ferrers*, Sir *Henry Spenſer* the Biſhop's Nephew, Sir *Matthew Redman*, Sir *Nicholas Traicton*, and ſome others. Few of the Noblemen would engage in it, becauſe the Duke of *Lancaſter* oppoſed it, and would by no means be induced to joyn in it, unleſs they would have made War upon the King of *Caſtile*, who was alſo a *Clementine*. On the 23d of *April* theſe Religious Warriours put to Sea, and landed at *Callis*. The King had ſome days before ſent to the Biſhop to attend him at Court before he left the Realm, for what Reaſon was not known; but the Biſhop fearing it was to countermand his Proceedings, would not go to the King, but went on his intended Voyage. When they were all arriv'd at *Callis*, they entred into a Conſultation which way they ſhould bend their Forces. Some were for invading *France*, becauſe their Commiſſion was to make War only upon Pope *Clement* and his Party, of which the *French* were the chief. But the Biſhop was for invading *Flanders*, becauſe the Earl *Lewis* had lately expell'd all the *Engliſh* out of his Dominions, upon a Suppoſition, that King *Richard* had joyned with the People of *Ghent* againſt him, and many in their haſty Removal from *Bruges*, and other places, had ſuſtain'd great Damages in their Merchandizes. To the Biſhop's Judgment they all yielded, tho' Sir *Hugh Calverley* and ſome others did not approve of it; and therefore entring *Flanders* in the beginning of *May*, they beſieged and took in leſs than three Weeks *Graveling*-*Burburgh*, *Dunkirk*, and *Mardike*. This ſudden ſtorm the Earl of *Flanders* not ſuſpecting, ſent to the Biſhop to know the Cauſe why he made War upon him, and was anſwer'd, *Becauſe he had a Commiſſion to aſſault all the Abetters of Pope* Clement. The Earl's Meſſengers reply'd, *That they then were his Friends and Allies, being for Pope* Urban; but that was not ſufficient to divert the *Engliſh* from them. Whereupon the Earl raiſed an Army of twelve thouſand Men to oppoſe the Current of their Victories, and engag'd them about *Mardike*; but the *Engliſh* behav'd themſelves with that Valour and Reſolution, that they ſlew * nine thouſand of their Enemies on the place, and gained a great Victory; upon which they immediately became Maſters of all the Country between *Graveling* and *Sluce*, and got ſuch Spoils as laded one and forty Ships with the Riches of the Country. The Earl of *Flanders* being thus driven to the loweſt ebb of Fortune, hath no Refuge but to the King of *France*, whom he ſollicited with the greateſt Earneſtneſs to oppoſe and ſtop the Current of the *Engliſh* Victories, which would certainly in the iſſue prove dangerous to his Kingdom. The Duke of *Burgundy* ſeconded the Earl's Requeſt, and prevail'd ſo far with the *French* King, as to raiſe an Army of a hundred thouſand Men. In the mean ſeaſon, the *Engliſh* being reinforced with twenty thouſand *Gauntiners*, had laid cloſe Siege to the City of *Ipres*, and tho' it was a very ſtrong Town, were in no ſmall hopes of taking it. But the Earl of *Flanders* haſtening out of the *French* Forces againſt them, oblig'd them to raiſe the Siege, after one ſucceſsleſs Aſſault, and retire to *Burburgh*, wherein they fortify'd themſelves with Waggons ſet upon the Rampeirs and Ditches. The *French* purſu'd them, and beſieg'd the Town; but by the mediation of the Duke of *Britain*, a faſt Friend to the *Engliſh*, a Compoſition was made, 'That 'the *Engliſh* upon their ſurrendring up the Town 'to the *French*, ſhould have ſafe Conduct, with 'Arms and Baggage, to *Callis*; which was perform'd on both ſides. The *Engliſh* being thus driven out of *Flanders* again, all the places which they had taken fell into the hands of the *French*, who ſpoil'd them of all the *Engliſh* had left. The King, to whom the Biſhop of *Norwich* had given an account of the *French* Army's ſucceſs while he was beſieg'd in *Burburgh*, had order'd the Duke of *Lancaſter* to haſten over with all the Force he could to relieve the Biſhop; but the Duke delay'd ſo long, till the Biſhop had left all, and was landed in *England*. Thus this Expedition concluded, with both Diſhonour and Diſadvantage to the *Engliſh*; for they not only loſt the Town, but the Prey they had gotten, being forced to burn their Ships, leſt they ſhould come into the Enemy's hand; which that the King might ſhew his Reſentments of, he ſeiz'd upon the Biſhop's Temporalties, and impriſon'd Sir *Thomas Trivet* and Sir *William Elmham* ſoon after their return.

A. D. 1383. *Flanders invaded, and the Flemings conquer'd.* 1383. Reg. 7. *The French drive the Engliſh out of Flanders.*

French *and* Scots *aſſault* England.

After the Departure of the *Engliſh* Army home, the *French* and *Scots* began their wonted Ravages

* *Walſingham* ſays twelve Thouſand, and other Hiſtorians but Three.

A. D. 1383. into *England*; the one by Land, and the other by Sea. The *French* ſent out ſeveral Ships to infeſt the Coaſts, and annoy the Paſſage into *Gaſcoign* and *Flanders*: The *Scots* invaded the Borders, drove away a great Booty of Cattel, took the Caſtle of *Werke*, and burnt it. The Inhabitants of *Portſmouth*, and the Neighbouring Towns ſet out ſome Ships to defend their Coaſts, which took five Ships of the *French* after a ſharp Fight; another Squadron of *Engliſh* Veſſels took eight *French* Ships laden with Wines, to the Quantity of fifteen hundred Tun; but the *Scots* found no Oppoſition till the Parliament met, and gave a Tax to defray the Charge of the Expedition.

Tenth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

On the *Monday* before the Feaſt of *All-Saints*, the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, and after the Confirmation of the Charters, and other old Laws, repealed the Act againſt the Victuallers, made in the laſt Parliament, and enacted, That no Foreigner ſhould purchaſe any Benefice of the Church in this Realm, or enjoy the ſame without a ſpecial Licence from the King, with ſeveral other Laws. But ſince the main end of their meeting was to provide for the Defence of the Nation againſt the *Scots*, it was reſolved, That a puiſſant Army ſhould be immediately raiſed to repreſs their Inſults with Severity; and for that end, there was given the King half a fifteenth of the Laity, and half a tenth of the Clergy; and becauſe it would require ſome time to raiſe an Army of ſuch Strength as was deſign'd, therefore a part of the Tax was order'd to be allow'd the Lords of the North to guard the Borders, till the Grand Army could arrive. The *Scots* having Advice of this impending Storm, ſued to the King for the Continuation of the Truce, which they had broken, but were deny'd, and ſent home to provide for their Defence; and the Care of providing and conducting the Army, was committed to the Duke of *Lancaſter* and the Earl of *Buckingham*, with Order to be ready to march early in the Spring.

A Peace propounded between the Engliſh *and* French.

The Duke of *Britain* ſeeing Matters to ripen a-pace to a War between the *French* and *Engliſh*, ſmall Inroads and Incurſions being uſually Prologues to great Battels, ſollicited the *French* King earneſtly to come to a Peace, and by many Importunities prevail'd, of which he gave the King of *England* ſpeedy notice. About *Chriſtmas* the Commiſſioners on both ſides met: The Duke of *Lancaſter*, Earl of *Buckingham*, Sir *Thomas Holland* and Sir *Thomas Peircy*, were Plenipotentiaries for the *Engliſh*; the Duke of *Berry* and *Burgogne*, the Biſhop of *Laon*, and the Chancellor of *France*, were for the *French*. The King of *Spain* alſo had ſome Embaſſadors at the Treaty, becauſe the *French* would not conclude any thing, unleſs the *Scots* and *Spaniards* were included in it. Three Weeks or more were ſpent in Propoſitions on both ſides, but the Demands of the *French* were ſo extravagant, and ſo obſtinately perſiſted in, eſpecially in having *Aquitain*, *Callis*, and ſome other Caſtles, which the *Engliſh* then held in *France*, deliver'd up to them, that they came to no Agreement; but for the preſent made a Truce for ten Months, and at the end of them agreed to meet again to conclude a Peace, and ſo the *Engliſh* returned. The *Spaniards*, *Scots*, and *Gauntiners*, were included in this Truce; and the *French* were, by an Article of it, to give the *Scots* notice of it. Soon after this Accord the Earl of *Flanders* died, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had marry'd the Earl's Daughter, being Heir of all his Dominions, was very buſie in ſettling himſelf in his Government, ſo that he forgot to give the *Scots* notice of the Truce. The *Engliſh* having already made Preparations to invade *Scotland*, proceeded in their Deſign; and about the beginning of *Lent*, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and his Brother the Earl of *Buckingham*, went with a very great Army down thither, and waſted all the Country with Fire and Sword, as far as *Edinburgh*; out of which alſo the Inhabitants were fled, with the beſt of their Goods, to ſave themſelves from this Torrent. The Duke of *Burgundy* hearing of this Rupture, which was no Breach of the Truce, becauſe it was not confirm'd with the *Scots* through his own Neglect, immediately diſpatch'd an Embaſſy into *Scotland* to compoſe this Breach; but the *Scots*, who had receiv'd ſo much Damage, were ſo hardly brought to ſit down without Revenge, that the *Engliſh* Army did almoſt as much harm by their long Continuance on the Borders to their Countrymen, as they had done to the *Scots*; but at laſt a Ceſſation of Arms was conſented to for the time fix'd, and the *Engliſh* return'd home. About this time happen'd very great Thunders and Lightnings, Preſages of thoſe Tumults, which concurr'd in the City of *London* between *John Northampton*, call'd for his turbulent Humour *Cumbertown*, and Sir *Nicholas Bramber*, Mayor. A. D. 1384.

1384. *But a Truce only concluded.*

A little after *Eaſter* there was a Convocation of the Nobles at *Salisbury*, and in it one *John Latimer*, B. D. an *Iriſh* Fryar appeared, and brought an Information againſt the Duke of *Lancaſter*, That he had a deſign to deſtroy the King, and uſurp his Crown, relating ſuch Circumſtances of his Actions, as render'd the Accuſation, very probable. The Duke being about the King at the ſame time came into his Preſence, as ſoon as the King had receiv'd the Accuſation, not ſuſpecting what had happen'd; but ſeeing the King diſpleaſed, withdrew. The King having taken Advice of his two Chaplains about it, ſent for the Duke, and told him how and by whom he was charged of high Treaſon againſt his Perſon. The Duke not ſeeming concern'd, as if he had been innocent, gave ſuch an Anſwer to every Particular, as ſatisfied the King that he had no ſuch Intentions; yet deſired, that the Fryar might be put into ſafe Cuſtody, till he ſhould clear himſelf of what he had charg'd him with: Whereupon he was committed to the keeping of the Lord *Holland*, the King's Brother, in the *Tower*. When the day of Tryal was come, and the Duke was to clear himſelf, and convince the Fryar of falſe Accuſation, in a publick Judicature, the Lord *John Holland* and Sir *Henry Green*, two of the Duke's Friends, the Night before entring the Fryar's Lodgings, cruelly put him to Death with their own hands, by hanging him up by the Neck and privy Members, and laying a great Stone upon his Breaſt, which brake his Back; and as if they had done this by publick Authority, drew his dead Body through the Streets the next day, as being deſervedly puniſh'd as a Traytor. This cruel Action got the Duke much Diſhonour, and tho' it rid him of a falſe Accuſer, as was thought till the Fryar was ſo illegally put to Death; yet it render'd his Innocency more ſuſpicious than before, and many believed him really guilty, who before thought him falſly accuſed. This Parliament gave the King half a Tenth of the Clergy, and half a fifteenth of the Laity, and ſo was diſſolv'd.

A Convocation of the Nobles, in which the Duke of Lancaſter *was accuſed of Treaſon.*

The *Scots* notwithſtanding the Truce, which they were over-perſuaded, rather than yielded to, could not forbear to revenge the Wrongs they ſo lately ſuffer'd by the *Engliſh*; and therefore infeſted the Borders with continual Inroads and Plunderings all this Summer, and particularly did much Wrong to the Inhabitants of *Northumberland*. The Earls of *Northumberland* and *Nottingham*, who were the

The Scots *break the Truce, and invade* England.

A. D. 1384.

the Guardians of theſe Northern Parts, gather'd an Army of two thouſand Spears, and ſix thouſand Archers, and purſuing the *Scots* ravag'd the Country, as far as *Edinburgh*, and return'd ſafely.

Reg. 8. *The Truce renewed with France.*

The Truce made with the *French* and their Allies being now near the Expiration, the Duke of *Lancaſter* was ſent over again with a great Equipage to endeavour a Peace, or renew the Truce for a longer time. He remain'd a great while there, as if ſome great things were ſettled; but at length return'd with the News only of a Continuation of the Truce till *May*, which was generally meanly thought of, as not worth the Time and Expence [a] that was conſumed about it. In the Duke's abſence *John Northampton*, Alderman of *London*, was accuſed by his own Chaplain of conſpiring againſt the King and Government, and raiſing Stirs in the City. He had his Tryal at *Reading*, before many of the Nobles of the Realm, but could alledge nothing in his own Defence, only that he ought not to be condemned in the abſence of the Duke of *Lancaſter* [b]; yet being found guilty, he was ſentenced to perpetual Impriſonment at an hundred Miles diſtance from *London*, and all his Goods to be confiſcated, which Sentence was executed ſtrictly, and he was ſent to *Tintagil* Caſtle in *Cornwall*, and his Goods and Eſtate were all ſeized for the King. The like Puniſhment did his Aſſociates *John More* and *Richard Norbery* ſuffer.

Eleventh Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

On the Morrow of St. *Martin*, *Nov.* 12. the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter* to furniſh the King with Moneys for the War, which threaten'd him from the *Scots* and *French*; which, when his Subjects had given liberally, the King in Recompence paſſed ſeveral Laws for the exact Adminiſtration of Juſtice, *viz.* That no Judge ſhould keep an Aſſize in the County where he lives; That a Judge ſhould take no Fee or Reward for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, but only of the King; and if any Judge raſe a Record, make a falſe Entry, or change a Verdict, he ſhall after Conviction make Satisfaction to the Party aggrieved, and be fined at the King's Pleaſure. While this Parliament was ſitting, the *Scots* beſieged and took the Town and Caſtle of *Barwicke*, yet not ſo much by their Valour as by the Bribery of the Governour; who being put in by the Earl of *Northumberland*, to whom belong'd the keeping of that Garriſon, by Inheritance from his Anceſtors, brought great Blame upon the Earl. For the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who bore an ill Will to the Earl, ſo aggravated the Loſs of the Town, that he had almoſt perſuaded the Members of both Houſes, that it was a treaſonable Conſpiracy in him and his Deputy to reſign it to them; but the King obſerving the Paſſion and Prejudice of his Uncle, permitted the Earl to go down to recover it, tho' many of the Nobles were for impriſoning him. He beſtirr'd himſelf ſo briskly among his Friends in the North, that he gather'd an Army, and ſo ſtraightly beſieg'd the Caſtle, that the *Scots* ſurrender'd it in a few days upon better Conditions than they gave the *Engliſh*, viz. That they ſhould march out with their Arms and Goods, and have two thouſand Marks paid them down by the Earl, becauſe he was willing to get it again in as ſmall time, and with as little Loſs to the Nation as poſſible. This ſet him right again in the good Opinion both of King and Parliament, and taught him more Care for the future, in chuſing ſuch Deputies as would be faithful. In the time of the ſitting of this Parliament were two Combats fought before the King, one between *John Welſh*, an *Engliſh* Gentleman, and a *Navarrois*, and the other between *John Wallis* and a *Navarre* Eſquire. The *Engliſh* Gentlemen were Victors, and the *Navarrois* hang'd, as falſe Accuſers; for Victory in theſe ſingle Fights was acounted a ſign of Innocency.

Barwicke taken by the Scots, and recovered by the Earl of Northumberland.

A. D. 1384.

1385. *The Duke of Lancaſter plotted againſt.*

The Duke of *Lancaſter*, who being the King's Uncle, and chief Governour about the King, was of the greateſt Obſtruction to the Ambitious Aims of the King's Favourites; who growing now impatient of Delays, thought upon all ways to remove him, if not out of the World, yet out of the King's Affections, was now in great Danger of loſing both his Life and Honour by their means. For theſe cunning Flatterers having by forged Crimes and Accuſations incens'd the King againſt him, contriv'd to have him ſuddenly arreſted, and try'd before Judge *Triſilian*; who being perfectly framed to their Intereſts, would be ready enough upon ſuch Evidence as they ſhould produce to condemn him. But theſe Conſultations were not ſo cloſely manag'd, but they got Wind, and came to the Duke's Ear; who knowing that Innocency in ſuch caſes could not be Guard ſufficient againſt their bloody Deſigns, fled to *Pomfract* Caſtle, and there ſtrongly fortified himſelf againſt his Adverſaries, drawing in all his Friends of the Nobility to his Aſſiſtance. The Duke indeed was not very well belov'd by the People, yet the King's Favourites were generally ſo odious, that the greateſt Endearment to the People was to oppoſe them: So that if the King had perſiſted in his Anger againſt the Duke, here was a Foundation laid for a Civil War between his Favourites and Nobility. This the King's Mother preſently obſerv'd, and eaſily foreſaw the Effects of, and therefore in her own Perſon undertook a Mediation between the King and Duke; and to make a Peace between them, tho' ſhe was very corpulent and unfit for Travel, yet made many Journeys from the one to the other; and in the end, by the Duke's dutiful Submiſſion, wrought a perfect Reconciliation between them, to the great Satisfaction of the Nation, as well as her own Eternal Honour.

The French and Scots make War on the Engliſh.

The Truce between the *Engliſh* and *French* being to expire in *May*, the *French* King reſolv'd upon a vigorous War with *England* as ſoon as it was ended, and to that end firſt ſent the Duke of *Bourbon* with an Army into *Aquitain* to drive the *Engliſh* from thence, and then provided a great Fleet, which he fill'd with Land Soldiers, to invade the Coaſts; and that the *Scots*, his inſeparable Confederates, might be able to make the ſtronger Oppoſition on their part, and divert the *Engliſh* the more, he ſent his Admiral *John de Vienne* into *Scotland* with a thouſand Men at Arms, beſides Croſs Bows, to ſtrengthen them againſt the *Engliſh*. The *Scots* were not at all pleaſed at their Arrival, becauſe they thought themſelves ſtrong enough to encounter the *Engliſh* alone, and chiefly becauſe their Country being barren, could not afford Forage for Strangers, without ſome Prejudice to the Inhabitants: But the *French* Admiral promiſing the King of *Scots* a large Sum of Money for the Damages they ſhould ſuſtain, and for their Aſſiſtance, encourag'd him to raiſe an Army of thirty thouſand Men, to joyn with his Maſter. The King of *England* and his Council were not ignorant of theſe joynt Proceedings againſt the Nation; and to provide againſt both, not only fitted out a ſtrong Navy, under the Command of the Lord S. *Johns* and Sir *Thomas Peircy*, but ſent into all Parts of the Kingdom to ſummon together an Army againſt the common Enemy. The general

King Richard raiſes a great Army, and invades Scotland.

[a] The Duke ſpent fifty thouſand Marks in this Embaſſy.

[b] Whom he called his Lord. This Man was thought to favour *Wickliffe*'s Opinions.

Fear

A. D. 1385. Fear of an Invaſion ſtirred up ſo many to ſtand up in the publick defence, that the King in a ſhort time had an Army of three hundred thouſand Men to attend him. With a part of theſe, *viz.* ſixty thouſand the Duke of *Lancaſter* was immediately ſent towards *Scotland*, the King himſelf reſolving to follow as faſt as he could with the reſt. The *Scots* and *French* had been very buſie in plundering, burning and killing, before they had the news of the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s approach; but as ſoon as they heard of that, they retreated home, and with their Cattel withdrew themſelves into the Mountains: So that the Duke found no oppoſition. The King being come to *York*, heard of the *Scots* retiring, yet proceeded in his Journey, and joyning with the Duke deſtroy'd the Country
Reg. 9. of *Scotland* as far as *Edenburgh*, which City alſo they burnt, all but the Abby of *Holy-rood*, which was ſpared by the Interceſſion of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, becauſe he had been civilly entertain'd in that Convent in the time of the late Rebellion. The *French* were very deſirous to have ſtopped the progreſs of the *Engliſh* Army, by giving them Battel; but the *Scots* ſhewing them from the Hills the Numbers and Strength of the *Engliſh*, prevail'd with them to wait for a more probable way of revenging themſelves by an Invaſion of *England* on another ſide. So they paſſing over the Hills, fell into *Cumberland*, and did much miſchief there to countervail their own Loſſes. The King of *England* and his Army remain'd but five days about *Edenburgh*, and then return'd, and by the way heard of the *Scots* Inroads. The Duke of *Lancaſter* adviſed the King to ſtop up the Paſſes ſtrongly, that they might all fall into his power, which they could not have avoided, had it been done; but the Earl of *Oxford*, who was moſt in favour, and whoſe advice the King principally follow'd, ſuggeſted to him, that the Duke of *Lancaſter* deſigned to bring his Perſon into danger: Whereupon the King neglected the advantage, and departed home. In his return, a great trouble happen'd to the Army by the Murther of the Earl of *Stafford*'s eldeſt Son, ſlain by the Lord *John Holland*, the King's half Brother. The Murther was
The King's Juſtice in puniſhing Murther. ſo foul, being without any provocation on the Lord *Stafford*'s part, that the King reſolv'd to puniſh his Death by Law, and ſo much the more, becauſe he was the Queen's Favourite. The King's Mother was very importunate with him to pardon the Lord *John Holland* her Son, who was fled to Sanctuary at *Beverley*, but not obtaining, ſhe fell ſick with the violence of the diſcontent, dy'd within four or five days, and was bury'd at *Wallingford*. The *Scots* being return'd home, found their Country ſo miſerably haraſſed and waſted, that they turn'd their Fury upon the *French*, who had been the Movers of them to this War, and ſpoiling them of all they had, ſent them home.

Nor was the *French* Navy more ſucceſsful againſt the *Engliſh*, than their Land Army had been. The *Engliſh* Fleet indeed, through negligence of the Commanders, did not act its part ſo well as it might have done; but yet it kept them from landing, and the People of *Callis*, *Portſmouth*, and *Dartmouth*, with the Ships belonging to their Ports, took about thirty Ships at ſeveral times from them, which with eleven that they loſt by Storms, much leſſen'd the Fleet, and depriv'd them of the Triumph they dream'd of. And thus ended the *French* Expedition.

Twelfth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes. On the *Monday* after S. *Luke*'s-day a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, wherein though little publick Buſineſs was done, yet there happen'd a ſignal Conteſt about the raiſing of a Subſidy then granted to the King[a]; for after the Laity had granted him a fifteenth and an half, the Clergy refuſed to bear their proportion of a tenth and an half according to the uſual manner, and Archbiſhop *Courtney* boldly deny'd the Payment of it. The Commons being incenſed at this Refuſal of the Clergy, petition'd the King, that he would ſeize upon their Temporalties. But the King, who was always a great favourer of the Church anſwer'd, 'That he would continue the Patronage which 'he had always ſhew'd to the Church ſo long as 'he liv'd, and would rather gratifie the Clergy's 'Humour, than offer any Injury to their Function. This mild and pious Anſwer ſo prevail'd upon the Clergy, when the Archbiſhop related it to them, that they voluntary gave the King a tenth part of their Benefices; which being ſo freely done, and beyond the King's expectation, the King told them, That it was more pleaſing to him than if he had received four times as much by Compulſion; and upon the Petition of the Biſhops, who came to make the Tenders of this Subſidy, he reſtor'd the Biſhop of *Norwich* to his Temporalties, which he had kept ſome Years in his hands. In this Seſſion of Parliament the King made ſeveral Promotions, creating ſeveral new Dukes and Earls. *Edmund* Earl of *Cambridge* he made Duke of *York*; *Thomas* Earl of *Buckingham*, Duke of *Gloceſter*; *Robert de Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, Marquiſs of *Dublin*[b]; *Henry* of *Bulingbrooke*, eldeſt Son of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, Earl of *Derby*; *Edward Plantaginet*, the eldeſt Son of the Duke of *York*, Earl of *Rutland*; *Michael de la Pool*, Earl of *Suffolk*, and Lord Chancellor; *Thomas Mowbrey*, Earl of *Nottingham*, Earl Marſhal; and by the Authority of this Parliament *Roger Mortimer* Earl of *March* was publickly proclaim'd Heir apparent to the Crown of *England*. And then the Seſſion ended by reaſon of the approach of *Chriſtmas*.

A. D. 1385.

The King and Queen kept their *Chriſtmas* at *Eltham* this Year, according to Cuſtom of theſe times, which was at the three great Feſtivals of the Year to keep open Court, and in a moſt magnificent and princely State to feaſt and entertain all the Nobility of the Nation, and foreign Princes or their Miniſters. To the King at this time came *Leo* King of *Armenia*, who had been expell'd out of his Dominions by the *Turks*, endeavouring to make a Peace between the Kings of *England* and *France*, that he might engage them both againſt the common Enemy of Chriſtianity. He had no ſucceſs in his Propoſals of Peace, becauſe both Nations hated each other too much to hearken to any moderate terms of Agreement; but he was nobly entertain'd for two Months by the King and Nobility, and preſented with many rich Gifts, and at his departure the King, by the Advice of his Council, ſettled a yearly Penſion of a thouſand Pound for his Life upon him. A little after *Chriſtmas*, the Earl of *Derby* marry'd the only Daughter and Heireſs of *Humphry Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, in whoſe Right he was a little after made Duke of *Hereford*. A Peace alſo was now concluded between the Citizens of *Guant*, who had by the aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh* held out a War with the late Earl of *Flanders* all his Life-time, and the Duke of *Burgundy* their new Lord; whereupon Sir *John Bourchier* the Captain of the *Engliſh*, and *Peter de Bois* one of the chief Captains of the *Gauntiners*, were ſent over into *England* from *Callis*, and King *Richard* allow'd *De Bois* a hundred Pound a Year Sterling out of his Cuſtoms upon Wools. About the ſame time alſo *Roger* Earl of *March* having re-

1386. *Leo King of Armenia came over to K.* Richard.

a This Tax was granted for the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Expedition into *Spain*.
b With this Title he had all the Revenues of *Ireland* given him, paying five thouſand Marks a Year into the Exchequer.

ceived

A. D. 1386.

Roger Mortimer *kill'd in* Ireland.

ceived freſh news, that the wild *Iriſh* had done much Injury to his Eſtate in *Ulſter*, which was deſcended to him by his Mother, he undertook a Voyage into *Ireland* to appeaſe them, and reſcue his Lands from their Depredations, but was very unfortunate in this Attempt; for not long after his Arrival, the *Iriſh* being aſſembled in a great Company, aſſaulted and took his Caſtle, ſlaying him and almoſt all his Retinue. He left behind him a numerous Off-ſpring, *viz.* two Sons and three Daughters. His two Sons, *Edmund* and *Roger*, dy'd Childleſs; *Ann* his eldeſt Daughter was marry'd to *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, then eldeſt Son to the Duke of *York*, by whom ſhe had *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, the Father to *Edward* IV. Of the other two, *Eleanor* was a Nun, and *Alice* left no Children, if ſhe were Marry'd.

K. of Spain *invades* Portugal, *and D. of* Lancaſter *goes againſt him.*

The King of *Spain* pretending a Right to the Crown of *Portugal* by his Wife, made War this Spring upon that King, and beſieged *Lisbon*, the Metropolis of his Country. The *Portugueſe* had twice encounter'd the *Spaniards*, and had by the help of ſome *Engliſh* as often foil'd them, but yet could not raiſe the Siege of *Lisbon*. Wherefore the King of *Portugal* being ſenſible that the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who was King of *Spain* in Title, would be glad of any opportunity to make himſelf ſo indeed, and that there could not be a better way to ſecure himſelf, than by a Conjunction of their Arms together, ſends an Embaſſy into *England* to the Duke, to beg his ſpeedy aſſiſtance, and promiſe him an eaſie recovery of his Right, becauſe he had already foil'd the *Spaniards* twice alone, and their united Arms would infallibly effect a Conqueſt. The Duke, who had been for ſome time making Preparations for this Expedition, and was much encouraged to it by the King and his Friends, who long'd to have him out of their way, was ready to embrace ſo likely an Offer; and therefore, that he might loſe no time, muſter'd up his Forces with all ſpeed, and began his Voyage thither in the beginning of *May*. His Fleet was eighteen Ships, and ſeven Gallies, of which Sir *Thomas Piercy* was Admiral; and his Army, of which the Lord *John Holland*, who marry'd his Daughter, was Conſtable, and Sir *Thomas Moreaux* one of his Marſhals, conſiſted of twenty thouſand Men, *viz.* two thouſand Men of Arms, eight thouſand Archers, and ten thouſand others. Many Noblemen accompany'd the Duke to ſhare in his Fortunes, as the Lords *Lucy*, *Talbot*, *Baſſet*, *Willoughby*, *Fitz-Water*, *Poynings*, *Bradſton*, *Fitz-Warren*, *Beauchamp*, and *Beaumont*, beſides many Knights and Gentlemen. He carry'd along with him his Wife, the Lady *Conſtance* Princeſs of *Spain*, and *Katherine* her Daughter, with *Philippa* his other Daughter. Juſt before his departure, he and his Dutcheſs took their leave of the King and Queen, and the King gave the Duke a [a] Silver Crown, and commanded that his Men ſhould obey him as King of *Spain*; and the Queen gave the Dutcheſs another Crown of Silver, with many good Wiſhes of Succeſs in obtaining their Right.

The Duke of Lancaſter *call'd King of* Spain.

Reg. 10.

As the Duke paſſed by *Breſt* with his Army, he called upon Sir *John Roche* then Governour of the Town, who complaining that he was much infeſted by two Forts lately built by the *French* to annoy his Garriſon, the Duke ſent out a ſtrong Force under the Lord *Fitz-Water* to aſſault and demoliſh them, which they at length did; but they were ſo well defended by the *French*, that it coſt them many Lives of valiant Men, as Sir *Robert Swinerton*, *John Bolton*, Eſq; [b] and others, and was gained by them at laſt by Capitulation, the *French* Governour the Lord *Maletret* being wounded, and moſt of the Men in the Fort ſlain. From *Breſt*, after this brave Exploit, the Duke paſſed along the Coaſts of *Gallicia*, and landed at the *Groin* with all his Army upon *S. Lawrence*'s Eve, *Aug.* 9. Here they tarry'd a Month, and then the Duke went to *Compoſtella*. While the Duke winter'd at *Compoſtella*, the Lord *John Holland* kept the Army in Action, and won many ſmall Garriſons in the neighbouring Country, and others willingly ſubmitted to the Duke, becauſe his Dutcheſs, the right Heir of the *Spaniſh* Crown, was with them. The Duke in this Seaſon, which was not fit for Action, conſulted with the King of *Portugal* about their Expedition in the Spring at *Mouſon*, and it was agreed that they would with their united Forces invade *Spain*; and to confirm their Alliance, the Duke affianced his Daughter *Philippa* to the King of *Portugal*.

A. D. 1386.

French K. *intends to invade and conquer* England.

While the Duke of *Lancaſter* was in his paſſage towards *Portugal* with a numerous Army, the King of *France*, who had for ſome Years paſt reſolv'd upon an Invaſion of *England*, reſum'd his Thoughts afreſh, and as if he had now met with an opportunity, wherein he could not miſs of the Succeſs he deſired, becauſe he thought the Duke of *Lancaſter* had empty'd the Nation both of Soldiers and Commanders, gather'd ſuch a mighty Army and Fleet, as if he intended to conquer and people *England* at once with his *French*. He is ſaid to have had fifteen hundred Ships, and a numberleſs Army, in which were twenty thouſand Noblemen, with a proportionable number of Commons. The news of theſe mighty Preparations not only ſtruck a terror into the *Engliſh*, but put a ſtand to all the important Affairs of *Chriſtendom*. The King of *England*, to ſecure his Nation, gather'd an Army of two hundred thouſand Men, and with part of them fortify'd all the Sea-port Towns, and with another part defended the naked Shores in the places where they were moſt likely to Land. The City of *London* alſo was in ſuch fear, that they guarded their Walls, pulling down many Houſes to make their defence the eaſier from them. Publick Faſts were appointed to lament the Dangers, and implore the Protection of God from their Enemies. All good Men bewail'd the approaching Invaſion, as an unavoidable Scourge for the Nation's Sin, and could think upon nothing but Servitude or Death. The only Remedy and Defence againſt this Calamity was a Parliament, which upon that account was call'd together about *Michaelmas*, and accordingly met; but the Nobles brought ſuch numbers of Men along with them, to be ready for their defence againſt the *French* if they ſhould land, that all Towns within twenty Miles round about *London*, as well as that City and Suburbs, were filled with armed Men, who for want of pay were a great damage to the Inhabitants.

Thirteenth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

At the opening of this Parliament, the King, as the occaſion requir'd, demanded a preſent Subſidy to pay thoſe Armies, which he had already got for the defence of the Nation, and make ſuch other Proviſions againſt the Enemy as the ſtate of Affairs required. The Parliament were ſenſible of the danger the Kingdom was in, and eaſily conſented to the King's deſires, but thought it unreaſonable to put any great Sums into his power, ſo long as he was ſo pliable to the covetous Humours of his Favourites, who made his Revenues but a Prey to enrich themſelves. For *Michael de la Poole* the Chancellor, had, in leſs than a Year's time, by farming the King's Cuſtoms, and other Incomes, and waſting his Treaſure, purchaſed a thouſand Pounds a Year Land, and gather'd great Sums of Money which he kept in bank,

Mich. Pool *the Chancellor accuſed, and brought to account for his Office.*

[a] *Henry Knighton* ſays, they were Crowns of Gold.

[b] They were killed accidentally by the fall of a Tower.

He

A. D. 1386. He was generally reputed guilty of Bribery in his Office, and indeed it could not be thought he could grow ſo ſuddenly rich, but by the Abuſe of the King's Favours: Wherefore the Parliament unanimouſly reſolved to have him removed with the reſt of his Aſſociates, or to give the King no Tax. This they ſignified to him by a Petition, wherein they not only repreſented the Miſdemeanours of the Chancellor in his Office, and abuſing the King's Favours to his own Gain; but the Poverty of the People, which ought much to be conſider'd, and not further preſſed than Neceſſity requir'd, which they humbly conceiv'd was not ſo great; but if the Chancellor were brought to a juſt Account, the King's Revenues, and the great Debts in the Chancellor's hands would be ſufficient to defray them[a]. The King receiv'd the Petition very ill, and that he might avoid an Anſwer to it, withdrew to *Eltham*, leaving the Chancellor to preſs them to grant a Tax, and to demand four fifteenths in his Name. The Lords and Commons ſeeing the Cauſe of the King's Retreat, plainly told him, That they would give no Anſwer to his Demand, unleſs the King himſelf were preſent, and he was removed from his Office. The King had Intelligence ſoon of theſe Proceedings, and immediately ſent up to the Parliament to order, that forty of their wiſeſt Members ſhould come down to him at *Eltham*, to declare to him the Reaſons and Grounds of their Actions. The Parliament were in a great Diſpute about this Meſſage, becauſe it was ſaid, that the King had a Deſign to deſtroy and enſnare them; but at length it was agreed upon by both Houſes, That the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and *Thomas Arundel* Biſhop of *Ely*, ſhould be ſent to the King in the Name of the whole Parliament, and the King was contented to have it ſo. When they came into his Preſence, after all due Reverence paid to him, they ſubmiſſively declar'd their Meſſage to this effect, 'That the 'Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, 'deſir'd nothing more than to live in Peace 'and Quietneſs like good Subjects under his Go'vernment; That as he might lawfully once a 'Year ſummon a Parliament, and require the 'Preſence of the Lords and Commons at it, that 'by mutual Advice and Conſent, they might 'reform all Oppreſſions, Wrongs, Extortions, 'and other grievous Enormities in the Realm, 'and enact ſuch wholſom Laws as were for the 'Peace and Welfare of the King's Subjects, ſo 'they were met according to their Duty, and 'had no other Deſign than to purſue thoſe Ends; 'That his late abſence was a great Diſcomfort to 'them, and ſince there was an old Statute, 'whereby it was enacted, That if the King not 'hinder'd by Sickneſs or neceſſary Buſineſs did 'abſent himſelf forty days from his Parliament, 'they might return home, they ſhould be oblig'd 'to leave him, if he ſtill deny'd them his Pre'ſence. The King remaining yet in his Diſcon'tent and Anger reply'd, That he perceiv'd his 'People went about to rebel againſt him, and 'that he thought it better to deſire the Aſſiſtance 'of the King of *France*, than ſubmit to his own 'Subjects. The Lords reply'd, That the *French* 'King was the ancient and moſt inveterate Ene'my of the Nation; who as he uſurped his Do'minions in *France*, ſo gaped after the *Engliſh* 'Throne, and therefore no Aſſiſtance was fur'ther to be expected from him, than ſuch as 'might be a fair Pretence for him to get the 'Poſſeſſion of his Right: That ſuch Reſolutions 'could proceed from nothing but the deſperate 'Advice of his evil Counſellors, who by their 'Policy ſought to uphold a Breach between him 'and his Parliament, which would end in his 'and his Peoples Ruine; wherefore they be'ſought him to lay aſide all Prejudice againſt his 'good Subjects, and to return to his Parliament, 'which no leſs ſought and deſir'd his Felicity 'than Preſence. Theſe, and other Arguments, which theſe wiſe Peers urged to the ſame Purpoſe, had ſo good an Effect upon the King, that he promis'd them to follow them, and accordingly came to the Houſe ſoon after them. And here, in the midſt of his Nobles and People, he immediately ſhewed how wiſe and good a Prince he was in himſelf, being ſeparated from the bad Company and ill Counſellors that were about him; for he without much Reluctancy granted a Commiſſion to the Duke of *Gloceſter*, Earl of *Arundel*, and certain other Biſhops and Noblemen, to ſurvey and examine the Eſtate of his Houſe and Courts, all his Officers and Miniſters, Rents, Profits, and Revenues; to correct and amend any Defaults and Offences prejudicial to his Perſon or Crown, and particularly to call *Michael de la Poole* Earl of *Suffolk*, the Chancellor, to an account about the Management of his Office. *John Ford*, or *Fordham*, Biſhop of *Durham*, alſo was removed from his Place of Treaſurer, and *John Gilbert*, Biſhop of *Hereford*, was put in his Place. And becauſe the Realm had for ſome Years paſt been badly govern'd, the Adminiſtration of all publick Affairs was put into the hands of thirteen Perſons choſen by the Parliament, *viz.* *Thomas Arundel* Biſhop of *Ely*, the Treaſurer[b]; *Nicholas Abbot* of *Waltham*, Lord Keeper; *William* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Alexander* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Edmund* Duke of *York*, *Thomas* Duke of *Gloceſter*, *William* Biſhop of *Winchester*, *Thomas* Biſhop of *Exeter*, *Richard* Earl of *Arundel*, *Richard* Lord *Scroop*, and *John* Lord *Devereux*, *Richard* Earl of *Arundel*, and *Thomas Mowbrey* Earl of *Nottingham*, were made Admirals, and ſent to Sea with a ſtrong Navy to defend the Shore, and hinder the Paſſage of the Enemy. *Robert de Vere* Marquiſs of *Dublin*, created Duke of *Ireland* in this Parliament, was at the Petition of the Lords and Commons, order'd to be ſent to *Ireland* before *Eaſter* next; and that the Nation might be rid of ſo dangerous a Perſon, and ill Counſellor, they conſented that he ſhould have thirty thouſand Marks, which were ſhortly to be paid the King for the Heirs of the Lord *Charles de Blois* by the *French*, to provide him with an Equipage, and ſupport his Charge there. While theſe things were thus order'd by the main Body of the Parliament, the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and Earl of *Arundel*, with the other Lords in Commiſſion with them, had examin'd and try'd the Chancellor; whom having found guilty of many high Crimes, Frauds and Treaſons, they not only depoſed him from his Office, but confiſcated his Eſtate of a 1000*l.* a Year, and fined him[c] twenty thouſand Marks. Thus did the Parliament not only pro-

A. D. 1386.

The King and Parliament diſagree, and the King leaves it.

The King returns to his Parliament.

The Duke of Ireland ſent into Ireland.

Michael Pool *found guilty of many Crimes, deprived and fined.*

[a] They remonſtrated farther, That the Chancellor and Treaſurer ought to be removed from their Offices. He anſwer'd them, *They ſhould not mention that, but proceed to Buſineſs: For he would not on their Account, or at their Requeſt, remove the meaneſt Scullion Boy in his Kitchin.*

[b] *Thomas Arundel*, Biſhop of *Ely*, was made Chancellor. *Henry Knighton.* There were but eleven Commiſſioners appointed to have the Inſpection of Affairs. Theſe eleven were *William* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Alexander* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Edmund* Duke of *York*, *Thomas* Duke of *Gloceſter*, the King's Uncles; *William* Biſhop of *Winchester*, *Thomas* Biſhop of *Exeter*, *Nicholas* Abbot of *Waltham*, Lord Privy-Seal; *Richard* Earl of *Arundel*, *John* Lord *Cobham*, the Lord *Scroop*, and the Lord *Devereux*. *Rot. Parl.* 10. *Richard* II.

[c] It appears by the Parliament Rolls 10. *Richard* II. N° 13. that there was no Fine, and that the Lands taken from him were only ſuch as he had procur'd Grants of from the King which were now reſum'd. When K. *Richard* heard the Articles againſt his Bribery, and Male-adminiſtration, he bluſh'd for him and ſhook his Head, ſaying, *Alas, alas*, Michael, *See what thou haſt done.*

vide

A. D. 1386.

vide effectually for the Security of the Nation, from its foreign Enemy both by Sea and Land (to ſupport the Charge of which, they gave the King half a Tenth and half a Fifteenth) but alſo for the Happineſs and Peace of the King and People, had the King been ſo reſolute as to maintain their Orders and Deciſions when it was diſſolved.

Notwithſtanding theſe Preparations in *England* for its Defence, the *French* King held on his purpoſe to invade it with no leſs hopes of Succeſs; and having all things ready for that Enterprize, waited at *Sluice* for nothing but the coming of the Duke of *Berry*, and a fair Wind[a]. On *All Saints* Even a fair Gale blew, and the *French* King ſet Sail for *England*, tho' the Duke of *Berry* was not arrived, chuſing rather that the Duke ſhould follow them than loſe ſo fair an Opportunity; but when they had paſſed about ſeven Leagues the Wind unexpectedly and ſuddenly turned, and brought them back again with much Loſs. Before the Wind favour'd their Deſign again, the Duke of *Berry*, who was always averſe to the Attempt, and delay'd his coming on purpoſe to prevent or diſcourage it, was arriv'd; and becauſe the Winter was pretty well advanc'd, it being *December*, he very much diſſuaded the King and Council from proceeding in it, as being both unſafe to his Kingdom and Army[b]. This Advice was thought ſo reaſonable, that the farther proceeding was laid aſide till the Spring, and ſo that chargeable Deſign in the end came to nothing. But a clear different Account was carry'd of theſe Affairs into *Spain*; for there it was given out, that the *French* Army was landed in *England*, and therefore the King of *Portugal*'s Council gave him Advice, That he ſhould defer his Marriage with the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Daughter, till they ſhould know the Event of the *French* Expedition into *England*; becauſe if that proved ſucceſsful, as 'twas probable, an Alliance with the Duke would be of no Worth, which occaſion'd ſome Coldneſs in the Duke's Affairs in *Portugal*, tho' the Reaſons were kept from him for the preſent.

The French *Invaſion hinder'd by croſs Winds.*

Michael Pool's *Fine forgiven, and he receiv'd into Favour.*

The Parliament being broken up, and returned home, the King was left again to his own unſteady Reſolutions and partial Affections, which being ſo faſt link'd to his old Companions, eaſily made way for their Reconciliation, or rather for freſh Engagements of his Favour: For as if their Sufferings had been immerited, or inflicted againſt his Will, he received them again with wonderful Expreſſions of Love. The Fine which had been impoſed upon the Earl *Suffolk*, *Michael de la Pool*, he immediately releaſed; and as if he had intended to make him Satisfaction for what he had ſuffer'd by redoubling his Honour, he cauſed him to be cloathed in Royal[c] Robes, and to ſit at Table with him, and that in publick upon *Chriſtmas* Feſtivals, to the no ſmall Grief and Trouble of the Nobility. The Duke of *Ireland*, and Archbiſhop of *York*, he admitted into greater Intimacy than ever, and they became again the three only Perſons in the Nation, which the King ſhewed any particular Delight in. This doting Humour of the King they were not ſluggiſh to improve, as they thought for their own Advantage, which they imagin'd would be beſt promoted by a ſharp Revenge upon the chief Inſtruments of it, whom they look'd upon as the only Obſtacles of their ambitious Arms and deſign'd Happineſs. They eaſily perſuaded the King, 'That 'all they ſuffer'd was for his Sake; That their 'Crimes were forged to make him odious to the 'People; and that if he could not protect them, 'who did nothing but by his Command, and for 'his Intereſt, it would not be long but he would 'be too weak to defend himſelf; That the main 'Aim of thoſe ambitious Nobles, their Enemies, 'was to dethrone him by diſgracing his Miniſters. For 'tis an eaſie and popular Inference, 'That the King is not fit to rule, who knows not 'whom to truſt: He muſt be a bad Prince, that 'hath bad Officers. By theſe and ſuch like Arguments, the King was wrought to ſo great an Hatred of thoſe they accounted their Enemies, that he readily concurr'd with them to put in Execution any Contrivance for their Deduction. The Duke of *Glocester* and Earl of *Arundel* were the moſt eminent, being the Earl of *Suffolk*'s Judges; and therefore the firſt Plot was to take off the Duke, and then proceed to the reſt, as they had Succeſs in their firſt Attempt. This they contriv'd to do under the fair Pretence of Friendſhip, inviting the Duke to a Feaſt at Sir *Nicholas Bramber*'s Houſe in the City, where the Mayor, Sir *Nicholas Exton*, an Aldermen, had made a Treat for ſeveral Peers and great Men; and having reſolv'd, that while the Duke was in his Mirth, and not ſuſpecting any ill Deſign, he ſhould be either poiſon'd or aſſaſſinated. This baſe Action was ſo much abhorr'd by the Mayor, Sir *Nicholas Exton*[d], that he privately gave the Duke notice of it, and deſir'd him to take care of his preſent and future Safety, which he did by not going to the Feaſt: And ſo this their firſt wicked Purpoſe was defeated.

A. D. 1387.

The Duke of Glocester and other Lords to be poiſon'd.

The Earls of *Arundel* and *Nottingham*, who were appointed Admirals of the Navy, which by Order of Parliament was to defend the Nation and annoy the *French*, did all the Winter following uſe their utmoſt diligence to furniſh themſelves with able Ships and ſtout Men, that the Noblemen who were to ſee them muſter'd before they embarked, might give a good Account of them to the Governours; for they had ſpar'd no Coſt nor Charges to gather up the braveſt and ſtrongeſt Men in the Nation for this ſpecial Service. In the Spring they were all ready to embark, and having receiv'd Information that the *French*, *Flemiſh*, and *Spaniſh* Fleet laden with Wine, lay at *Rochell* waiting for a fair Wind, to ſail to their ſeveral Ports for which they were bound, the Earls put to Sea with all ſpeed to intercept them in their Paſſage. On *Lady-Eve* they met them, and after a ſhort Engagement took an hundred Sail of them richly fraught, with nineteen thouſand Tun of Wine, beſides other Commodities[e]. The Citizens of *Middleburgh* offer'd the Earls to buy all their Wines at 5 *l.* a Tun, but they refuſing ſo good a Market told them, That they would let none but the People of *England* whom they ſerved, to have the Uſe and Advantage of them; and bringing them into divers Ports of the Nation, cauſed ſo great a Plenty, that Wine were ſold generally for a Mark a Tun, and the beſt not above 20*s.* Their own Shares they generouſly gave among their Friends, and having refitted their Ships, went out to Sea again. The Succeſs of their firſt Atchievement

The Engliſh *Fleet does great Service againſt the* French *under the Earl of* Arundel.

1387. *The Duke of* Ireland *reſtored to Favour.*

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a He waited at *Sluice* from the middle of *Auguſt* to the middle of *November*. *Mez.*

b The Army conſiſted of no leſs than ſixty thouſand fighting Men, and the Fleet of near thirteen hundred Sail; on board which, beſides the King himſelf, there were forty Dukes and Earls, and a vaſt Number of Knights and Eſquires. *Froiſſard.*

c *Walſingham* writes only, That he ſuffered him to ſit down at his Table, and does not mention his cloathing him in Royal Robes, which indeed is improbable.

d Who ſaid, *He would never have his Hands imbru'd in innocent Blood.*

e *Knighton* ſays, the Admiral of *Flanders* and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality were taken.

A. D. 1387.

had much terrify'd the Enemy, and therefore in this ſecond they met with but faint oppoſition; for they landed in many places on the Coaſts of *Flanders*, and burnt or plunder'd the Country as they pleas'd; and at length arriving at *Breſt*, they took a new Fort[a] which the *French* had lately erected to annoy the Caſtle, mann'd it, and ſupplying it with plenty of Proviſion and Ammunition, return'd home. Succeſs always raiſes Men's Reputation with the Commons; but theſe Earls having added to their couragious and brave Actions a generous Contempt of their own Advantage, and a ſignal Zeal for the common Good and publick Safety, begot ſo high an opinion of their Worth in the Minds of all Men, that they became a Subject of publick Praiſe and Admiration. But this happen'd very unluckily for the Deſigns that were managing at Court againſt the Earl of *Arundel*, and thoſe of his Party, that he whom they had decreed to Deſtruction ſhould be thought moſt worthy of Life by all Men; and leaſt the King himſelf ſhould conceive a more favourable Opinion of them for theſe Actions, they endeavour'd by all their Artifices to blaſt the Reputation of them, telling the King, 'That though the Vulgar 'cry'd up the late Action of the Earls of *Arundel* 'and *Nottingham*, in taking the *Flemiſh* Fleet, as 'a brave and glorious Atchievement, yet to ſuch 'as could ſee farther into things it was really far 'otherwiſe; for by thus robbing the Merchants, 'all our foreign Trade would be ſpoil'd, and no 'Nation would care to Trade with us, who liv'd 'ſo much upon the ruin of them. So that tho' 'a ſmall Gain did redound to the Nation by their 'Pyracy for the preſent, it would prove an in-'eſtimable Damage in the end. The King's Mind being thus byaſſed by their Calumnies, look'd upon his Admirals great Service as demerit; and when they came to Court, gave them ſuch a cold Reception, that they could eaſily ſee their Enemies had been with the King before them, and their good Actions were made their Crime; at which they took ſo great a diſguſt, that they reſign'd their Office[b] and retired to their private Manſions, chooſing rather to live in Obſcurity, than to ſerve that King who would not thank them for their moſt faithful Labours, but counted their Merits little better than Faults.

The Earl of Arundel's Service decry'd by the Court.

Duke of Ireland puts away his Wife, the Duke of Gloceſter's Neice.

The late diſappointment which the King's Favourites had met with in acting againſt the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s Life, did not ſo diſcourage them from farther attempts, but they were ſtill hatching new deſigns againſt him, till they could find out ſome more effectual way; the Duke of *Ireland*, knowing him to be a Perſon very jealous of his Honour, and impatient of the leaſt contempt to his Royal Blood, put away his Wife to anger and affront him, without any juſt cauſe for a Divorce, and marry'd a *Bohemian*, one of the Queen's Maids of Honour[c]. The injur'd Lady, being ſo nearly related to the King himſelf, (for ſhe was the Daughter of *Iſabel* his Father's Siſter[d], and ſo Coſin-German to the King, and Neice to the Duke of *Gloceſter*) hoped to find ſome redreſs of her Wrong by appealing to the King, but petition'd him often in vain: Her Husband was too deep in the King's Favour for her to obtain any Juſtice againſt him. But the Duke of *Gloceſter* could not forbear to ſhew his Reſentments of the Wrong done to his Family, and to the King himſelf (if he would have impartially conſider'd it) and told him plainly, That he would revenge the Wrong done to his Kinſwoman. This Threat from a Man of ſuch Power and rough Diſpoſition as the Duke of *Gloceſter* was, put Spurs to the wicked Contrivances of the three Favourites and their Friends, as fearing, that if the Duke were not ſuddenly taken off, their own Lives were in manifeſt danger.

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Eaſter now drawing nigh, at which time the Duke of *Ireland* was to go into that Kingdom, great Preparations were made for his departure, as if he had been in earneſt. And not long after that Feaſt, he began his Journey into *Wales*, in order to his paſſage thither; the King himſelf, with the Earl of *Suffolk*, Judge *Treſilian*, and ſome others, accompanying him in State, ſtay'd ſome time there with him, till they thought the Expectations of the Nation being ſatisfied, he might return again without much notice. In this Progreſs, or rather Retirement, for the ſafety of their miſchievous Conſultations, they ſet all their Wits on work by various methods to compaſs the deſtruction of their Enemies; and being come to *Nottingham* in their return, which is near the heart of the Nation, they began to make ſome Eſſays how their Devices would ſucceed. The firſt thing they had contrived, was to ſuppreſs them by force; and to effect this, they ſummon'd all the Sheriffs of the adjoyning Counties to the King at *Nottingham*, and demanded of them what Forces they were able to raiſe to aſſiſt the King againſt the Lords, if they were required to do it? They anſwer'd, 'That the People were generally perſuaded 'that the Lords were the King's Friends, and that 'they ſought the good of the Nation in all they 'did, and therefore they believed that they ſhould 'get very few to oppoſe them. This diſappointment was the leſs, becauſe they knew that the Lords were very popular, and they had ſtill other Plots which they hoped would prove effectual, tho' this had miſcarry'd. Wherefore they next mov'd it to the Sheriffs and Gentlemen, then attending on the King, whether they could not by their Intereſts and Power chooſe ſuch Men for the next Parliament as the King ſhould nominate to them, and approve as moſt faithful to him? They reply'd, 'That the People would be very hardly 'depriv'd of their ancient Privilege of chooſing 'their Members of Parliament, and that if there 'were a true freedom obſerved in chooſing, it 'would be almoſt impoſſible to impoſe any Per-'ſons againſt the People's liking, eſpecially ſince 'they would eaſily gueſs at the deſign, and the 'more reſolutely ſtand upon their Right. The Sheriffs anſwer a little ſtartled them, becauſe they confided much in this Invention; for what was done by a Parliament would, as they imagin'd, carry a face of Juſtice, and their private Revenge would be turn'd into publick Puniſhment; but loſing their point, they diſmiſſed the Sheriffs and Gentlemen, and fell upon their laſt, but moſt deſperate Stratagem, to ruin them by Law. And to this end the King ſent his Summons to all the Judges to attend him. Sir *Robert Treſilian*, Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, was one of the Cabal, and being preſent with the King, had drawn up ſeveral Articles for that purpoſe, to have the Opinions of the reſt of his Brethren upon. Sir *Robert Belknap* Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, with Sir *John Holt*, Sir *Roger Fulthorp*, and Sir *William Burgh*, Judges of the ſame Bench, and *John Lockton* the King's Serjeant, *Robert Bramble*, and the other Judges of the King's-Bench, obey'd the Summons, and went to *Nottingham* according to appointment. Soon after their arrival, a ſolemn Council was called, *Aug.* 11. and the King, in the preſence of many Nobles, demanded of them the Judgment of the Law upon theſe following Que-

The Duke of Ireland's pretended Voyage into that Nation.

Reg. 11.

Several Projects to deſtroy the Lords.

The meeting of the Judges at Nottingham, and their Reſolution of certain Queſtions.

[a] And burnt and deſtroyed another.
[b] And the King made the Lord *Henry Percy*, ſurnam'd *Hotſpur*, Admiral.
[c] *Walſingham* calls her *Lancerona*, a mean *Bohemian*.
[d] By *Ingelram Seignier de Coucy*.

ſtions,

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ſtions, which had relation moſt of them to the Actions of the laſt Parliament, and chiefly to their dealings with the Earl of *Suffolk*, and required them by their Faith and Allegiance which they ow'd him, to deliver the true Senſe of the Law upon them, *viz.*

1. *Whether the Statute and Commiſſion made the laſt Parliament were prejudicial to the King's Prerogative?* They all unanimouſly anſwered *Yes*, becauſe it was obtain'd againſt his Will.

2. and 3. *How thoſe Perſons ought to be puniſhed, who were either eager to procure it, or mov'd the King to conſent to it, and grant it?* They ſaid, With Death, unleſs the King would pardon them.

4. *How they were to be puniſhed, who forced the King to grant it?* They ſaid, As Traitors.

5. *How they ought to be puniſhed, that reſtrained the King ſo far from exerciſing his Prerogative, that he might not remit Penalties or Debts owing to him?* They reply'd, As Traitors.

6. *Whether, when the King hath order'd the Parliament to proceed upon certain Articles, the Lords and Commons may refuſe, till the King ſhall grant what they pleaſe to demand of him?* They anſwer'd, That to reſiſt the King's Commands in ſuch Caſes was High-Treaſon.

7. *Whether the King may not diſſolve the Parliament when he pleaſes?* They reſolv'd he might.

8. *Whether, ſince it was a Prerogative of the Crown to puniſh the Offences of, or remove all publick Officers or Judges, the Lords and Commons, without the King's permiſſion or order, might impeach ſuch Officers and Judges in Parliament?* They determined, That they might not, and it was Treaſon in any or all the Members of Parliament to attempt it.

9. *What Puniſhment they deſerv'd, who mov'd or brought in the Statute, by which* Edward II. *was depoſed to be a Preſident for the above-mentioned Commiſſion?* They defined, As Traitors.

10. *Whether the Judgement given againſt* Michael de la Pool *Earl of* Suffolk *were erroneous, and revocable?* They ſaid, That it was erroneous and revocable in every part, and that if it were again to be done they would not paſs it.

Theſe Reſolutions being given, the King required them to ſubſcribe them, and ſet their Seals to them, in the Preſence of the Lords [a] and other great Perſons there aſſembled. *Treſilian* and his Judges readily comply'd, but *Belknap* with his Brethren, well knowing the drift of what was done, was not willing to leave any ſuch Marks of his Opinion behind him, and therefore refuſed to ſubſcribe them, till the Duke of *Ireland* and Earl of *Suffolk* by ſevere Menaces forced him to ſign them, contrary to his Conſcience, as may be juſtly thought from his words which he then ſpake, 'That he wanted only an Hurdle, an Horſe, and 'an Halter, to compleat the Reward of that Acti-'on, by which he had betray'd the Lords. The Opinions of the Judges being thus known, a Jury of *Londoners* ſummon'd to *Nottingham* for that purpoſe were ready to indict the Duke of *Gloceſter*, Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, *Darby*, and *Nottingham*, of High-Treaſon for what they did in the laſt Parliament, and upon a full and formal hearing before the Judges they were condemned to Death [b], and their Lands being forfeited to the King, were diſpoſed to and among his Favourites; and that the Sentence might be fully executed, the King ſent into all parts of the Nation to gather an Army able to maſter all Oppoſition they could make againſt what had been done; which, tho' it met with cold Reception from many, yet great multitudes not knowing the Deſign in Hand, readily yielded their Aſſiſtance, as their Duty to their King in their opinion obliged them.

The Lords condemned by a Jury of Londoners.

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While theſe things were tranſacting againſt the Lords at *Nottingham*, there happen'd a very great diſturbance in the Church upon this occaſion. One *Walter Diſſe*, a Carmelite Fryar, and formerly Confeſſor to the Duke of *Lancaſter*, having obtained of Pope *Urban*, in favour of his old Maſter, a liberty of conferring the Honour and Privileges of the Pope's Chaplains on ſuch as would purchaſe them for their Money, *Peter Pateſhull* an *Auſtin*-Fryar, and a Favourer of *Wickliffe*'s Doctrine, being deſirous of liberty and freedom from his Monkiſh Confinement, and the Society of thoſe vile Perſons he lived with, procured himſelf to be admitted the Pope's Chaplain, and immediately left his Monaſtery. He was a Perſon pious and learned, and ſpent his time much in Preaching after his Releaſe. His abhorence of the wicked Lives of the Monks, which he had with great Sorrow obſerv'd while he liv'd among them, made him very zealous in blaming their Hypocriſie and wicked Actions, ſo unbecoming their ſtrict Profeſſion of Religion. The People much applauded his Diſcourſes, being generally diſaffected to the Monks, and addicted to *Wickliffe*'s Doctrine, which his Invectives favour'd of. The Monks, impatient of Reproof, ſhew'd great diſpleaſure againſt him and his Sermons, and ſo frequently diſturb'd his Preaching, that partly through the Conteſts between his Hearers and the Monks, who ſometimes would come to Blows even in the Churches, and partly through fear of them, he was forced to give over publick Preaching, and by the advice of his Friends (of whom ſome were very conſiderable, *viz.* Sir *William Nevill*, Sir *Richard Sturry*, and Sir *John Montacute*) betake himſelf to Writing; in which he accuſed the Monks of many horrid Crimes, as Murther, Sodomy, and Treaſon, of which he gave ſuch convincing proofs, by naming the Perſon, both Actors and Patients, that all People credited his Relations, and believed the Monaſteries no better than what he term'd that from whence he came, *The Devil's Dungeon*. But theſe Books angred the Biſhops, being look'd upon as the Diſgrace of the Clergy, who thereupon were very zealous to ſuppreſs them; and to that end obtain'd of the King a Commiſſion directed to all Sheriffs and Juſtices, commanding them to ſearch for, and ſeize all Heretical Books, and ſuppreſs Lollardy in the whole Kingdom; which tho' it took no great effect, yet allay'd the preſent Heat and Conteſt between the Monks and their Enemies.

Monkiſh Hypocriſie diſcover'd by one of their Brethren.

The Biſhops Zeal for the Monks.

The Judgment which the King and his Favourites, through the compliance of the Judges, had paſſed upon the Lords, tho' abſent, was no ſooner given, but the Lords themſelves had a full account of all the proceedings of it to their great amazement; and tho' the Duke of *Gloceſter* was an hot and cholerick Man, yet the ſenſe of his Duty to his Prince taught him a more ſubmiſſive way of providing for his own defence than to run preſently to Arms, which he knew would embroil the Nation, and hazard many Lives. Wherefore ſending for the Biſhop of *London*, *Robert Braybrooke*, he repreſented to him his own Caſe, and that of the Nobles with him, how unjuſtly they were condemned, and what danger they were in; and having taken a ſolemn Oath upon the Evangeliſts, that he was ſtudious of the Safety and

The Lords clear themſelves.

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[a] The Lords were *Alexander* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, *John* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Thomas* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, *John* Biſhop of *Bangor*, *Robert* Duke of *Ireland*, *Michael* Earl of *Suffolk*; together with *John Rypon* a Prieſt, and *John Blakiſt* a Lawyer.

[b] The Lords were not try'd and condemn'd. *Walſingham* ſays only, that the *Londoners* who were pack'd for the Jury found the Bill, and no other credible Author mentions that they were actually condemn'd.

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Proſperity of the King's Perſon and Realm, and never had entertained ſo much as any undutiful Thought againſt him, much leſs had done any thing which might deſerve ſo ſevere a Sentence as was paſs'd upon him, unleſs the Revenge which he had threaten'd the Duke of *Ireland* with for doing ſo great an Injury to his Kinſwoman, and did not yet recede from, might be interpreted for ſuch; and deſired him to wait on the King to mediate a Reconciliation between himſelf, and the Lords and King. The Biſhop did not unwillingly undertake ſo good an Office, and being a Perſon both prudent, learned and eloquent, prov'd ſo good an Advocate, that the King ſeem'd ſatisfy'd with his Uncle; and becauſe the Biſhop had fully ſatisfy'd him, that a Quarrel between him and his Uncle would ruin them both, he deſired a Reconciliation. But the Earl of *Suffolk*, who was by, knowing that if it were compleated 'twould prove fatal to him, interpoſed, and with a virulent Charge of Popularity and Rebellion laid upon the Lords, alter'd the King's good Inclinations to Peace, and the Biſhop was commanded out of his Preſence; tho' he with undaunted Courage maintain'd his firſt Arguments, and told the Earl, That he being a Perſon condemn'd by Parliament, had no other way to be ſafe, and revenge himſelf of his Adverſaries, (as he accounted all the chief Members of it) but to ſet all things in a Combuſtion, and therefore was not to be allow'd to ſpeak, who was a Party; yet he return'd, without ſucceſs in his Negotiations, to the Lords. The Duke of *Gloceſter* and the condemn'd Peers in the mean time were not unmindful of their own ſafety, but had conferr'd together to ſecure themſelves in caſe their ſubmiſſive Addreſs to the King for Peace ſhould prove ineffectual, which they had reaſon to fear, ſo long as the Authors of thoſe violent Courſes were about his Perſon, and could ſo eaſily byaſs him againſt them. Wherefore when the Biſhop return'd with the news of his ill ſucceſs, they reſolv'd immediately to raiſe what Force they could, and ſtanding up in their own defence to expoſtulate with the King, why he ſought their Death, and ſuffer'd himſelf to be govern'd by ſuch Traitors. The King and his Friends eaſily foreſeeing the effects of this freſh Provocation, thought to prevent any oppoſition from them by ſeizing them ſingly before they could get together, and for that purpoſe ſends the Earl of *Northumberland* to apprehend the Earl of *Arundel* at his Caſtle of *Rygate*; but he found him ſo well guarded, that he was forced to diſſemble the Reaſon of his coming, and let it paſs for a Viſit. This diſappointment the King thought to amend by ſurprize, and therefore ſent a ſtrong force the ſame night to arreſt him; but the Earl ſuſpecting what after happen'd, had made his eſcape to the Duke of *Gloceſter* at *Harringey*-Park, near *Highgate*, and there they join'd their Forces [a] with the Earls of *Warwick*, *Nottingham*, and *Darby* [b]. The news of the Lords being united much diſturb'd the King and his Friends, who could now expect no eaſie terms from thoſe whom their own ill dealings had made deſperate, and who were too powerful to be readily maſter'd. Wherefore a great Council was call'd to debate and conſult what was beſt to be done in ſo difficult a Juncture. *Alexander Nevill* Archbiſhop of *York* would have had the King to ſend his Commiſſioners to the City of *London*, and into all parts of the Nation, to raiſe a Royal Army, and repreſs thoſe his Rebellious Subjects by main force; but this being found upon tryal a thing not feaſible, (for tho' the City could raiſe an Army of fifty thouſand Men ſoon, yet very few of them would fight againſt the Lords) the Duke of *Ireland*, and Earl of *Suffolk*, and two or three more, who perſuaded the King that the Lords intended to bring him under their Government, and make themſelves abſolute, adviſed him to make the King of *France* his Friend, by reſigning *Callis* and all his other Dominions beyond Sea to him. Theſe three Favourites counſelled thus, becauſe nothing but Arms could ſecure them from the Lords Fury. Whereas thoſe whoſe Guilt and Fears were leſs offer'd quite different Propoſals. *Ralph* Lord *Baſſet* told the King plainly, That he was his true Subject, and ſo would ever continue, and if the Quarrel had been his own, he would venture all he had in the defence of his Right, but would not have his Head broke in the Duke of *Ireland*'s Cauſe. The Earl of *Northumberland* aſſured the King, That the Lords, tho' now in Arms, were his true and faithful Subjects, and would not attempt any thing againſt his Crown and Dignity; but all they aim'd at was to eaſe themſelves and the Nation of thoſe ill Perſons about him, who ſought to oppreſs and deſtroy them, and many of his good Subjects; and therefore humbly begg'd of the King, that he would ſend to them, and require the Reaſons of their aſſembling with ſo many People, and he doubted not but they would give him juſt Satisfaction. The greateſt part of the Council approv'd of this Propoſition, and the King himſelf aſſented to it. Whereupon the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and Biſhop of *Ely* were ſent immediately to the Lords, who were advanced near *London*, to inform them, That the King had no mind to commence a War with his Subjects, but was willing to know the Cauſe of their Diſcontents, that he might relieve them; for which end he deſired the Lords to meet him in *Weſtminſter*-Hall on *Sunday* next, and exhibit their Complaints to him. The Lords were not unwilling to meet the King, but were jealous of the treacherous deſigns of ſuch as were about him, and told the Biſhops, That they would certainly attend his pleaſure upon promiſe of Protection. The Biſhop of *Ely*, being very zealous to make up the Breach between the King and his Nobles, engag'd himſelf upon Oath, that if there were any dangerous Deſigns laid againſt them, he would give them timely notice of it; and ſo got their promiſe to meet the King that day. The time of Meeting approaching, and the Lords being ready to attend the King, a Meſſage came the night before from the Biſhop of *Ely* to them, giving them Information, That an Ambuſh of a thouſand Men, commanded by Sir *Thomas Trivett* and Sir *Nicholas Bramber* [c], was laid in the *Mews* to ſurprize them; and adviſing them either to delay their coming, or if they adventured to come, to guard themſelves with a ſufficient Force for Security. But the Lords thought the firſt leaſt hazardous, and ſo appear'd not. The King, as had been agreed upon came to *Weſtminſter*, expecting to have met the Lords; but ſeeing himſelf diſappointed, demanded with ſome warmth of the Biſhop of *Ely* why the Lords did not appear according to their promiſe ſent by him? The Biſhop as boldly and plainly reply'd, that the Lords had certain Information of a Plot againſt their Lives laid in the *Mews*, which being ſo contrary to the Faith of a Prince, they thought it in vain to treat with him. The King ſtartled at this reply, as if he had no ways been privy to it, ſwore that he knew nothing of it; and immediately gave the Sheriffs of *London* order

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The Lords provide an Army for their own Safety, and unite.

A meeting agreed upon between the King and Lords.

[a] Which were forty thouſand ſtrong. *Henry de Knighton.*

[b] Son to the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and afterwards King of *England*, by the Name of *Henry* IV.

[c] An Alderman of *London.*

to

A. D. 1387.

to ſearch the place mention'd, and if they found any ſuch thing, to kill or take them; but before it could be done, the chief Actors in it had notice of the Diſcovery, and had diſpers'd themſelves. This Action of the King's, confirm'd by his Oath, ſeem'd ſuch a Proof to the Lords, that that baſe Contrivance was carry'd on purely by their Enemies without the King's Approbation, tho' not without a full Confidence of his Pardon, if it had been effected; that upon his freſh Promiſe of their Security, they ſoon after attended upon him at *Weſtminſter*, yet with ſuch ſtrong Guards, as ſhew'd that they came not to ſubmit or petition, but to demand or capitulate. On the day of their meeting the King being ſet on his Throne in his Robes, and the Nobles preſent and kneeling before him, the Chancellor, who was the Biſhop of *Ely*, deliver'd the King's Mind to them in a ſhort Speech, telling them, 'That 'the King hearing of their riotous aſſembling in '*Harengey-Park*, tho' he was adviſed to have re'preſſed them by force, which he could eaſily 'have done; yet out of his Princely Clemency, 'had choſen to put gentler Methods firſt in Exe'cution, to avoid the Effuſion of his Subjects 'Blood if poſſible; and therefore had ſent for 'them to diſcourſe with them, and know the 'Reaſons and Cauſes of their Diſcontents, and 'why they in ſo tumultuous a manner had drawn 'together ſuch a number of People. The Lords made anſwer, 'That it was not out of any am'bitious or turbulent Humour, that they had 'taken Arms; for they neither affected his 'Crown, nor envy'd his Peace but through an 'unavoidable Neceſſity of preſerving his Perſon 'and Realm, and ſecuring their own Lives from 'the impending Dangers, which were falling 'upon them by ſuch Perſons, as were Enemies to 'both, and ſhrowded their ill Actions under his 'Favour; That the Duke of *Ireland*, Earl of '*Suffolk*, Archbiſhop of *York*, Sir *Robert Treſilian*, 'Sir *Nicholas Bramber*, and ſome others, were 'thoſe Traytors to the King and Realm, which 'they were afraid of, and ſought to remove; 'becauſe ſo long as they were in Place and Fa'vour, the Nation muſt be miſerable, nor could 'any Man be ſafe; and that they had not 'brought any falſe Accuſation againſt them, they 'declared themſelves ready (if his Majeſty would 'yield to it) to juſtifie what they had alledg'd 'by ſingle Combat (and then threw down their Gloves at the Challengers). The King having heard them with much Calmneſs, gave them this moderate and rational Reply; 'That ſup'poſing it were true which they had alledged, 'yet they had taken a very improper Method 'to rectifie their Grievances, which ought to be 'done by Rules of Juſtice, not Acts of Rebellion; 'That their preſent Tumults were of very ill 'Conſequence, and would encourage the Multi'tude to make uſe of the like Methods, which 'would be difficult to repreſs; That he would 'ſpeedily call a Parliament, wherein the Perſons 'accuſed ſhould appear and all Matters of Dif'ference ſhould be adjuſted, and all true Cauſes 'of Trouble or Fears to themſelves or the Nation 'be remov'd; and in the mean time, would par'don all that was paſt, and take them into his 'Protection. The King having thus finiſh'd his Speech, took the Duke of *Gloceſter* by the hand, raiſed him from his Knees, and bid the reſt ariſe; and retreating with them into a private Chamber, gave them a Treat, and licens'd them to depart. The Lords were greatly ſatisfied with this Behaviour to them, and after the King had put forth his Proclamation of Pardon, looked upon all things in a certain way of Settlement at the next Parliament.

The King and Lords meet in Weſtminſter-Hall, and are reconciled.

The Duke of *Ireland*, and the reſt of the Perſons accuſed, were not preſent at this Meeting of the King and Lords; and therefore tho' the Lords were in good hopes of a fair Concluſion, yet they thought it not ſafe, leſt there ſhould lurk ſome ſecret Contrivance againſt them, to diſmiſs their Army. Which Reſolution taken up merely from Suſpicion, or upon Information, proved very fortunate to them; for while Affairs looked ſo well at *London*, the Duke of *Ireland* had a private Commiſſion from the King to gather an Army of ſuch as were his Friends about *Cheſter*, and to come to *London*; in which they hoped to find ſo many Aſſiſtants, as to make up their Forces collected from the Weſtern Parts to become invincible, and ſo able without great Difficulty to ſubdue the Lords. This tho' acted with great Privacy, and at a mighty Diſtance, was not hidden from the Lords and their Friends; who therefore contrived to intercept the Duke in his Paſſage, by ſending the Earl of *Darby* with a ſtrong Party to lie in thoſe Countries through which he was to paſs. The Duke of *Ireland* having by the Intereſt and Aſſiſtance of Sir *Thomas Molineux*, Conſtable of the Caſtle of *Cheſter*, Sir *Ralph Vernon*, Sir *Richard Ratliffe*, the Sheriffs of *Cheſter*, and others, gather'd a good Body of ſix thouſand Men out of *Cheſhire* and *Lancaſhire*, ſtout and well armed, marched according to the King's Order towards *London*; but at *Radcott*-Bridge near *Burford* in *Oxfordſhire*, they were met by the Earl of *Darby* and his Men, who to prevent their Progreſs and force them to fight, had broken down the Bridge. The Duke was ſurprized at their approach, and being fearful of his own Fate, perſuaded the Gentlemen to retreat; but Sir *Thomas Molineux* being a Man of great Courage ſaid, 'That it was but a Party of the 'Lords Army, and that commanded by the Earl 'of *Darby*, a Man famous neither for Courage 'nor Conduct; and if they ſhould give ground 'to theſe, they could not hope to effect any 'thing againſt the whole Power of the Lords, 'and therefore encourag'd them to prepare for a 'Fight. The *Cheſhire* Gentlemen were eaſily won, and the Duke himſelf yielded, tho' his Guilt and Fears would not ſuffer him to conſent, and ſo a Fight was begun the next day. The Battel was very ſharp, and laſted long; Sir *Thomas Molineux* was ſlain, and moſt of his Army either kill'd or taken. The Duke ſaw the beginning of the Engagement, but fled long before the Victory ſhew'd it ſelf, ſwimming over the River *Thames* to make his eſcape; but was forc'd to quit his Horſe, becauſe he could not make the farther Bank, and get away on foot. His Horſe and Baggage, with his Armour, were all taken, and brought to the Earl of *Darby*. In his Trunks was found a Letter ſent to him by the King himſelf, wherein he commands him to haſten to *London* with what ſpeed he could, and promiſes him to live and die with him. The Duke of *Ireland* was ſuppoſ'd to have been drown'd, becauſe his Horſe was found in the River; but afterwards he was diſcover'd to have fled into *Holland*, and from thence into *France*. The News of this lucky Victory, tho' over but a ſmall Party, was not better receiv'd by the Lords than it deſerv'd; for it proved in a manner the utter Overthrow of their Enemies. For the Duke of *Ireland* never return'd, the Earl of *Suffolk* fled to *Calais* to his Brother, who was Captain of that Fortreſs; the King betook himſelf to the Tower, and *Treſilian* and the Archbiſhop of *York*, with all the reſt of the Party, withdrew from *London*, and concealed themſelves. The Enemies of the Confederate Lords all diſappear'd, and no Oppoſition was

A. D. 1387.

The King encourages his Favourites privately to arm againſt the Lords.

The Earl of Darby vanquiſhes the Duke of Ireland's Army.

1388.

A. D. 1388. was viſible: Whereupon the Lords being again united, marched with their Army of forty thouſand Men to *London*, and muſter'd at *Clerkenwell* [a] within the Proſpect of the Tower. The Archbiſhop, and ſome others of the Peers, who were deſirous to end this Quarrel, pray'd the King to condeſcend to a peaceable Compoſure of Affairs, but he made ſlight of the Propoſal, and told them, 'That they would ſoon diſſolve of 'themſelves without any Treaty, their Multi-'tude would in a ſhort time conſume all their 'Proviſion, and then they muſt break in pieces 'of courſe. The Lords had notice of theſe words, and being incens'd a little at them ſwore, That they would not depart from *London* (which by this time had open'd her Gates to them) till they had ſpoken with him; and having given him notice of it, ſet a ſtrong Guard about the Tower, that he might not elude them by a private eſcape. The King being thus beſet, and having no way to avoid a Treaty condeſcended, and ſent the Archbiſhop to acquaint them with it. The Lords accepted the News joyfully, but fearing ſome Treachery might be laid for them in the Tower, if they ſhould attend him there, as he had appointed, they begg'd that the King would meet them at *Weſtminſter*, but at length receded from that Deſire, becauſe the King dealt ſo candidly with them, that he ſent them the Keys of the Gates, Turrets, and ſtrong Chambers, and gave them leave with two hundred Men to ſearch all Places, and clear up their Suſpicions. The Duke of *Gloceſter* and Earls of *Warwick*, *Arundel*, *Darby*, and *Nottingham*, were the chief who manag'd this Treaty with the King, who receiv'd them in a Pavilion of State, and after retir'd with them into his Chamber. Here they charg'd him with many diſhonourable and unjuſt Actions againſt themſelves, and the Nation, *viz.* 'That he had 'by forg'd Crimes and an unjuſt Sentence, con-'ſpired with his Favourites at *Nottingham*, to 'take away their Lives; which tho' they had 'at their meeting at *Weſtminſter* been ſparing to 'upbraid him with, out of reſpect to his Ho-'nour, becauſe they ſaw an amicable Agreement 'likely to go forward, yet now they could not 'but lay before him, becauſe they had ſince 'found Letters from him to the Duke of *Ireland*, 'to raiſe Forces in *Cheſhire* againſt them, even at 'the time of their former Treaty; by which Action 'he added Perfidiouſneſs to Cruelty, and plainly 'ſhew'd that his Favour and Grace then pre-'tended, was but a Vail to his ill Deſigns againſt 'them. That he had made an Agreement with 'the *French* King (as by ſome Letters which they 'had intercepted, and then ſhewed, they made 'it appear) to reſign *Callis*, and his other Domi-'nions on that ſide to him, upon condition he 'might enjoy them, as an Homager to his Crown, 'and that Letters of ſafe Conduct were ſent to 'him to compleat this Agreement, which was 'indeed to betray the *Engliſh* Poſſeſſions, purcha-'ſed with ſome Blood, into their Enemies hands. Many other leſſer Grievances they alſo mention'd, which they were plentifully furniſh'd with from the ill Conduct of the Miniſters of State, employ'd by him. The King had little to ſay in his own Defence, becauſe their Accuſation was ſo plainly proved; but falling into an ingenious Confeſſion of his Errors and Miſgovernment, with Tears, agreed to meet them the next day at *Weſtminſter*, to rectifie whatſoever was amiſs by their Advice and Conſent. The Lords upon this Promiſe departed, all but the Earl of *Darby*, whom the King invited to Supper with him, and detained, as an Inſtance of his Reſolution to joyn with them in ſettling all Diſorders of the Nation, which he expreſſed much Satisfaction in, ſo long as the Earl was preſent. But when the Earl was departed, the King fell into Conſultation with ſuch as were about him; who tho' not ſo obnoxious as thoſe that were fled, yet being either their Friends, or exacting by their Meaſures, ſoon turned his Mind from his former purpoſe; and becauſe they had buzz'd it into his Head, that that Meeting tended much to the Hazard of his Perſon, and would end with a great Diminution of his Authority, he fully reſolv'd againſt it. The Lords, according to Appointment met the next day at *Weſtminſter*, and expected the King, but in vain, for he would not leave the Tower; which when they underſtood, they grew impatient at his Inconſtancy, and ſent him word plainly, 'That if he would not meet them ac-'cording to his Promiſe, they would certainly 'chuſe another King, who ſhould have more re-'gard to the faithful Advices and Services of his 'Lords than he had. This Meſſage being ſmart and unexpected, wrought the King into Compliance; ſo that he met them on the Morrow in *Weſtminſter-Hall*. The main thing that the Lords inſiſted upon, and the King tho' not very freely agreed to, was, That ſeveral traiterous and wicked Perſons, ſhould for the Honour of the King's Perſon and the Good of the Nation, be removed from Court; and accordingly *Alexander* Archbiſhop of *York*, *John* Biſhop of *Durham*, and Fryar *Ruſtock*, the King's Confeſſor, *John* Biſhop of *Chicheſter* (the two firſt of which were fled) were ſtrictly forbidden to come into the King's Palace or Preſence. The Lords *Zouch*, *Burnell* and *Beaumont* alſo, Sir *Albericke de Vere*, Sir *Baldwin Bereſford*, Sir *Richard Adderbury*, Sir *John Worth*, Sir *Thomas Clifford*, and Sir *John Lovell*, ſuffer'd the like Baniſhment from Court, but with a farther Impoſition, That they ſhould give Sureties for their Appearance at the next Parliament, which was to meet ſhortly. Some Ladies alſo of no very good Reputation were expelled the Court, and forced to give Sureties for their Appearance the next Parliament, *viz.* the Ladies *Mohun*, *Molings*, *Poynings*, and *Worth* [b]. Others whoſe Crimes were greater, or at leaſt more open and prejudicial to the Nation, were impriſon'd, *viz.* Sir *Simon Barly*, Sir *William Ellingham*, Sir *John Salesbury*, Sir *Thomas Trevit*, Sir *James Barniſh* Sir *Nicholas Dagworth*, and Sir *Nicholas Bramber*, Knights; *Richard Clifford*, *John Lincoln*, and *John Motford*, Clerks; Sir *John Beauchamp*, Keeper of the King's Privy-purſe, *Nicholas Lake*, Dean of the Chapel, and *John Blake*, Barriſter of Law, to be tried the next Parliament.

The King and Lords again meet, and the King confeſſes his faulty Management.

The King's bad Miniſters arreſted and ſecured.

The time drawing very near, when the Parliament was to meet by the unanimous Agreement of the King and Lords, the King, who knew very well that it would prove fatal to his Friends, ſought all means to prorogue it; but not daring to ſtand upon his Prerogative at this time, leſt they ſhould raiſe as great a Miſchief to himſelf, permitted them to meet on *Feb.* 3. The Lords came to it with ſuch Attendance, as ſeem'd neceſſary for their Safety. The Commons reſorted to it with great Diligence, becauſe of the general Expectation there was of a compleat Reformation of all Diſorders by this Seſſion; which it ſo well effected, that it was thought to deſerve the Name of *The Wonder-working Parliament*. After the uſual Forms of opening the Parliament,

Fourteenth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

[a] The 26th of *December*, 1388.

[b] The Lady *Poynings* was Sir *John Worth*'s Wife. Sir *John Hayward*, *Richard* II.

they

A. D. 1388. they entred upon Action, and on the first day of their meeting arrested all the Judges that were sitting in *Westminster*-Hall upon the Bench, except *Tresilian*, who concealed himself in disguise, and Sir *William Shipworth* [a], and sent them to the Tower, *viz.* Sir *Robert Belknap*, Sir *Roger Fulthorp*, Sir *John Cary*, Sir *John Holt*, Sir *William Brooke*, and *John Lockton* the King's Serjeant at Law. Their Crime was, 'That in the last Par-'liament they had over-ruled the Actions and 'Determinations of the Lords with their Advice 'and Directions, and had assured them that all 'was done according to Law, but afterwards had 'given the King a contrary Judgment at *Not-'tingham*, and had deliver'd it as their Opinion, 'that the Actions of the said Parliament was il-'legal and traiterous. The Judges had nothing to plead in excuse of this base Action but their Fears of the Duke of *Ireland*, who threaten'd their ruin, unless they made such Answers to the Questions as he expected and desired, and therefore left themselves to the Judgment of the Parliament; who considering that the whole matter was managed by *Tresilian*, and that the rest of the Judges were surprized, and forced to give their Sentence, laid the milder Punishment upon them [b], and only confiscated their Goods, and banished them for their Lives, having resolved to deal the more severely with the Author of that illegal Judgment when they could apprehend him. The next thing that they entred upon was to proceed against *Robert Vere* Duke of *Ireland*, *Alexander Nevill* Archbishop of *York*, *Michael de la Pool* Earl of *Suffolk*, Sir *Robert Tresilian* Lord Chief Justice of *England*, and *Nicholas Bramber* [c] Lord Mayor of *London*, who being fled from Justice were summon'd only, and not appearing were sentenced to perpetual Banishment, and their Estates confiscated. Not long after Sir *Robert Tresilian* was discover'd by one of his own Servants, and seized upon in disguise at an Apothecary's in *Westminster*, where he lay to observe the Transactions of Parliament. He was carry'd first to the Duke of *Gloucester*, who secured him in the Tower, and in the Afternoon he was brought before the Parliament, by whom he was sentenced to be drawn to *Tyburn*, and to have his Throat cut [d], which Judgment was immediately executed upon him. For what Reasons that Punishment, never used before or since, was inflicted upon him, is hard to know, unless the greatness of his Crimes was signalized by so remarkable a Punishment. The Parliament having thus dealt with the greater Offenders, descended to the lesser, and having taken Sir *Nicholas Bramber*, a Person who to serve the Court-designs against the Lords had been several times made Lord Mayor of *London*, and in that Office by his illegal Cruelties had ruin'd and murther'd many of the Lord's Friends, for which Services he was to be made Duke of *Troy*, the ancient Name, as some have written, of that City, they condemn'd him for those and others his wicked Actions to be beheaded with that very Ax [e] (as some write) which he had made to inflict the same punishment on others. Sir *John Salisbury*, Sir *James Barnish*, *John Beauchamp*, *John Blake*, and *Thomas Uske*, were all drawn and hang'd for the same Crimes. Sir *Simon Burley*, Lord Chamberlain, and Constable of *Dover*-Castle, being accused of conspiring to deliver up that Castle to the *French*, was also beheaded; tho' the Earl of *Darby* interceded much to save his Life, because it was not prov'd against him; but the Duke of *Gloucester*, whose severe disposition made every one a Criminal that he did not love, would hearken neither to Reason nor Importunity, and so this poor Gentleman fell a Sacrifice to the Duke's Anger and Moroseness. With these Men the Parliament hoped that the Disorders of the Nation would be removed, the chief Causes of them taken away, and their Sufferings terrifie all that were like affected; and therefore, as if all things were to begin a new, the King and Parliament agreed to ratifie their Resolutions of doing their Duty to each other by Oath. The King promised to stand by the Lords in governing the Realm, and took his Coronation-Oath again, and the Houses swore Homage and Fealty to the King, as if both had vy'd together whether should be the better, the King or his Subjects. This Pacification was so well resented by the Parliament, that they granted the King half a tenth of the Clergy, and half a fifteenth of the Laity, 12*d.* in the Pound for all Merchandises, except Wines, upon which they laid 3*s.* a Tun, and 53*s.* for every Sack of Wool, and then was dissolved; but the King was discontented, and angry at what he had done in it. Just at the rising of this Parliament, the Lord *John Holland* was created Earl of *Huntington*.

The Judges arrested.

The Judges punished.

Judge Tresilian's Punishment.

A. D. 1388.

Sir Simon Burley unjustly put to Death.

The King and Parliament renew their Oaths of Coronation and Fealty.

The Earl of *Arundel* being made Admiral again by the Parliament, put forth to Sea with a great Navy, well stored with Land-Forces and several Noblemen to assist the Duke of *Britain*, who being under the King of *France*'s displeasure, because he had imprison'd the Lord *Guesclin* Constable of *France*, fear'd an Invasion from thence. The *English* Fleet arriv'd at *Rochel*, and landing some Men, began to spoil the Country about *Marrant*; but a Peace being suddenly concluded between the Duke and the *French* King, the Earl return'd, and in his way meeting the *French* Fleet, took eighty of them, and invaded the Isle of *Bear*, and burnt it. He also took the Isle of *Oleron*.

Reg. 12.

Earl of Arundel sent to assist the Duke of Britain.

The Truce between the *Scots* and *English* being expired about this time, the *Scots* looking upon the Dissention of *England* to be an advantageous Juncture for them to invade it, made great Preparations for that end, and entred the bordering Countries, burning, killing, and plundering all places they came in. *Gillesland* in *Cumberland*, which belong'd to the Lord *Dacres*, felt their Fury first, whose Inhabitants they shut up in their Houses by two hundred in a Company, and set them on Fire. They then invaded the North with the like Barbarity, and came as far as *New-Castle*, where they met with the Earl of *Northumberland*, and his Sons, *Henry* Lord *Peircy*, surnam'd *Hotspur*, and *Ralph*, with a small Force to oppose them, as Guardians of those parts, and sworn Enemies of the *Scots*. The young Noblemen desirous to gain Honour, were eager to engage them; and

The Scots invade England.

[a] Sir *William Skipwith* was not with his Brethren the Judges at *Nottingham* when they answered the King's Queries. He was absent by reason of Sickness.

[b] They were all of them that were in Custody condemned by the Lords Temporal, with the assent of the King, to be drawn and hang'd as Traytors, their Heirs disinherited, and their Lands and Tenements, Goods and Chattels to be forfeited to the King; which Sentence past upon Sir *Robert Belknap*, Sir *Roger Fulthorp*, Sir *John Holt*, Sir *William Burgh*, Sir *John Cary*, Judges; *John Lockton* the King's Serjeant, and *Thomas Uske* Under-Sheriff of *Middlesex*, who pack'd the Jury that found the Bill against the Lords. The Bishops, just as Sentence had past, came in and interceded for their Lives, which the King granted them; but their Estates were seized, and their Persons imprisoned. *Rot. Parl.* 11 *Richard* 2.

[c] He had been Lord Mayor, but was not so at this time.

[d] His Throat was not cut; the Sentence given by the Lords against him was, *That he should be drawn on a Hurdle through the City of* London *to* Tyburn, *and there be hang'd by the Neck.* *Walsingham* and *Ceston*, and after them *Hollingshead* affirm he was Hang'd. *Rot. Parl.* 11 *Richard* 2.

[e] It appears by the same Rolls, Par. 3. N° 15, that Sir *Nicholas Bramber* was condemned and executed in the same manner as *Tresilian*.

Earl

A. D. 1388. Earl *Dowglaſſe*, who commanded that Party of the *Scots*, and envy'd *Hotſpur*'s Fame, was as forward to joyn the Battel. They came to a fight at *Otterborn*, and Earl *Dowglaſſe* encounter'd the Lord *Peircy* ſingly, ſeeking by force to extort his Name from him; but being equall'd in Courage, and overmatch'd with Strength, he was ſlain, and became a Monument of his Enemy's Valour. This Victory was hardly obtain'd before the Earl of *Dunbar* came upon the *Engliſh* with a much greater Force, having ſlain the greateſt part of them, took the Lord *Peircy* and his Brother Priſoners.

Fifteenth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

The Parliament was again ſummon'd to meet in *September*, and accordingly aſſembled at *Cambridge* (as our Hiſtorians unanimouſly agree, but our Statute-Book ſay at *Canterbury*) on the morrow after the Nativity of the Virgin *Mary*, *Sep.* 9. This Parliament ſeems to have met to ſettle ſeveral Diſorders and Irregularities of the Nation, not ſufficiently provided for by Law before; and to that end enacted, 'That no Offices under the 'King, or Miniſters of Juſtice, as Judges, Juſtices 'of the Peace, Sheriffs, or any other Officers in 'any of the King's Courts, ſhould be ordain'd or 'made for any Gift or Brocage, Favour or Affection, but for their known Abilities and Deſerts only; it being but reaſonable to ſuppoſe, 'as it is uſually found, that they who buy ſuch 'Places make no Conſcience of doing Juſtice, but 'by Exactions, Delays, and unreaſonable Fees, 'make the Adminiſtration of Judgment a Grievance, inſtead of a Relief to Subjects. That 'Servants ſhall not paſs from one Hundred to 'another without a Teſtimonial under the King's 'Seal; and if any Servant be taken up without ſuch Teſtimonial, he ſhall be put in the 'Stocks. This Law was made to keep Servants to their good Behaviour, and ſecure Maſters from retaining idle and falſe Perſons in their Services; and becauſe Servants grew too exacting for their Wages, therefore a Law was made, 'That no Per'ſon ſhould give or receive more Wages for the 'Service of Men or Women, than what was limi'ted by the Statute under ſeveral Penalties. It was alſo enacted, 'That all ſturdy Beggars, who 'were able to ſerve, ſhould be puniſhed, and the 'ancient Statute of Labourers ſhould be put in 'execution; ſo that the want of Men to work in 'Husbandry might be no plea to enhance their 'Wages. A Statute alſo was framed to forbid Servants to wear a Sword, Buckler, or Dagger: Another to prohibit all Perſons uſing any unlawful Games; Another to puniſh any ſcandalous Abuſes of the Peers and great Men of the Kingdom; Another to prohibit the making of Dunghills, and caſting of Carrion into Ditches near great Towns to infect the Air, by which Diſeaſes were created among the Inhabitants; Another to make it a Præmunire for any Perſon to go to *Rome* to procure any Benefice of the Pope; and laſtly, A Statute was made to remove the Staple of Wool from *Middleburgh* to *Callis*. The King had a tenth of the Clergy, and a fifteenth of the Laity granted him by this Parliament. During this Seſſion, Sir *Thomas Trivett*, a Favourite of the King's, riding to *Barnwell* with the King to his Lodgings, was thrown by his Horſe, and dy'd of the Bruiſe receiv'd by the Fall. His Death was not much lamented by the People, becauſe he was accounted an Enemy to the Lords, and the common Good.

Soon after the riſing of this Parliament a Treaty of Peace was ſet on foot between *England*, *France*, and *Scotland*. The Commiſſioners for *England* were *Walter Shirlow* Biſhop of *Durham*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, Lord *Beauchamp*, Sir *John Clanbow* and Sir *Nicholas Dagworth*; for *France*, the Biſhop of *Baieux*, the Lord *Valeran* Earl of St. *Paul*, Sir *Guilliam Melin*, Sir *Nich. Bracque*, and Sir *John Mercier*; and for the *Scots*, the Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, Sir *James* and Sir *David Lyndſey*, and Sir *Walter Sancler*, four for each Nation. They met at *Balingham*, a ſmall Town between *Callis* and *Bulloigne*, and after many Debates with much difficulty, came at length to agree upon a Truce between the three Nations for [a] three Years, to commence from *Midſummer* next enſuing. While it was in agitation the *Scots* had made ſeveral Incurſions into *Northumberland*, and carry'd away great Booties, which *Thomas Mowbrey* Earl of *Nottingham* was not able to prevent, tho' he was ſent againſt them with five hundred Archers, becauſe his Force was too weak to withſtand their much greater numbers. The *Scots* were ſo well pleaſed with their Robberies, that they gave the news of Peace no kind welcome, and were hardly perſuaded to accept it by the Lord *Valeran*, and ſome others of the *French*, who came over to ſee it eſtabliſh'd and confirm'd in theſe Nations; and ſo at length the Truce began on *Auguſt* 1. on the Borders, and on *Aug.* 15. in other parts of both Nations, and all Hoſtilities ceaſed on both ſides.

A. D. 1389. *Peace treated between England and France, and concluded for three Years.*

An eminent Quarrel between the Oxford-*Scholars.*

In Lent this Year was a memorable Conteſt between the *Oxford*-Scholars. The *Welſh*, who were always quarrelſome and proud, having firmly united the Scholars of the Southern parts to their ſide, began to abuſe the Scholars of the North, who being very numerous, ſtood up together in their own defence; and ſo by the oppoſition much miſchief was done on both ſides. At length they came to an agreement, to determine all by a pitcht Fight; but the Duke of *Gloceſter* hearing of it, and being much concern'd not only at the ill Example, but bad Conſequences of it, found means to prevent it, and cauſed ſeveral of the *Welſh*, who were the Authors of this unhandſome Broil, to be expell'd the Univerſity, and others to be puniſh'd with the uſual Academick Mulcts, and ſo put the whole Body into good order again.

The King being of Age aſſumes the Government of his Realms.

Peace being thus every ways eſtabliſhed at home and abroad, the King and his Friends, on whoſe Councils he chiefly confided, thought this the beſt opportunity to aſſume to himſelf the Government of the Nation out of the Lords Hands, in which it had been put for ſome Years. He was now full one and twenty Years of Age, and was undeniable capacitated to be maſter of his own Dominions; which becauſe the Lords, either not ſenſible of his being of Age, or not willing to take notice of it, did not reſign, he reſolv'd to claim; and to that end calling a great Council of his Nobles [b] and great Men to attend him at *Weſtminſter*. As ſoon as they were all ſeated, and the King himſelf at the head of them, he demanded of them, 'What Age they ſuppoſed him to be of 'now? They anſwer'd, 'That they thought him 'to be ſomething above one and twenty. The King then reply'd, 'That it was unreaſonable that 'he ſhould be deny'd what his meaneſt Subjects 'enjoy'd, who at that Age came into the ma'nagement and full poſſeſſion of their Birth'rights, and were no longer under Guardians and 'Tutors; and therefore he challeng'd the Govern'ment of his Kingdoms out of their hands. The Lords, tho' fearing the ill Conſequence of his Rule,

[a] This Truce was but for one Year. *T. Walſingham.*

[b] *Henry de Knighton* and *Thomas Walſingham* ſays, *He came to the Council-Chamber, the Privy-Council being then ſitting*; and do not mention the Summoning any Aſſembly of the Nobility who were not Privy-Counſellors.

yet

A. D. 1389.

yet did not deny what he required, but readily yielded up their Power entirely to him; in which Act the King was not ſo well contented, but that he declared publickly, 'That he renounced their 'Rule, and from thenceforth did aſſume to him-'ſelf as full a Power of governing, diſpoſing 'Affairs, and adminiſtring Juſtice in his Realm, 'as any of his Predeceſſors, the Kings of *Eng-'land*, did and might lawfully uſe and exerciſe

Reg. 13. *The great Officers of State alter'd.*

And that he might give an Inſtance of his Power and try their Submiſſion, he like a new King made an Alteration among the great Officers of State; for he took the great Seal from *Thomas Arundel* Biſhop of *Ely*, then Lord Chancellor, and gave it to *William* of *Wickham*, then Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who very unwillingly accepted of it; *John Fordham* [a] alſo Biſhop of *Exeter*, then Treaſurer, he remov'd from that Office and put in another, which alſo he did to *Edmund Stafford*, Keeper of the Privy-Seal; and the Earl of *Arundel*, Lord Admiral, he alſo deprived of his Command [b] and gave it to the Earl of *Huntington*; the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, and Duke of *Gloceſter*, he put out of his Privy-Council, and made five new Judges in the room of thoſe that were hang'd and impriſon'd. Many other Alterations he made in the Court, which was look'd upon as a new Model of a worſe Management than had been before ſettled, and for ſome time ſo well carried on by the Lords.

The Biſhops concerned at the ſpreading of Wickliffe's Doctrine.

The State being thus at Peace for the preſent, Matters of Religion began to be look'd into, which in the late Troubles had been neglected. The Followers of *Wickliffe* were not inſenſible how happy a Juncture it was for them to promote their Doctrines, while their Enemies Heads were otherwiſe employ'd, and accordingly had ſo beſtirr'd themſelves, that they were become a form'd Church, and in many Parts of the Nation had regular Congregations, with Paſtors well qualified and choſen to adminiſter Sacraments, and preach to the People. The Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, *John Waltham*, had gotten a very particular Account of all their Party, and their preſent Condition, by one that had been of their Society; and tho' he acquainted his Brethren with the great Increaſe of them, yet neither himſelf, nor any of the Biſhops raiſed any Perſecution againſt them. The Biſhop of *Norwich*, *Henry Spencer*, threaten'd them loudly, That if any were found in his Dioceſe, he [c] would make them, as he term'd it, *Hop headleſs, or fry a Faggot*; and 'tis very probable, that he being a rough and Warlike Prelate, would have made good his Words, but they had Wit enough to keep out of his way. One *John Swinderby*, a Prieſt, was puniſh'd as an Heretick in the Dioceſe of *Hereford*; but becauſe we read of no other that ſuffer'd, it may be ſuppos'd, that ſome Imprudence in himſelf brought him into Troubles. The chief Popiſh Doctrine that they oppoſed was, their Pilgrimages to Images, eſpecially the *Rood* and Lady of *Walſingham*; which being ſo profitable a Storm to the Prieſts, would have brought a Cuſtom upon them, as ſoon as an Oppoſition to any other Doctine; but it was carried ſo privately, that tho' many were averſe to it, yet few would expoſe themſelves for it.

The Duke of Gloceſter falſly accuſed of Treaſon.

The Duke of *Gloceſter* being thought under ſome Diſpleaſure with the King, becauſe he was not of his Council, it gave Encouragement to ſome Court Pharaſites to ſeek his Ruine, and forge a Crime againſt him to endanger his Life, *viz.* That he was about to raiſe an Army, and depoſe the King. The Duke was thereupon called into Examination privately, and charged with the Accuſation; but he cleared himſelf ſo well, that it was judged a Forgery both by the King himſelf and his Council. The Duke having eſcap'd the Danger, begg'd of the King, that the Authors of ſuch falſe Crimes ſhould be puniſh'd; but the King, either deſirous to incenſe the Duke, or out of a Love to Flattery, enjoyn'd his Uncle neither to expoſtulate the Matter, nor queſtion his Accuſers.

A. D. 1389.

The Duke of Lancaſter returns out of Spain, and his Succeſs there.

In *November*, this Year, the Duke of *Lancaſter* returned out of *Spain* into *England*. He had for almoſt three Years undergone a various Fortune, and tho' he had paſs'd through many Troubles, at laſt made an honourable Concluſion, and came home with Joy and Triumph: He had met with as good Succeſs at his firſt Entrance into *Spain*, as he could have deſir'd. Many *Spaniards* came over to aſſiſt him in recovering his Wife's Right againſt the Uſurper, and his Arms were every where victorious. The *Spaniſh* Army under Don *Alverez de Perez* was totally routed, and the *Spaniards* terrified with the Loſs, kept themſelves cloſe in their walled Towns, which were alſo many of them taken by the *Engliſh* and *Portugueſe*. The *French* indeed promiſed them Aſſiſtance to drive out the *Engliſh*, after the intended Expedition into *England* was over; but a more kind Fate ſo befriended them, that the *Engliſh* were conquer'd without Weapons: For the Heat and Unkindneſs of the Climate ſo afflicted with mortal Diſeaſes his whole Army, that he loſt many of his beſt Men, as the Lord *Fitzwater*, and others, and the reſt were made unfit for any Warlike Action. The *Spaniards* alſo, who had ſided with the Duke, being angry with the *Engliſh* for making ſuch havock of their Country without Cauſe, deſerted him and went home; by which means the Duke and his Friends were left ſo naked and open to the Enemy, that in great Sorrow and Anguiſh of Mind he lamented his Misfortune, and begg'd of God, who judges of every Man's Right, to interpoſe on his behalf, and make an honourable Concluſion of that Expedition for him; which Prayer the Event ſo well anſwer'd, that God may well be judged to have heard him in his Troubles. He indeed endeavour'd to retreave his Loſs, by ſending into *England* for a Recruit of his Forces; but the Troubles there would not allow the King to ſpare him any, which farther encreaſed his Grief. The Duke then having obtain'd leave of the King of *Spain*, that his ſick Soldiers ſhould remain in his Country till they were recover'd, departed in Sorrow to *Baion*, a City in *Gaſcoigne*, and there remained in much Melancholy for his ill Luck. Here Providence made way for that happy Concluſion, which the Duke had deſired: For the Duke of *Berry*, the *French* King's Uncle, making a Propoſition of a Marriage with *Katharine* the Duke's Daughter, and Heireſs to the Crown of *Spain* after her Mother's Death, ſo rouſed the Thoughts of the King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, leſt that Match ſhould by the Union of two ſuch potent Intereſts in *France* and *England*, bring greater danger to his Throne than her Mother's had; that he by the Advice of his Council, became an earneſt Suiter to the Duke of *Lancaſter* for a Match between his Daughter and his eldeſt Son *Henry*. Some Propoſitions tending to a Concluſion with the Duke of *Berry* had been made,

The Duke of Lancaſter marries his eldeſt Daughter to the King of Spain's Son.

[a] John *Fordham* was Biſhop of *Durham*, Favourite to King *Richard* and Lord Treaſurer, was removed in a turn of State three Years before; into his Place the King put the Biſhop of *Hereford*, a Friend to the Lords, and now he turn'd him out of his Office, to give it to one of his own.

[b] Though he had been entruſted by the Parliament.

[c] He ſwore, *&c.*

A. D. 1389. but the King of *Spain*'s Offers being more agreeable to the Wiſhes, and making more for the Honour of both the Lady and her Parents were greedily embraced, and the Marriage ſoon concluded upon theſe following Conditions advantageous to all ſides, 1. That *Henry* Prince of *Spain* ſhould marry the Lady *Katharine* eldeſt Daughter of *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*, and *Conſtantia* his Wife, and that they ſhould be call'd after Marriage Prince and Princeſs of [a] *Auſtria*, ſo long as the preſent King lived. 2. That the Kingdom of *Spain*, after the preſent King's Death, ſhould deſcend to the ſaid Prince and Princeſs, and the Heirs of their Bodies; and for want of ſuch Heirs to [b] *Edmund* Duke of *York*, who had marry'd King *Peter*'s other Daughter, and his Heirs. 3. That the King of *Spain* ſhould pay the Duke of *Lancaſter* 200000 *l.* towards the Charges of the Expedition, and 10000 *l.* a Year during his and his Dutcheſs's Life at *Baion*. The Concluſion anger'd the *French* King, and produc'd ſome Threats of a War for the Wrong done the Duke of *Berry*. But the King of *Spain* valu'd not his Menaces ſo long as he was ſure of the Aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*, and the Duke of *Lancaſter* return'd with Joy into *England*. Juſt at his landing the King had ſummon'd a great Council of his Peers to meet at *Reading*, whereupon the Duke immediately haſted thither; not only to meet the King and pay his Duty to him, but to reconcile the Difference which he had heard began to ariſe between the King and his Nobles. This Act of Piety he happily effected, and made them all Friends. The King kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Woodſtock*, and the Duke of *Lancaſter* at *Hartford* Caſtle, and the Nobles in their Countries.

1390. *The young Earl of Pembroke killed at Juſts.*

While the *Chriſtmas* Carnivals continu'd at Court, *John Haſtings* Earl of *Pembroke*, an hopeful young Nobleman, learning to Juſt (which was an Exerciſe much uſed in thoſe times) with one Sir *John St. John*, receiv'd an unlucky Blow on the bottom of his Belly, and died of the Bruiſe. He was much lamented, becauſe he was a generous and affable Perſon; but it ſeems it was a Fate entail'd upon his Family, to meet with an untimely Death: For it was obſerv'd, that from the time of *Aumer de Valence*, Earl of *Pembroke*, who was one of the Peers that condemn'd *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter* at *Pomfret*, about eighty Years before, none ever lived to ſee his Son, tho' the Deſcent in the whole Blood laſted all the while; which was thought a juſt Puniſhment of their Anceſtors Sin againſt that great Peer, whom the Pope canonized for his Vertues as a State Martyr.

Sixteenth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

A little after the Feaſt of St. *Hilary* a Parliament was aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, and divers things were enacted for the common Good, concerning the Officers of the Court, as Conſtable, Steward, Marſhal, Clerk of the Market, Admirals, Serjeants at Arms, and Juſtices of the Peace, concerning Weights and Meaſures, and ſeveral other Matters; but the moſt remarkable Acts that were made this Parliament were, 1. That againſt the Procurement of Pardons for thoſe Peſtilential Crimes of all Societies, Murders, Treaſons, and Rapes. The Commons having obſerved that the King's Pardons were an Encouragement of ſuch Facts, petition'd, that the King would oblige himſelf not to grant any Pardons for thoſe Crimes. This the King refuſed to do, becauſe he would not deprive his Crown of a Branch of his Prerogative, which his Anceſtors ever enjoy'd, but yet he paſs'd an Act in effect the ſame; for he enacted, That in all Pardons which he granted the Crime ſhould be ſpecified, and the Perſon at whoſe Suit it was granted endors'd; and that all Perſons who procured a Pardon for any guilty of the ſaid Crimes, ſhould be fined according to their Quality, an Archbiſhop or Duke a 1000 *l.* a Biſhop or Earl a thouſand Marks, an Abbot, Prior, Baron or Baronet [c], five hundred Marks, and inferiour Ranks two hundred Marks, and a Year's Impriſonment; by which means, tho' the King had ſtill his Power to pardon, yet Suiters were ſo diſcourag'd, that the Multitude of Pardons much abated: For Kings ſeldom grant but with importunate asking. 2. That it ſhould be Treaſon to purchaſe or bring any Proviſions from the Pope for any Eccleſiaſtical Benefice in *England*; which tho' it had been before enacted by King *Edward* III. was not obſerved, and ſo it was enforced again to be put in Execution better. Theſe Acts being paſs'd, to the great Satisfaction of the Commons, they granted the King ſeveral Subſidies, *viz.* 40 *s.* a Sack for Wool, whereof 10 *s.* to be paid to the King for his own Expences at Pleaſure, and 30 *s.* to be put into the Treaſury for the Defence of the Nation; and a Tax of 6 *d.* by the Pound, 4 *d.* to the Treaſury, and 2 *d.* to the King, and then they were diſmiſſed home. At the riſing of this Parliament, the King made *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, Duke of *Aquitain*, and had him enſtalled by the Cap and Bonnet, and *Edward* the eldeſt Son of the Duke of *York* Earl of *Rutland*.

A. D. 1390.

Several unlucky Accidents.

In the beginning of the Spring ſeveral unlucky Accidents befel the Nation together: Such a tempeſtuous Wind aroſe in *March*, that blew down many Houſes, and did much other harm in ſeveral Parts. The Plague raged much, eſpecially in the North, were many thouſands died of it; but it was particularly obſerved to have the moſt malignant Effects upon young Men, who very rarely eſcaped, and were moſt eaſily infected with it. At the ſame time there was a great Scarcity of Corn, ſo that a Buſhel of Wheat was ſold for 13 *d.* which was thought a great Price in thoſe days. Thus by a Concurrence of Evils, did Divine Providence puniſh the Irregularities of the People of this Nation.

An Engliſh Army ſent againſt the Sarazens, and another into Pruſſia, which had both Succeſs.

Theſe Calamities at home made the *Engliſh* more ready to pity and relieve the Afflictions of others abroad; and for that end, two Parties were ſent into foreign Countries. The one to *Genoa*, under the Command of *John Beaufort*, Natural Son of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, Sir *John Ruſſel*, Sir *John Butler*, and others; and the other to *Pruſſia*, under the Command of *Henry* of *Lancaſter* Earl of *Derby*. The Occaſion was this; the *Sarazens* of *Barbary* being very troubleſome to the Citizens of *Genoa*, and by their Numbers threatning the Ruine of their Territories, had no way to ſecure themſelves but by begging the Aſſiſtance of the *French* and *Engliſh*; who looking upon it as the common Intereſt of *Chriſtendom* to keep out thoſe *Barbarians* from *Europe*, gladly embrac'd the Requeſt of the *Genoeſes*, and ſent a choice Army of valiant Men thither. The *Engliſh* paſſed over into *France* and joyned with the Forces, intended for the ſame Expedition by the *French* King, with whom they marched to *Genoa*, and there took Ship to aſſault the Infidels in *Africk*. The *Sarazens* were prepar'd to oppoſe their landing, and ſtood on the Shore ready to

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[a] *Aſturia.*
[b] To the Son of the Duke of *York*, by the Dutcheſs of *Lancaſter*'s Siſter, younger Daughter of *Peter* the *Cruel*.
[c] Baronets were not known in *England* 'till the Reign of *James* I. It ſhould be Bannerets.

engage

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engage them at their firſt entrance. The *Engliſh* and *French* Archers being commanded to attack them, ſoon made room with their Arrows for their ſafe footing on the ſhore, and having ſlain many of them, put the reſt to flight. The Chriſtians went forward to *Tunis* directly and beſieged it, which not being able to withſtand their Arms, was ſoon[a] taken, with the ſlaughter of the King's Brother, divers great Men, and above four thouſand others of the Barbarians. The King himſelf with a ſufficient ſtrength fled into the Caſtle, and held it out againſt the Chriſtians ſix weeks; at the end of which for want of Proviſion he was obliged to deſire Peace, and offer'd them a great Sum of Money to depart his Country. The Chriſtians being much diſabled by Sickneſs in their Camp, did not unwillingly hearken to the Propoſals; yet preſſing for other Conditions, obtain'd farther that they ſhould carry away with them their Prey, and have ſuch Chriſtian Priſoners as they had taken deliver'd to them, and that the Barbarians ſhould from thenceforth oblige themſelves to ceaſe from pillaging the Coaſts of *Italy* and *France*, and then return'd home, laden with Riches and Honour. This was the only Voyage wherein the *Engliſh* and *French* prov'd ſucceſsful in their Union, who formerly were uſed by mutual Diſſentions to defeat the deſign of their Arms. Nor was the Earl of *Darby* leſs fortunate in his Atchievements. The *Lithuanians* had by their Incurſions much afflicted *Pruſſia*, and reduced the Inhabitants to great Miſeries. But the coming of the *Engliſh* under ſo brave and daring a Captain ſoon brought them relief; for they not only drove out the *Lithuanians*, but invaded their Country, and took one of their Cities, the Earl himſelf being one of the firſt that ſcaled the Walls, and ſet up the *Engliſh* Banners, to the great Honour of himſelf and his Nation. And thus having reſtored the People of that Country to their Peace and Safety, he return'd home with an addition of Fame and Honour. While theſe things were done abroad, the King diverted himſelf with Feats of Arms at a ſolemn Juſts, at which twenty-four *Engliſhmen* challeng'd all Comers, and were encounter'd by as many Foreigners with much Art and Valour. The Earls of S. *Paul* and *Oſtrovant* came over to be Spectators of this honourable Tryal of Courage and Skill, which was deſervedly admired. The King gave the Strangers Gold-Chains as Badges of his Favour, and feaſted them royally at *Kenſington* ſeveral days, till they departed with content. A Parliament met about S. *Martin's* day, but gave no Tax, nor did any thing extraordinary.

Seventeenth Parliament.

1391. *King of* France *deſires Peace with* England.

The King of *France* conſidering the detriment that redounded to his Country by continual Diſſentions with *England*, ſent over an Embaſſage[b] about *Chriſtmas* to make Propoſals of a perpetual Peace between the two Nations. King *Richard* having taken advice with his Council about it, was much encouraged to compliance, and diſmiſſed them with Promiſes of a ſpeedy Treaty about it. Soon after their departure, the King by the like advice put out a Proclamation, purſuant to the Statute of Proviſors made the laſt Parliament, and had it publiſh'd in *London*, commanding all beneficed Clergymen, who were *Engliſh*-Men by Birth, and then reſided in the Court of *Rome*, to return home within a Year, under the Penalty of forfeiting their Benefices; and if they were not beneficed, under certain other Puniſhments therein mentioned. This Proclamation ſtartled the Pope[c], and made him think that now the *Engliſh* began to be in earneſt, and the Laws made againſt his profit would lie no longer dormant, as they had formerly done. Whereupon the Pope in anger ſends his Nuncio over to the King, requiring him to aboliſh and repeal the ſaid Statutes and Proclamation, ſo far as they tended to the derogation of the Church's Liberties; otherwiſe declaring, that he thought himſelf in Conſcience obliged to proceed againſt all ſuch Perſons as had been inſtrumental in making thoſe Laws according to the ſeverity of the Canons. Moreover he inſinuated to the King, that the late Propoſitions of Peace made by the *French* King were only intended to farther a deſign which he had contrived with the Antipope to make himſelf Emperor, and his Brothers the Dukes of *Turin* and *Anjou*, the one King of *Tuſcany* and *Lombardy*, and the other King of *Sicily*; which Plot, if he could lull *England* aſleep with hopes of a Peace till he he could effect, he ſhould then be in a capacity of making himſelf abſolute Maſter of all; which it concern'd *England* moſt to prevent, and therefore beſought him to aſſiſt his Maſter againſt the *French* King, if he invaded *Italy* as he threaten'd to do. The King ſeem'd to give a favourable Ear to the Nuncio's words, and having communicated them to his Council, appointed him to ſtay till the Parliament met, which ſhould be about *Michaelmas*, and then he ſhould receive a full anſwer to all his Demands.

A. D. 1391.

The Pope ſends a Nuncio into England.

The Duke of *Gloceſter* went this Spring into *Pruſſia*, to the no ſmall trouble of the People. He was always accounted the People's Darling, but it could not be imagined how much he had of the People's Affections before this Voyage; for his departure was as heavily taken as if the Sun had fallen from the Firmament, or the Happineſs of the Nation were quite vaniſh'd with him. His Voyage was very rough and dangerous, as if Providence had been as much againſt it as the People; for he was carry'd by a violent Tempeſt upon the Coaſts of *Norway* and *Denmark*, in his return, and at laſt with much difficulty arrived at *Tinmouth*, where he tarry'd a ſhort time to refreſh himſelf, and then return'd to his Manſion-houſe at *Pleſhey*, receiving infinite Expreſſions of Joy for his ſafe arrival all along his Journey thither[d].

The Duke of Gloceſter's *Voyage into* Pruſſia.

This Summer many great Calamities afflicted the Nation, which ſeem'd to be preſaged by ſome ſtrange Clouds which cover'd the Sun for ſix weeks together, and much darken'd the Light of it. They firſt appear'd red and bloody, and remain'd all day upon the face of it; but at length they turn'd black, and remov'd at noon. Immediately upon the ceaſing of this Prodigy follow'd both Peſtilence and Famine. The Plague break out in ſeveral parts of the Nation, but raged moſt in *Norfolk*, and about *York*. In that City there are ſaid to have dy'd ten thouſand, and in *Norfolk* a greater number. The Famine afflicted *London*, and the adjoyning Countries chiefly, which were not ſo deeply infected with the Plague, but laboured under ſo great a ſcarcity of Corn, that the Poor of the City were fed at the City charge, two thouſand Marks being taken out of the Orphan's Stock to buy Corn, and the twenty-four Aldermen being forced to joyn twenty Pounds a-peice for the ſame purpoſe, that the Wants of the Poor might not create them Troubles and Diſturbances. They ſold the Corn to ſuch as had Money at a moderate price, and to ſuch as lacked upon truſt to be paid the next Year; and ſo not only preſerved the

Reg. 15.

The Nation variouſly afflicted.

[a] This is *Polydore Virgil's* Account, but he is not to be believ'd; and beſides it appears by *Froiſſard's* Relation, that the Town was not taken. [b] The great Chamberlain of *France*. [c] *Boniface* the Ninth.

[d] The Account of the Duke of *Gloceſter's* Voyage to *Pruſſia* is taken from *Holinſhead*, but we do not find it in any authentick Author of thoſe times.

A. D. 1391. Peace of the City, but obtained a good Opinion of all Men for their Charity and Care of the common Good. The Harveſt brought an end of theſe Evils by its plenty; yet the unwholeſome Food, which many had liv'd upon in the time of the Famine, caſt them into Fluxes and other Diſtempers, whereof they dy'd in great multitudes. About this time *Henry Hotſpur* Earl of *Northumberland*, who had been ſome time Governour of *Callis*, was call'd home and made Warden of the *Marches* of *Scotland*, and *Thomas Mowbrey* Earl of *Nottingham* was made Lieutenant in his place.

Eighteenth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

The Parliament, according to the King's promiſe to the Pope's Nuncio, met on the day after the Feaſt of all *All-Souls* at *Weſtminſter*. Several things were enacted in this Seſſion to regulate Abuſes about the Meaſures of Corn, the Juriſdiction of the Admiral, Encroachments of the Lords of Mannours upon Freeholders, and other matters of like nature. But the Law which was thought of greateſt benefit at that time, and ſince hath done great ſervice to the Church, was the Act then made about *Appropriations*. It ſeems that before this Parliament it was lawful to appropriate the whole Fruits and Profits of any Benefice to a Religious Houſe, upon condition that the Abbot or Prior took care to have the Cure tolerably ſupply'd by his Monks or Fryars of the Houſe. This bred many Inconveniences. *viz.* in that Hoſpitality was neglected, the Churches and Rectories delapidated, and Miniſters were often wanting: Whereupon the Commons complain'd, and procur'd this Act, 'That in every Licenſe to 'be made hereafter in Chancery for the appro-'priation of any Church the Biſhop of the Dioceſs 'ſhould have power to reſerve a convenient Sum 'of Money out of the Fruits and Profits of it to 'ſuſtain the poor Pariſhioners of the ſaid Church, 'and to endow a perpetual Vicar ſufficiently to 'ſupply the Cure of Souls conſtantly. This Act was the original of moſt of our Vicarages, which tho' they are a contemptible maintenance for the Clergy, eſpecially ſince the Obventions of the Altar are removed, yet have proved a very great ſupport to the Church, the pooreſt Livings often producing the moſt painful and laborious Miniſters. So that the Nation hath a great Reaſon to applaud this Act, becauſe our Governours ever ſince have been ſo negligent in providing a better; for had we not had this, 'tis to be feared the Church would have had no proviſion at all in abundance of places where Vicarages now are.

The Pope's Nuncio anſwer'd by Parliament.

The Pope's Complaint againſt the Statute of Proviſors was preferr'd to the Lords and Commons, and the King and Duke of *Lancaſter* laboured all they could to have it repealed; but by all their Intereſt and Interceſſion could not obtain it, the Proviſions of the Pope being accounted an intolerable grievance to the Nation, yet by much Importunity it was allow'd, that the King by his Proclamation ſhould have power to diſpence with the Execution of the Statute till the next Parliament; by which Conceſſion, tho' the Pope granted not ſo much as he deſired, yet he had his ends, it being not very material whether the Lion be dead or no, if his Claws be cut off, and his Teeth knock'd out; for 'tis all one for a Law not to be at all, and not be executed. This Parliament granted the King a tenth from the Clergy, and a fifteenth from the Laity to ſupport the Charges of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who was in the Lent following to go over to *Amiens* to treat of a final Peace with the King of *France* in perſon; and 'twas thought neceſſary that he ſhould be attended with a princely Equipage for the Honour of the Nation, and in reſpect to the King. And becauſe an Invaſion was fear'd from *Scotland*, therefore another tenth and fifteenth was granted, upon condition that it ſhould not be gather'd, unleſs the *Scots* were ſo troubleſome that an Expedition againſt them were judged neceſſary. And then the Parliament was diſſolv'd, and ſent home.

A. D. 1391.

1392. The King and Queen, with a great Concourſe of the Biſhops, Nobles and Ladies, kept their *Chriſtmas* at *Langley* with mighty Magnificence and Splendour. On *Chriſtmas*-day a large Dolphin of ten Foot long, and of a great bigneſs, was taken about *London*-Bridge; his coming ſo far up to land-ward was look'd upon as a Preſſage of that tempeſtuous and ſtormy Weather which follow'd in a few days. Soon after *Chriſtmas* the Duke of *Lancaſter*, with the Biſhop of *Durham* [a], and ſeveral others of the Nobility, having with them a train of a thouſand Horſemen, ſet forward towards *France*, to the place of Treaty at *Amiens*. The King of *France* having heard a great Character of him for his Wiſdom and Prudence (and indeed he was one of the wiſeſt and greateſt Peers of thoſe days) made as magnificent Preparations for his Reception, as if he had been the greateſt Emperor in the World, and met him himſelf at *Amiens*, with his Brother the Duke of *Touraine*, and his Uncles the Dukes of *Berry*, *Bourbon*, and *Burgoigne*, and many other Peers of *France*. The Charges of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors and their Retinue was born by the *French* King from their coming from *Callis* till they return'd thither again. At the Treaty divers Propoſitions for Peace were made on each ſide, but both Parties were ſo cautious to ſettle an advantagious Peace to themſelves, eſpecially ſince it was to continue ſo long by agreement, that nothing was concluded farther, than that the Truce which was then on Foot, and to end at *Midſummer*, ſhould continue another Year, and in the mean time more effectual Counſels ſhould be taken at the meeting of the next Parliament for the concluſion of the intended Peace; and ſo the Duke of *Lancaſter* and his Retinue return'd home again. In the abſence of the Duke, the King having expended his Treaſure for this Embaſſy, was in want of Money, and ſent to the Citizens of *London* to borrow of them One (or, as others ſay, Ten) thouſand Pounds. The *Londoners*, unmindful of their Duty to their Prince, flatly deny'd to anſwer his Requeſt themſelves; and when they underſtood that an *Italian* Lombard, or Banker, had undertaken to furniſh the King with the deſired Sum, they beat and abuſed him ſo groſly that he was in danger of Death. The King was ſo diſpleas'd with this inſolent and rude anſwer, that he propounded it to his Council, and deſired their Advice how he ſhould deal with them, and was encouraged to repreſs their diſloyal and impudent Behaviour with Severity and Arms. But the King himſelf conſidering that the Denial it ſelf was lawful (for 'twas not reaſonable for him to force their Eſtates from them) tho' the manner of doing it was very unbecoming Subjects, wiſely wav'd his Reſentments till a fitter opportunity ſhould offer it ſelf to retaliate their Unkindneſs more deſervedly upon them, which his watchful Eye ſoon found out.

Duke of Lancaſter went to Amiens to make a Peace with France.

Londoners refuſe to lend the King Money.

Soon after the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s arrival in *England*, the King call'd a great Council at *Stamford*, like a Parliament, for the King ſummon'd

A great Council at Stamford call'd by the King.

[a] *Froiſſard*, who was about that time in *England*, writes, That the Duke of *York* was joyn'd in this Commiſſion with the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and not the Biſhop of *Durham*, as *Walſingham* relates; the former Account is moſt probable, conſidering the high Quality of thoſe they were to treat with.

ſome

A. D. 1392.

ſome of the chief Men for Wiſdom and Experience in moſt of the Towns of *England*, to conſult about the Peace to be concluded with *France*, or reſolve upon a War as ſoon as the current Truce was expired. The Duke of *Lancaſter* put the King upon this Determination, becauſe the King of *France* had engag'd him to haſten the Peace, that he might reſtore *Leo* King of *Armenia*, and ſubdue the other *Barbarians*, who were troubleſome to *Chriſtendom*. This Council had long and hot Debates among themſelves about the Expediency and Conditions of the Peace propounded, but came to no Reſolution; and ſo much the rather, becauſe at that time the Duke of *Gelderland*, the King's Coſin, a valiant and ſtout Prince, came over; and adviſed the King to make no Agreement of Peace with the King of *France*, but upon ſuch Conditions as were both advantageous and honourable to himſelf and Realm; promiſing him an Aſſiſtance of a conſiderable Body of Men, if he had occaſion to make War either againſt the *French* or *Scots*. This Offer made the King, and whole Aſſembly, more indifferent to the Peace, and more reſolute to obtain good Conditions if it went on.

Reg. 16. *A great Tumult in the City, and the Biſhop of Salisbury's Palace aſſaulted.*

While theſe things were tranſacting for the publick Good, an unhappy Accident fell out at *London*; which from an inconſiderable beginning proceeded ſo far, as to make the Citizens as much ſtand in need of the King's Favour, as he did a little before of their Money. The Occaſion was this: A Baker's Man carrying a Basket of Bread thro' *Fleet-ſtreet* to his Maſter's Cuſtomers, as he paſs'd by the Biſhop of *Salisbury*'s Palace, had a Loaf taken out of his Basket by one *Walter Roman* the Biſhop's Servant [a]. The Baker concern'd at the Loſs, endeavour'd to take it from the Man by force, but was worſted by the Servant, and wounded in the Scuffle. The People of the Street knowing that the Baker had received the Wrong, as well as the Abuſe, gather'd together to apprehend the Biſhop's Servant, and have him puniſhed for the Breach of the Peace; but his Fellow Servants ſeeing him in danger, got him into the Palace, and ſecur'd him againſt them. The People without, being enrag'd more by this Reſcue, firſt peaceably, by the Conſtable, demanded the Servant that had thus wronged the Baker's Man; but they denying to reſign him, the unruly Rabble, who loved not the Biſhop, nor much feared him, tho' at that time Lord Treaſurer, began to be very outrageous, endeavouring to force open the Gates, and becauſe they had Reſiſtance that they could not, threaten'd to fire them. The Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, had Information of this Tumult, and with all Care and Speed ſought to repreſs it; but the Commons were grown ſo numerous, and ſo juſtly provok'd, that neither Force nor Perſuaſions would prevail a long time: But at laſt, by much Intreaty, they appeaſed them, and ſent them quietly home. The Biſhop himſelf was then with the King at *Windſor*, and ſoon receiv'd an Account of his Servants about this Tumult; which that it might not ſeem foul on their ſide, repreſented the Citizens as ſpitefully as they could. [b] The Biſhop, who hated them in general, becauſe they were commonly reputed Favourers of *Wickliffe*, and ſo Enemies to the Church, entertain'd the Relation with much Paſſion; and having acquainted *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *York*, and then Lord Chancellor, with it, immediately preferred a grievous Complaint of the City to the King, as if the Tumult had been encourag'd by the Heads of it, and was a malicious Out-rage not only againſt the Church but State, he being both Treaſurer and Biſhop. The King, who kept his former Diſpleaſure in his Breaſt, needed no Inſtigations upon ſo good an Occaſion; but being farther incens'd by the Aggravations they made uſe of, was moſt furiouſly enrag'd and threaten'd to raze the City: But his Heat being allay'd by the Mediation of ſome of the Nobility, he ſent for the Mayor, Sheriffs, and other chief Citizens to Court [c], and objected many Crimes and Diſorders againſt them. They made a modeſt and plain Defence, but nothing would be accepted as ſufficient; wherefore the Mayor was impriſon'd at *Windſor*, and the reſt of them ſent to other Goals, and all the Liberties and Privileges of the City ſeized into his own hands. The Authority of the Mayor was wholly removed, and the King put in a Governour under the Name of the *Warden of the City*. This Office was firſt conferred on Sir *Edward Darlingrig*, or as others ſay, *Belerigge*, on *June* 21. but he being thought to be too great a Friend to the Citizens, was in leſs than a Fortnight removed, and Sir *Baldwin Radington* placed in his room. He was a very prudent Man, and carry'd himſelf with ſuch Auſterity and Care, that he pleaſed both the King and City, and gave them ſome hopes, that by their contented Obedience to him and Submiſſion to the King, they might in a little time obtain his Favour again. The Citizens, in this Condition, were very much diſcontented, and made humble Suit by the Queen, the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Biſhop of *London*, and other noble Perſonages, to the King to be reſtored again to their ancient Liberties and Immunities. Who ſo far prevailed at length with him by the Remembrance of their former good Services and rich Preſents, that he ſent for their Charter, and other Grants of Liberties to their City, which he cauſed to be diligently peruſed; and allowing ſome, and cancelling others, reſtored the City again to their ancient State and Favour, excepting their Government by a Mayor, which they could not obtain, till at ſeveral times they preſented the King with two thouſand Marks of Gold, and ten thouſand Pounds in Silver: So that in the end, the Denial of lending ten thouſand Pounds [d] coſt them above as much more, and that Favour which they might have gotten by mere Compliance, they were forced to buy at a dear rate, and glad they could ſo attain it. This Reconciliation being finiſh'd, the Mayor, and Sheriffs, were choſen again after their uſual manner, and the Terms which had been removed from *Weſtminſter* to *York*, were again reſtored. The Biſhop of *London*, who had a principal Intereſt in making this Peace, was much honoured by the Citizens all his Life for it; and after his Death the Mayor, Aldermen, and many chief Citizens, according to their Companies, went nine times a Year in a ſolemn Proceſſion to *Weſtminſter*, where he lay bury'd, to pray for his Soul and the Souls of all Chriſtians, as a grateful return of his Kindneſs to them.

The King inenſed againſt the City, ſeized on their Charter, and took away their Liberties.

The City reforced to their ancient Privileges.

The *Iriſh* about this time revolted from their Subjection, and the Duke of *Gloceſter* being firſt made Duke of *Ireland*, was furniſh'd with Money to raiſe an Army for an Expedition thither; which he did with all imaginable Care, and had gotten a very great Force ready to paſs thither. His great Name had almoſt ſubdu'd all the Re-

The Duke of Gloceſter ready to go into Ireland is forbidden.

[a] In *Caxton*'s Chronicle, 'tis one of the Biſhop of *London*'s Servants. Sir *John Hayward*, in his Life of *Henry* IV. agrees with *Holinſhead*, that 'twas the Biſhop of *Salisbury*'s

[b] *John Waltham.* [c] Which was then at *Nottingham.* [d] *Walſingham* ſays it was but one.

bels,

A. D. 1392. bels, before his Paſſage over thither, for the chief Leaders of the Revolters had determin'd to ſubmit themſelves to him as ſoon as he arrived. But the Enemies of the Duke envying him the Honour of being ſo great a Benefactor to the common Good, prevail'd with the King ſo that he was countermanded, to the great Grief of the Commons, and Dammage of both Kingdoms[a].

1393. *Nineteenth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.*

A little after *Chriſtmas* the Parliament met at *Winchester*, and divers good Acts for the publick Benefit were made; as concerning Merchant-Strangers, Weights, and Meaſures; Freedom of Freeholders from Suit and Service in the Lords Courts, and the Acts to puniſh ſuch as obtained Pardons for Murther, Treaſons, and Rapes, repealed. But the Act of greateſt Fame, was the Statute called the Statute of *Præmunire*, made this Seſſion, by and in which it was enacted, 'That whereas the Biſhop of *Rome*, under a Pre-'tence of an abſolute Supremacy over the Church, 'took upon him to diſpoſe by his Mandates of 'moſt of the Biſhopricks, Abbacies, and other 'Eccleſiaſtical Benefices of Worth in *England*; 'and if the Biſhops did, upon the Legal Preſent-'ments of the Patrons of ſuch Benefices, inſti-'tute any Clerks to them, they were thereupon 'excommunicated by the Pope, to the great Da-'mage and unjuſt Wrong of the King's good Sub-'jects. And whereas the Biſhop of *Rome* took 'upon him to tranſlate and remove the ſaid Bi-'ſhops either out of the Realm, or from one See 'to another within the Realm, without the 'Knowledge of the King, or Conſent of the Bi-'ſhops themſelves. If any Perſons ſhall purchaſe, 'or cauſe to be purchaſed in the Court of *Rome*, 'any ſuch Tranſlations, Sentences of Excommu-'nication, Bulls, or other Inſtruments, to the 'Detriment of the King and his Realm, both 'they, and ſuch as bring, receive, notifie, or 'put them in Execution, ſhall be put out of the 'King's Protection, and their Lands and Tene-'ments, Goods and Chattels forfeited to the 'King, and their Bodies attach'd, if they can be 'found, Proceſs being made out againſt them 'by the Writ called *Præmunire facias*, as is or-'dain'd in other former Statutes of Proviſors. This Statute was badly reſented at *Rome* by the Pope, who was very peeviſh for the Statute of Mortmain, and other leſs ſevere Acts againſt his Incroachment made a little before; but this put him into ſuch a Fury, that he immediately ſent a Letter to the [b] Duke of *Bedford*, wherein he calls the Act it ſelf *Execrabile Statutum*, a curſed Statute, and the paſſing of it, *Fœdum & turpe facinus*, a wicked and baſe Act. In this Parliament the Laity gave the King no Tax, but the Clergy yielded him half a Tenth to furniſh out the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *Gloceſter* for their Negotiation into *France*, to compleat the Peace between the two Kingdoms, by which they ſhewed their Duty to their Prince and Zeal for Peace.

The Duke of Ireland *died at* Lovain.

In the time of this Seſſion *Robert de Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, and Duke of *Ireland*, died at *Lovain* in *Brabant* in great Anguiſh of Mind and Poverty, and the King conferred his Honour of Earl of *Oxford* upon his Uncle, the Lord *Aubery de Vere*. By the Death alſo of *John Eures*, Conſtable of *Dover* Caſtle, and Lord Steward of the King's Houſe, ſeveral Promotions were made at Court: For the Lord *Thomas Peircy*, who was Vice-Chamberlain, was raiſed to be the Lord High Steward; the Lord *Thomas Beaumont* was made Conſtable of *Dover* Caſtle and Warden of the Cinque-Ports, and the Lord *William Scroop* was made Vice-Chamberlain, and ſoon after brought the Regality of the Iſle of *Man* (for that Iſle was reputed a Kingdom, and the Lords of it are crown'd with a Crown of [c] Gold) of the Lord *William Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, but he only held it for his own Life.

A. D. 1393.

Another Treaty of Peace with France.

In the Spring of this Year the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *Gloceſter*, and the Earl of *Darby*, and ſeveral other Peers [d], paſſed over to *Calais* in order to finiſh the Treaty then in hand. They had a full Commiſſion to conclude a Peace both by Sea and Land between the Kingdoms of *England* and *France* and their Allies. The Commiſſioners for the King of *France* were the Dukes of *Burgogne* and *Berry*: The Place of Treaty was *Balingham* [e], where were ſtately Tents erected for their meeting. Here they met ſeveral Days together, and after their Commiſſions were looked into, Propoſals were laid down and argu'd on both ſides. The *Frenchmen* required to have *Calais* razed, but the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *Gloceſter* anſwer'd, That they had no Power to treat in that Matter, and that they knew that their Maſter would hold it in Demeſn and Inheritance; and if they intended to conclude the Peace, they muſt not mention it any farther, which ſmart Reply put an end to that Demand. Then the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *Gloceſter* inſiſted, That the Countries on that ſide, which had of late been either in the Poſſeſſion of King *Edward* III. or King *Richard* their Maſter, ſhould be reſtored, and the Florens which were left unpaid by reaſon of the War, ſhould now be paid; which the *Engliſh* Lawyers proved to be agreeable to Reaſon and Equity. But the *Frenchmen* argu'd much againſt it, and would by no means yield to neither: So that their Debates were adjourned for nine Days, that the Kings on both ſides might be acquainted with what they had done. The Duke of *Gloceſter*, who was for no Peace with *France*, but upon very good Terms; for which Reaſon the People deſired that he might be a Commiſſioner, was very reſolute to have no Peace, unleſs the former Conditions were granted. But the *French* King, and Nobles, as well as King *Richard* and the Duke of *Lancaſter*, were very deſirous to bring it to an end, and ſo a Truce at their next meeting was made for four Years; and had not the King of *France* fallen ſuddenly into his old Diſeaſe of the Frenzy, it is thought a longer and firmer Peace had been concluded, tho' without the Conſent of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, who in his heart was wholly for War with *France*; which having brought ſo much advantage to the Nation formerly, was moſt deſir'd by the People, whom the Duke ſought to pleaſe above all things.

A. D. 1393. Reg. 17.

A Peace for four Years made with France.

Several calamitious Accidents befall the Nation.

After the Concluſion of this Truce, the King made Sir *Thomas Peircy*, the younger, Lord Warden of *Bourdeaux* and *Aquitain*, and ſent him thither: The Nation alſo ſuffer'd much by Tempeſts and exceſſive Rains. There were ſuch vio-

[a] *Holinſhead*, from whom our Author has taken this Event, ſays, the Duke of *Gloceſter* was created Duke of *Ireland*; but that is very much to be doubted, the rather, for that the Earl of *Oxford*, on whom King *Richard* had beſtowed that Title, was not then dead; and though he was attainted, yet King *Richard* lov'd him ſtill too well to give his Honour to his Enemy: Beſides, that Title was ſo odious, that the Duke of *Gloceſter* would hardly have accepted of it; and no good Author, except *Holinſhead*, has taken Notice of it.

[b] There was no Duke of *Bedford* at that time, the firſt that bore that Title was *John* Brother to *Henry* V. and after his Death Regent of *France*.

[c] Neither the Houſe of *Mountacute*, nor that of *Stanly*, were permitted to wear a Crown of Gold; the *Regalia* being only a Leaden Crown, and the Robes that belong to them as Peers of *England*.

[d] The Archbiſhop of *York* and Biſhop of *London*.

[e] *Leulingham* between *Calais* and *Bologne*.

lent

A. D. 1393. lent Thunders and Lightnings in many parts, eſpecially about *Cambridgeſhire*, that many Houſes and Stacks of Corn (for the Harveſt was but juſt paſt) were beat down, and burnt by them. In other parts ſuch abundance of Rain fell, eſpecially about *Bury* in *Suffolk*, and *New-Market*, that the Floods carry'd away many Bridges and Houſes. The Peſtilence rag'd in *Eſſex*, and ſwept away great Multitudes. Other things happen'd alſo concurrent with theſe accidents. The Lord *Roſs* returning out of the *Holy-land* dy'd at *Paphos*. The Town of *Chierburg*, which was engaged to King *Richard* for the payment of two thouſand Marks [a] by the King of *Navarr*, was reſtored to the ſaid King upon the payment of the ſaid Sum. Three *Scotch* Gentlemen alſo challenged three *Engliſh* to fight at Juſts, *viz.* the Earl of *Mar*, the Lord *Nottingham*; Sir *William Darrell* the King of *Scots* Banner-bearer, Sir *Peirce Courtney* the King of *England*'s Standard-bearer; and one *Cockburn* Eſq. Sir *Nicholas Hawkirke* In this Tryal of Manhood the *Engliſh* were Victors, for the Earl of *Mar* and *Cockburn* were unhorſed by their Opponents, the former being ſo bruiſed and wounded by the fall, that he dy'd in his return home; *Darrell* ran five Courſes, and was ſo equally match'd, that they neither were Victors.

1394. *Twentieth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.*

A Parliament met at *Weſtminſter* a little after the Feaſt of St. *Hilary*, and after ſome things of common concern were enacted, the King growing weary of the Charge which he was at to maintain his Dominions in *Ireland* againſt the Rebellious Natives, deſired a Tax to enable him to make an Expedition into that Nation to reduce it by force; for as it now ſtood, 'twas an inſupportable Burthen to *England*, the King being yearly at thirty thouſand Pounds charge to preſerve the Dominion of that Iſland, which had brought formerly thirty thouſand Pounds a Year into his Treaſury. The Houſes yielded to his deſires, and the Clergy granted him a tenth if he went into *Ireland*, but half a tenth only if he went not. In this Parliament the Duke of *Lancaſter* accuſed the Earl of *Arundel* of encouraging and aſſiſting the Commons of *Cheſter* againſt him, lying in his Caſtle of *Holt* by *Cheſter* with a Body of Men, while the People under one *Nicholas Clifton* aſſaulted the Duke's Houſe. But the Earl of *Arundel* flatly deny'd that he had the leaſt Intention that way, and gave ſuch probable Reaſons in his own defence, that he was clear'd of any ſuch deſign, and by the mediation of certain great Perſons was perfectly reconcil'd to the Duke.

The King goes into Ireland.

The King immediately after the Diſſolution of this Parliament made a ſpeedy preparation for his Expedition into *Ireland*; but when he was almoſt ready his beloved Queen *Ann* dy'd at *Shene* near *Richmond* in *Surry*, which put a ſtop to his proceedings awhile; for as he was always fond of her while ſhe liv'd, ſo he was paſſionately griev'd for her when ſhe dy'd; of which he gave this memorable proof, 'That he curs'd the place of 'her Death, and ſo hated it ever after; that he 'would never come there, but commanded the 'Buildings to be demoliſhed. And indeed ſhe is ſaid to be a Princeſs of ſo great Worth both for Virtue and Piety, that the greateſt Love was but her due. In the blind Age ſhe liv'd in, ſhe enjoy'd Light, and could nor endure the implicit Devotion of the *Romiſh* Church. She had the Goſpels in *Engliſh*, and ſeveral of the beſt Expoſitors upon them. She favour'd *Wickliffe*'s Doctrines, and had ſeveral of his Books, which after her Death being carry'd by her Maids into *Bohemia*, were a means of promoting the Reformation there. She was bury'd at *Weſtminſter*, and a Sermon preach'd at her Interment by *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *York*, in which he commends her for her great pains in the ſtudy of Scripture, and reading Godly Books, in which, ſaid he, ſhe was more diligent than the Prelates themſelves, tho' their Office and Buſineſs required it. Her Funerals being celebrated, the King, tho' full of Sorrow, went on in his deſign, which had been put off for ſome Months; and having by Proclamation commanded all *Iriſhmen* to depart the Kingdom before the Nativity of our Lady, *Sept.* 8. about *Michaelmas* he ſet forward for *Ireland*, attended by the Duke of *Glocester*, Earls of *March*, *Nottingham* and *Rutland*, *Thomas* Lord *Peircy*, and divers others, his Army conſiſting of four thouſand Horſe, and three thouſand Foot. The Duke of *Lancaſter* was not with him, becauſe the King had a little before given the Dukedom of *Aquitain* to him and his Heirs, and ſent him with five hundred Men at Arms and a thouſand Archers to take poſſeſſion of it. The King landed at *Waterford* in the beginning of *October*, and encamped his Army [b] very warily, expecting a vigorous aſſault from the Enemy at firſt; but they perceiving themſelves too weak to oppoſe ſo ſtrong an Army in a pitcht Battle, did nothing againſt him but by ſurprize, falling ſuddenly upon ſome part of their Camp, or upon ſtraggling Forragers, and lurking in their boggy Woods and Mountains when they advanced againſt them; by which, tho' they ſav'd their Perſons, yet they left their Eſtates and Towns expoſed to the Mercy of the *Engliſh*; who ſo well uſed the advantage, that the *Iriſh* were forced to come in and ſubmit themſelves to the King to ſave their Eſtates. The chief of them were four Kings, *viz.* *O-neal* the Great, King of *Meath*, *Brine* King of *Thomond*, *Arthur Macmur* King of *Lempſter*, and *Conbur* King of *Cheveno* and *Darp*, whom he courteouſly entertain'd and kept with him, leſt they ſhould relapſe into their former diſobedience, if they return'd to their People again. He kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Dublin*, and at the end of that Feaſt held a Parliament there, calling all his Subjects to it, as well thoſe who had lately ſubmitted, as thoſe who had continu'd in their Loyalty, that by his impartial favour he might equally oblige them to Fidelity for the future.

A. D. 1394.

Ireland *ſubdu'd.*

A Parliament in Ireland.

1395. About the Feaſt of *Epiphany*, the Duke of *York* the King's Uncle, who was Lord-Warden of *England*, called a Parliament by the King's Order to provide him farther Supplies to carry on his Expedition, and the Duke of *Glocester* was ſent over to repreſent to the Parliament the ſtate of the King's Affairs, and deſire another Tax. There needed little Rhetorick to perſuade, when the Reaſon and Condition of things required it, and therefore they readily granted a tenth of the Clergy and a fifteenth of the Laity for the King's ſupply; yet humbly petitioning, that the Settlement of things in *Ireland* might be effected as ſoon as poſſible. Other matters were put off till the King's return, and ſo the Parliament was diſmiſſed without making any Acts of publick concern. Yet while it ſate, the Followers of *Wickliffe*, then call'd *Lollards*, being grown numerous among the common People, and having gotten ſome Friends in the Houſes, by which they were encouraged to attempt a Reformation of the Diſ-

Twenty firſt Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

Lollards *endeavour a Reformation in Parliament.*

Q. Ann *dy'd.*

Reg. 18.

[a] *Froiſſard* tells us it was ſixty thouſand Nobles.

[b] Conſiſting of thirty thouſand Men.

orders

A. D. 1395. orders of the Churchmen both in Doctrine and *Manners, perferred* ſeveral Concluſions to the *Parliament in oppoſition* to the preſent Orders and *Tenets* in the Church, not without ſome aſ*ſurances of ſucceſs.* They were twelve in number, and delivered in Words to this effect: 'I. That Pride, through the greatneſs of the 'Temporalties, daily increaſed in the Church, 'and Faith, Hope and Charity decayed. 2. That 'the preſent Prieſthood was not the Prieſthood 'of Chriſt's Inſtitution. 3. That the Cœlebacy 'of the Prieſts was the cauſe of Sodomy, Whore'dom, and other foul Sins. 4. That Tranſub'ſtantiation engaged Chriſtians in a brutiſh Ido'latry. 5. That Exorciſms and Conſecrations 'were not of divine Appointment, but magical 'Incantations. 6. That it was very unſeemly 'for Prelates to be Juſtices of Peace, and Cu'rates civil Officers. 7. That Prayers for the 'Dead were a bad motive of Alms-giving, '8. That Pilgrimages to Crucifixes, to our La'dy's Image, *&c.* were Idolatrous. 9. That 'Auricular Confeſſion makes Prieſts arrogant 'and proud, and is an encouragement of Sin. '10. That Manſlaughter and War for Temporal 'Gains, or Religion ſake, is unlawful. 11. That 'Womens Vows of Chaſtity produced much Sin. '12. That multitudes of Arts and Trades which 'were not neceſſary, were a means of beget'ting much Pride and Vanity among Chriſtians. Theſe Poſitions, which at the ſame time were fixed upon S. *Paul*'s Church-doors, found a very favourable Reception in the Houſes, and had ſo great a Party for them, that the Prelates were afraid all their gainful Doctrines and Practices, which were levell'd at in them, would not be long tolerated if the King did but conſent to the Majority of the Members, as it was likely he would unleſs he could be otherwiſe engaged. This being the only way left, as they imagin'd, to ſupport their tottering Church, *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Robert Braybrooke* Biſhop of *London*, ſent as was ſuppoſed by *William Courtney, Archbiſhop of Canterbury*, and the Clergy, *made a Voyage into Ireland* to the King, to com*plain of the Inſolence and Prevalency of the Hereticks*, as they call'd them, and to beſeech him to engage his Power in the defence of the Church and Religion, which without his aſſiſtance was in great danger of being ruin'd. The King, who was always zealous for the Religion he had been train'd up in, gave much attention to the Biſhop's Importunities, and promiſing them his Protection, compoſed his Affairs in *Ireland* as faſt as he could, and return'd about *Eaſter* into *England*.

The King's Actions againſt the Lollards.

Soon after his arrival he began to look into the Grounds of the Biſhop's Complaint againſt the *Lollards*, and finding that ſome of his own Servants and Officers, *viz.* Sir [a] *Richard Story*, Sir *Lewis Clifford*, Sir *Thomas Latimer*, and Sir *John Montacute*, had been moſt forward to encourage and uphold them, he called them before him, and made them ſeverally ſware, that they would not from thence forward hold or maintain any ſuch erroneous Opinions; adding himſelf, that if they were found again to do it, they ſhould certainly die for it. Having thus laid a reſtraint and check upon the chief Abetters of the *Hereticks*, he proceeded to ſuppreſs them, by giving the Biſhops a Charge to execute their Offices diligently in their Dioceſſes, according to the Canon, to correct all Offenders, ſearch out and examine all *Engliſh* Books, root out all erroneous Teachers and Doctrines with all their endeavours, and to bring all the People into the Unity of the Catholick Faith. And that the Laity as well as Clergy might advance this holy Deſign, as he accounted it, he ſent out a Commiſſion into all and every Shire of the Kingdom, appointing certain Perſons zealous for the Church, to be Searchers out of the *Lollards*, their Favourers and Books, charging them to uſe their utmoſt diligence and care to find them; and when they have apprehended any, to commit them to the next Gaol till he ſhould give farther Orders concerning them. The King was the more zealous in this matter, becauſe Pope *Boniface* had by his Letters beſought him to aſſiſt the Biſhops in ſuppreſſing this Sect, and recommended it to him as a moſt meritorious Action; yet his Subjects did not ſhew as much Zeal in perſecuting them, as the King did to excite them to it. The Archbiſhop indeed was active, and began immediately a metropolitan Viſitation, in which he made a ſtrict ſearch for the *Lollards* and their Books, ſolemnly excommunicated all ſuch Perſons as maintained, or cauſed to be maintained, any of the Errors or Opinions of Mr. *John Wickliffe* at the Cathedral in *Lincoln* and *Leiceſter*-Abby, and made ſeveral to recant, and do penance for holding the ſaid Opinions at *Oxford* and other places. But we do not find that there were any Proſecutions of them by the Laity, nor ſeveral of the Biſhops; ſo that tho' the King had depriv'd them of his Protection, God may ſeem to have made their Enemies at peace with them.

The Archbiſhop viſits to ſuppreſs the Lollards.

This Spring the *French* King being in ſome doubts which of the Antipopes was to be acknowledged for the Head of the Church, called a General Council of all his moſt able Divines at *Paris*, and required their Deciſion of the Diſpute that was among the Chriſtian Princes about it. The Divines, after much and ſerious Debate, determined, That Pope *Clement* was lawfully choſen, and ought to be accepted as the Head of the Church; and confirmed this their Judgment by the Univerſity of *Paris* Seal. The King of *France* having ſo good an Authority for adhering to *Clement*, ſent a Copy of their Deciſion to King *Richard*, hoping to bring him over to acknowledge him; but King *Richard* would not ſubſcribe to their Reſolution till he had the Judgment of his own Divines upon it, of whom he ſummon'd immediately a Convocation of the ableſt and moſt learned at *Oxford*. Theſe, after mature Conſideration of the Arguments of the contrary Party, made a contrary Determination for *Urban* and his Succeſſors, and warranted their Judgment with the Univerſity-Seal; by which means the Breach in the Church was made more incurable than it was before, and the Schiſm much more juſtifiable.

Both the Antipopes confirm'd by National Councils in England *and* France.

This Summer the *Daniſh* Rovers much infeſted the *Britiſh* Seas, and did great miſchief on the Coaſts, plundering the Ships, and robbing the Sea-Towns. On the Coaſts of *Norfolk* they ſet upon certain Ships belonging to the Merchants of *Norwich*, and took them, their Cargo being valu'd at twenty thouſand Pounds. This Wrong ſo incenced the Inhabitants of thoſe parts, that they mann'd out ſome Ships to fight them; but after a ſharp Engagement were defeated, and many of them taken Priſoners, whom they re-

Reg. 19. *Daniſh Rovers rob the Coaſts.*

[a] Sir *Richard Story* and Sir *Thomas Latimer* were Members of Parliament, and deliver'd the *Lollard*'s Addreſs to the Houſe of Commons.

deemed

A. D. 1395.

deemed at a dear rate; and so they returned home enriched by Ransoms, and laden with the plunder'd Goods of the *English*. *William Courtney* also Archbishop of *Canterbury*, purchased a Bull of the Pope to levy 4 *d. per* Pound upon all the Spiritual Promotions and Benefices within his Province; which tho' it was generally disliked and disgusted by the Clergy, yet was paid by most of them thro' Fear, the Prebendaries of *Lincoln* being only excepted, who looking upon it as an unreasonable Exaction, utterly deny'd to pay it, and appealed to the Pope; but the Archbishop's Death prevented the farther Progress of the Controversie, which would have proved much more chargeable to them had it continu'd. His Death was esteem'd no small Security for the Followers of *Wickliffe*, to whom he was a bitter Enemy. *John Waltham* also Bishop of *Salisbury* and Lord Treasurer died, and was by the King's Order buried in *Westminster* among the Kings, and *Roger Walden* Secretary of State, and Treasurer of *Calis*, was put in his place. In the latter end of this Year, the King out of the Love he still retained to the Duke of *Ireland* after his decease, had his Corps fetch'd from *Brabant* where it lay ignobly interred, and brought into *England* for a more honourable Burial. It was first embalmed, and richly adorned with Robes, a Chain of Gold about his Neck, and rich Rings on his Fingers; and being put in a Cypress Coffin, the King himself came to view his Body, and to shew his Affection to him, looked on his bare Face and touched him. His Body, after some time, was interred at *Coln-Priory* in *Essex*; the King himself, with the Countess of *Oxford* his Mother, several Bishops and Abbots attending his Corps thither. Very few, or none of the Nobility, would shew any Respect to his Reliques, for the Hatred they bore to him when he was alive; the Memory of the Person being detestible, whom they found so great an Enemy to the common Good, so long as he was in Power and Favour.

Archbishop Taxes the Clergy.

The Duke of Ireland's Body brought into England, and solemnly interr'd.

The Duke of Lancaster went into Aquitain, to take Possession of it.

The Duke of *Lancaster* being arriv'd in *Aquitain*, summon'd the Lords and chief Inhabitants of the great Towns, and declar'd to them the Gift of the King of *England* to him, that their Country was given to him and his Heirs for an Inheritance, and desir'd their peaceable Submission to him as their Supreme Lord. But they returned him answer, That their Country was inseparably united to the Crown of *England*, and would never submit to him otherwise than as the King of *England*'s Lieutenant. The Duke insisted upon his Gift, but would use no force to compel them to Subjection, unless it were the more lasting ones of Kindness and Moderation; but they constantly stood upon it, that they had ever been govern'd by Kings, and could not be alienated from the Crown of *England* without a Violation of the King's Coronation Oath, and therefore would never submit to those Terms. At length an [a] Embassy was sent to the King about the Controversie, and tho' the Duke of *Gloucester* (more to keep his Brother out of the Nation, than out of Love to Justice or to his Brother's Interests) pressed the inviolable Nature of the King's Grant to his Brother; yet the Arguments of the People of *Aquitain* were so prevalent [b] with the King, that it was decreed, That the Country and Dutchy of *Aquitain* should always remain in the Demesn of the Crown of *England*, lest at length it should fall into the hand of some Stranger; but the Duke remain'd there governing as the King's Deputy, which Station he manag'd so well, that he gain'd the Love and willing Submission of all the People, being wise, liberal and moderate, so that lest the Grant which the King had so lately recall'd should be obtain'd against his Will, he sent for him home, and eased himself of that Jealousie; for tho' the Duke had been at great Expence to purchase their Favour, yet he chose rather to lose his Money than Loyalty, and so returned to the King at *Langley*, where he kept his *Christmas*. He stay'd a little at Court, and then retreated to his own House at *Lincoln*, where he marry'd the Lady *Katharine Swinford*, who had been his Concubine in his Wife's days, and born him two Sons *Thomas* and *Henry*, and one Daughter, whom he named *Beaufort*. This Match was much disliked by the Court Ladies, and the Dutchess of *Glocester*, Countesses of *Warwick*, *Arundel* and *Darby*, particularly disdain'd her; but her prudent Behaviour conquer'd their Passions, and she became very grateful to them in a short time.

A. D. 1395.

The Duke of Lancaster recalled from Aquitain.

1396.

While these things were transacting abroad, the King's Mind inclin'd to a second Marriage; and because he very much desir'd a firm Peace with *France*, he determin'd to chuse a Wife in that Court, which was the likeliest way to effect his design; and to that end sent an Embassy by the Archbishop of *Dublin*, the Earls of *Rutland* and Marshal, and the Lords *Beaumont*, *Spencer* and *Clifford*, to treat of a Marriage between himself and the Lady *Isabel* the *French* King's Daughter, who was then but eight Years old. The Proposition was very joyfully accepted, and tho' the Lady had been a little before promis'd to the Duke of *Britain*'s Son in Marriage, yet because this was likely to prove a more advantageous and honourable Match, and would in all Probability settle that Peace, which was so earnestly desired by the *French* as well as *English*, an Expedient was resolv'd upon to dissolve the former Contract [c], and she was assured to the King of *England*. The Embassadors having been sumptuously entertain'd, and their Charges born by the *French* King, so long as they were in his Country, returned home with this favourable Answer and Promise, to the great Joy of their Master.

King Richard desired the Lady Isabel the French King's Daughter for a Wife.

Pope *Boniface* the IX. who was some time since got into the Papal Chair at *Rome*, after Pope *Urban*'s decease, by which means the Schism was still upheld, having received Information of the Bishops of *England*, that the Followers of *Wickliffe*, notwithstanding all former Endeavours to suppress them, grew more numerous, and were spread almost into all parts of the Nation; the Bishops wanting Power to inflict what their Zeal was ready to do, wrote a second pathetical and earnest Letter to King *Richard* to assist the Bishops in the Cause of God,

The Pope's Letters to King Richard to suppress the Lollards, and repeal the the Præmunire Act.

[a] *Froissard*, Vol. IV. Chap. 61. writes, he was in the Court of *England* when these Deputies arrived from *Aquitain*, and that the reason of their desiring not to be alienated from the Crown was, because they depended chiefly upon it for Assistance and Protection.

[b] *Henry* Earl of *Darby*, the Duke of *Lancaster*'s Son, was for granting the Petition of the Deputies of *Aquitain*, and annulling the Donation of that Dutchy to his Father.

[c] The Embassadors had no other Answer from the *French* King at this time, than that he thank'd his Brother of *England* for his good Will, but that the Lady was too young, and besides was affianc'd to the Duke of *Bretagne*, which former Agreement must be dissolv'd before another cou'd be treated of. They carry'd this Answer to their Master, and being sent with new Proposals, concluded the Treaty of Marriage and Truce.

A. D. 1396. as he call'd it, againſt the Heretical Teachers of his Realm; and to take care, that the late Statutes of Proviſors, called the *Præmunire* and *Quare impedit* Acts, ſhould be taken away and aboliſh'd. But we do not find, that this Letter produced any of the deſired Effects, the King being otherwiſe taken up with Matters of State, eſpecially about his Marriage. The Pope at the ſame time ſent over a Recovatory Bull to recall and confine all ſuch Monks again to their ſeveral Orders, as had formerly purchaſed the Privileges of being his Chaplains, either of himſelf, or of his Nuncios, by which they were exempted from the Rules of their Profeſſion. This was very ungrateful News to the Purchaſers, but very acceptable to the Fryars, who were confin'd to their Cloyſters: For they were forced with Shame and Loſs to return to their Monaſteries.

King Richard's *Marriage, and the Peace between* England *and* France *ſettled.*

The King having been encourag'd in his Propoſals of a Marriage in the *French* Court, was not ſluggiſh in the purſuit of it, but in the beginning of the Spring ſent the former Embaſſadors to *France* to ſettle certain Points of Agreement neceſſary for the Completion of it; of which one was, That a Truce for thirty Years ſhould be firmly enter'd into by both Nations. Theſe Articles were eaſily aſſented to by both ſides, and the Lady being Marry'd to the Earl Marſhal [a] in the Name of *Richard* King of *England* by Letters of Proxy, was from thenceforth called the *Queen of England.* Things being thus concluded in a manner, the King himſelf (now having enter'd the 20th Year of his Reign) took his Journey to *Calais* to perfect all things that had been aſſented to on both ſides: He had with him his two Uncles, the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *Gloceſter*, with a great number of Peers and Gentlemen. The Place appointed for the Treaty was between *Guiſnes*, a Town on the Borders of the *Engliſh* Pale, and *Arde* which was on the Confines of the *French* Territories, rich Pavilions being there erected for the two Kings: The King of *France* came down with the Dukes of *Burgundy*, *Berry*, *Britain*, and *Burbon*. About the end of *October*, the two Kings having firſt ſolemnly ſwore to obſerve the Laws of Amity at this Enterview, came to a Conference about the Peace; and having at ſeveral Meetings concluded and agreed on a Peace for thirty Years [b], upon certain Conditions, they ſolemnly ſwore upon the Evangeliſts to obſerve and keep it faithfully. Then the King of *France*, with his own hands, deliver'd his Daughter to King *Richard*, who thankfully received her, proteſting that he took her as the Token of a perpetual Peace between the two Nations; and then delivering her to the Dutcheſſes of *Lancaſter* [c] and *Gloceſter*, with other great Ladies, had her convey'd honourably to *Calais*. The two Kings remained certain days in their Pavilions feaſting each other, and then with ſolemn leave taken departed home. King *Richard* returned to *Calais*, where he ſtaid a few days, till he was marry'd by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in St. *Nicholas*'s Church, and then ſailed with his Queen to *Dover*, and ſo went forward to *London*. The Mayor and Aldermen of that City having notice of the King's Arrival with his new Queen, met them at *Blackheath* in their Robes, with a ſelect number of Citizens in rich embroidered Liveries, and conducted him to *Kenſington*, where he lodg'd that Night, and continu'd ſome time. About *Chriſtmas* the Queen paſſed by Water to the *Tower*, and on the ſixth of [d] *January* was crown'd at *Weſtminſter* with all the State and Magnificence that could be deviſed ſuitable for ſo great an Occaſion. The Marriage and Coronation being thus compleated, there appeared a general Satisfaction in all Perſons, unleſs in the Duke of *Gloceſter*, who ſhewed much Diſcontent in his Words and Actions, both at the King's Marriage and Settlement of Peace, which diſpleaſed the King; and ſo much the more, becauſe he adviſed the *Londoners* not to pay the Tax granted for a War with *France*, becauſe there was Peace; which they had follow'd, had not the Duke of *Lancaſter* aſſur'd them that the Peace was ſettled at great Expence [d].

A. D. 139[illegible]

1397.

Twenty Second Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

Soon after *Chriſtmas*, on the Feaſt of St. *Vincent*, a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, and enacted ſeveral things neceſſary for the common Good, *viz.* That foraſmuch as many Miſchiefs were done by Perſons, who rode armed, it was forbidden all Perſons as well Lords as Commons to go or ride by Night or Day armed, except the King's Officers in doing their Duty. And that Juſtice might be adminiſter'd without Favour and Affection, it was enacted, That no Lord, or other Perſon, ſhould ſit upon the Bench with the Judges of Aſſize under great Penalties, leſt their Preſence ſhould influence or byaſs them in their Office. And becauſe the Commons had been much oppreſſed by certain Perſons, who pretended themſelves to be the King's Meſſengers, and took their Horſes out of their Carts to ride about their own Buſineſs; therefore it was enacted, that none ſhould take any ſuch Horſe without the Conſent of the Owner: And laſtly, That it ſhould be lawful for the Judges of *Belknap*, *Holt*, and *Burgh*, to return from their Exile into *England*, notwithſtanding the Statute made in the eleventh Year of this King; which being contrary to his Oath, made to the Lords in that Parliament, begat ſome Diſcontents among his Subjects. In this Parliament the Duke of *Lancaſter* obtain'd a private Act, to legitimate the Children which he had begotten on the Lady *Katharine Swinford* before his Marriage with her, and his eldeſt Son by her, *Thomas Beaufort*, was made Duke of *Somerſet* [e]. In the Parliament Rolls of this Seſſion there is alſo recorded a Declaration of the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, for themſelves and the Clergy of their Provinces, That foraſmuch as at their Enſtalment they were ſworn to be obedient and faithful to the Pope and See of *Rome*, if any thing were attempted in Parliament in prejudice or reſtraint of the ſame, they would not aſſent to it, but withſtand it with all their force: And this Proteſtation they deſired might be enrolled, which was done accordingly. Some things that concern'd the Church were enacted by this Parliament, *viz.* At the Petition of the Begging Fryars it was ordain'd, That none of

Fox. ex Rot. Parl. in Turr. Lond. Tit. 22. 32, 36.

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[a] *Thomas de Mowbray* Earl of *Nottingham*.

[b] The Truce formerly mention'd to be for thirty Years was but for twenty eight, and that Truce was only continu'd now two Years longer, and it was no Peace but a Ceſſation of Arms. *Froiſſard.*

[c] *Katherine Swinford.*

[d] No leſs than three hundred thouſand Pounds much more than her Portion. Sir *John Hayward*, *Hen.* IV.

[e] He was only created Earl of *Somerſet*, and *Cambden* in his *Brit. Tit. Somerſetſhire*, ſays his Name was *John de Beaufort*; *Thomas de Beaufort*, as the ſame Author writes, *ſub Tit. Dorſetſhire*, was younger Brother to *John de Beaufort*, and was firſt created Earl of *Dorſet*, and afterwards Duke of *Exeter*.

their

A. D. 1397. their Order ſhould paſs over the Sea, to *Rome* or elſewhere, without a ſpecial Licenſe from their Sovereign; nor take upon them the Degree or Title of Maſter in Divinity without being firſt poſed and examined in a Provincial Chapter, upon pain of being put out of the King's Protection. As alſo, that the King's Officers for making Arreſts or Attachments in Church-Yards ſhould be excommunicated. For theſe Acts the Clergy gave the King a tenth alone, and ſo the Parliament was ſent home.

Breſt reſtored to the D. of Britain, for which the D. of Gloceſter reproach'd the King.

The Duke of *Britain*, a little after the Diſſolution of the Parliament, whether upon any private Agreement made at the Treaty at *Ard*, or meerly according to the firſt Condition, ſent over to King *Richard* a certain Sum of Money, for the payment of which he had engaged the Haven of *Breſt*, and delivered it up to him, to diſcharge that Debt, and recover the Town to himſelf again; King *Richard* accordingly received the Money, and reſigned it to him. The Duke of *Gloceſter* knowing the place to be an Haven of Importance to the *Engliſh*, was very angry at this unuſual piece of Juſtice among Princes; and being at Court one day, where he ſaw many of the Soldiers that were lately come from *Breſt*, and had no way to live, crowding into the Hall, told the King, 'That thoſe poor 'Men had been ill paid, and now having no 'Imployment, knew not how to live. The King reply'd, 'That it was not his fault, but 'he would take care they ſhould be paid. The Duke anſwer'd, 'That it had been better 'they had continued where they were; he 'ſhould firſt have taken a Town by his own 'Valour and Conduct, before he had reſigned 'what his Anceſtors had left to him. This Reflection fell ſharply upon the King, who changing Countenance immediately, ſaid, *What is it you ſay, Uncle?* The Duke then repeated the ſame words again; whereupon the King in a great Paſſion, reply'd, 'Think you that I am a 'Fool, or Merchant, to ſell my Land? No; By 'S. *John* Baptiſt, no: But our Couſin the Duke 'of *Britain* having paid the Sums for which the 'Town and Haven of *Breſt* were engaged to me, 'Reaſon and good Conſcience required that I 'ſhould reſtore it. This anſwer, tho' reaſonable, did not take away the Reſentment of the Affront which the Duke's Words made upon the King's Spirit, but he hated him ever after for the Brand of Cowardiſe he had laid upon him[a].

Earl of S. Paul comes into England, and adviſes the King againſt the Duke of Gloceſter.

Before the King's Paſſions were cool'd throughly, *Guido* Earl of S. *Paul*, who was ſent by *Charles* the *French* King to viſit and compliment King *Richard* and his Queen, arriv'd at the Court, and after a ſhort time was admitted into great Familiarity with the King partly through his own Officiouſneſs, and partly by the Troubles of the King's Mind, which made him not very choice to whom he unburthen'd his Diſcontents. With this Earl the King being one day diſcourſing, complained to him of the mutinous and factious Behaviour of the Duke of *Gloceſter* his Uncle towards him, *viz.* 'That he openly 'diſliked his Marriage, and uſed his utmoſt En'deavours to break the Peace ſo happily con'cluded between *France* and *England*, by ſtir'ring up a Rebellion among his Subjects. The Earl knowing that generally nothing is ſo pleaſant to rooted Paſſions as Revenge, which would be ſweeten'd in this Caſe by neceſſary Policy, gave the King this Advice, 'That he had no 'way to ſecure himſelf, and the Peace of his 'Kingdom, but by taking away his Life; for 'when a Subject is grown ſo Great and Po'pular, it is impoſſible for a King to be ſafe ſo 'long as he is alive. The King eaſily aſſented to this Counſel, and that he might not want Pleas enough to juſtifie what he had in a manner fully reſolv'd to execute, he obſerv'd every word and action of the Duke more narrowly than formerly; and taking every thing in the worſe ſenſe, as Jealouſie and deſire of revenge ſuggeſted, thought him ſuch a diſeas'd Member as could not be cur'd but by cutting off. To make way for this he complain'd very grievouſly of him to his Brethren, the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *York*, with others of the Nobility; but as in all of them he found a good Opinion of the Duke, ſo his Brethren told him, 'That tho' their Bro'ther *Gloceſter* was ſomewhat raſh in his Words, 'yet they knew him to be of truly loyal Prin'ciples, really ſtudious of his Majeſty's and 'Realm's Happineſs, and that he would not act 'any thing prejudicial to either. Theſe words ſo much allay'd the King's Anger, that had not ill Inſtruments apply'd themſelves to blow the Coals afreſh, all Animoſities had been quite bury'd. But a little after, being inform'd by the Earls of *Nottingham* and *Huntington*, that the Duke of *Gloceſter* was much diſſatisfied that his own Counſels were not follow'd, and had utter'd many ſeditious Speeches, as, That the King was miſled by evil Counſellors, which he daily had about him; That he was not fit to govern, and therefore ought to be remov'd from his Throne; That he would undertake a Refor- Reg. 21.
mation of things; and to that end had conſpir'd with the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, and *Darby*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Abbot of S. *Albans*, and Prior of *Weſtminſter*, (which two laſt had encourag'd him in the Attempt, by pretending that it was reveal'd to them by a Viſion, that King *Richard* ſhould deſtroy the Kingdom by his miſgovernment) to take him and his whole Council, and puniſh them according to their demerits. Whether this were really ſo or not, our Hiſtorians are in doubt; yet 'tis certain, this Accuſation ſharpen'd the King's Anger ſo much againſt the Duke, that he entred immediately into a Contrivance with the ſaid Earls of *Huntington*, *Nottingham*, and others, to apprehend the Duke and his Confederates ſuddenly; and put them to Death. The Duke of *Gloceſter* was then at his Houſe at *Pelſhey* in *Eſſex*, and ſuſpected nothing of what was reſolv'd againſt him, and therefore was eaſily apprehended in this manner. The King himſelf with the aboveſaid Earls having laid an Ambuſh of arm'd Men in *Epping-Foreſt*, went with a ſmall Retinue to *Pelſhey* to the Duke of *Gloceſter*, whom finding in his Bed early in the Morning they raiſed, and pretending earneſt Buſineſs of State, drew him with them to *London*. The Duke in haſte poſted along with the King, and took only a Servant or two with him. When they came at the place of the Ambuſh, the King riding before, the Earl Marſhal arreſted him, and the Soldiers immediately ſeizing him, carry'd him blindfold to a Barge, put him on Shipboard, and convey'd him to *Calis*. He was either too Popular, or elſe too Innocent to be brought to a publick Tryal in *England*, and therefore he was

The Duke of Gloceſter apprehended and murther'd

[a] This Story is in *Grafton*, but is not very probable; for *Froiſſard* affirms, the Duke of *Gloceſter* was one of the Commiſſioners who concluded the laſt Treaty; by the Articles of which he had conſented, that the Caſtle and the Town of *Chierburgh* in *Normandy* ſhould be reſtor'd to the King of *Navarr* and the Duke of *Bretagne* their Owners.

A. D. 1397. remov'd to *Calis*; and after a formal or pretended Tryal before Judge *Rikell*, an *Iriſhman*, who ſent the King word, that upon his Examination he confeſſed all that was alledg'd againſt him, he was order'd to be executed by *Thomas Mowbrey* Earl Marſhal, who is ſaid to have been ſo unwilling to put him to Death, tho' he was aſſiſtant in apprehending him, that he would not do it till the King threaten'd him with Death if he did not execute his Orders. Whereupon he caus'd him to be ſmothered or ſtrangled privately, as if he were aſham'd to be ſeen an Inſtrument of ſuch a baſe Act. The ſeizure of the Duke of *Gloceſter* was carry'd ſo ſecretly, that there was no noiſe of it; and the King ſhew'd ſuch an even Countenance towards the Earls of *Warwick* and *Arundel*, that he invited them to Dinner with him as his greateſt Favourites; but while they were in their Mirth, he caus'd them to be arreſted, and carry'd immediately to the *Tower* to be kept cloſe Priſoners; the Lord *Cobham* alſo and Sir *John Cheyney* were at the ſame time apprehended, and ſent to the Iſle of *Wight*. Theſe Actions much amazed the People; and leſt they ſhould riſe for the Lords reſcue, a Proclamation was put out to aſſure the Nation, that they were ſeized for new Crimes which they had been found guilty of, and which ſhould be prov'd againſt them at the ſitting of the next Parliament, in which the Commons hoped they would have ſuch fair dealings, that every Man reſted contented, and did not doubt but if they were innocent they would be clear'd, and if guilty of any Crimes deſerving Death, 'twas fit they ſhould have their deſerts.

The Earls of Warwick and Arundel imprison'd in the Tower.

In the Interval, before the Parliament met, the King and his Friends were very buſie to lay a ſure train for the ruin of their Enemies, whom they had now got in their power; and to this end, firſt, certain of the Nobility, whom the King could beſt truſt, were ſuborn'd to impeach them of High-Treaſon, *viz.* *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*, *Thomas* Earl of *Nottingham*, and Earl Marſhal, *Thomas Holland* Earl of *Kent*, *John Holland* Earl of *Huntington*, *Thomas* Earl of *Somerſet*, *John Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, the Lords *Spenſer*, and *Scroop* Vice-Chamberlain, whoſe Honour and Greatneſs was thought enough alone almoſt to juſtifie a falſe Accuſation. Next, All Endeavours were uſed to procure ſuch a Parliament as might be ready to concur with the King's deſigns; and leſt the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *York* ſhould attempt any thing for the defence of their Brother the Duke of *Gloceſter*, whom they knew to be a Priſoner at *Calis*, or the Friends of the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick* ſhould undertake their Reſcue, the King provided a ſtrong Guard of *Cheſhire*-Men, and four thouſand Archers, beſides the Forces which he had order'd the Lords of his Party to bring with them, to attend and guard the Parliament, which might at the ſame time be an awe upon any refractory Members.

Twenty third Parliament, its Acts.

Theſe things being thus prepared, the Parliament was ſummon'd to meet at *Weſtminſter* about the middle of *September*, which it did accordingly. The Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *Gloceſter* doubting of their own ſafety, becauſe their Brother was impriſon'd, brought along with them a ſtrong Body of Men to defend themſelves, and were received into *London*, tho the King before had forbidden the Citizens to entertain them; but certain of the Nobility, who were ſent to them from the King, giving them Aſſurances that there was no ill intended againſt them, and that nothing ſhould be done againſt the Lords but with their Advice and Concurrence, ſo prevail'd with them that they diſmiſſed their Forces home. The Lords of the King's Party, *viz.* the Earls of *Darby*, *Marſhall*, *Rutland*, and *Northumberland*, the Lords *Spenſer*, *Henry* and *Thomas Peircys*, and *Scroop*, brought great Troops of arm'd Attendants, which they kept and lodg'd in the Towns about *London* all the Seſſion. It was open'd by *Edward Stafford* Biſhop of *Exeter*, then Lord Chancellor, who in a grave Speech deliver'd, 'That the King was of abſolute and in-'controulable Authority, inferiour to none but 'God; and that all Perſons that ſhall dare to 'leſſen or limit his Power, upon any pretences 'whatſoever, are worthy of Death, as wicked 'Traitors. Theſe Words within the Houſe, being ſeconded with the Guards without, were thought a manifeſt Indication, that not Law but arbitrary Power was to order matters that Seſſion. In the lower Houſe, Sir *John Buſby*, Sir *William Bagot*, and Sir *Henry Green*, the King's Creatures, had a ſtrong party, ſo that they could carry all things as they pleaſed. Sir *John Buſby* was choſen the Speaker of the Commons, and a Vote paſs preſently, 'That 'any one that ſhould be convicted of oppoſing 'the King's Power and Regality ſhould ſuffer 'as a Traitor. Theſe Foundations of Action being laid, the King by his Attorney preferr'd his Complaint of Rebellion and Treaſon againſt *Thomas* Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſeveral others, ſubmitting the Judgment of them, to the Parliament. Sir *John Buſby* having aggravated the Crimes and Ingratitude of the ſaid Peers, firſt required, That ſince the former Grace and Favour had wrought ſo little upon them, their Pardons might be revoked; which was accordingly done: And then he demanded Judgment upon them for their late Crimes, and particularly for Treaſon, in compelling the King to grant them a Commiſſion to govern the Realm; and upon the Archbiſhop for procuring the ſaid Commiſſions, and granting their Pardons. The Archbiſhop roſe up to make his Defence, but the King enjoyn'd him Silence till the next day, and then upon his Appearance in the Houſe he commanded him by the Biſhop of *Carliſle* to go home; and ſo he came to the Houſe no more. After his departure, the King having order'd the Biſhops to chooſe themſelves a Procurator, becauſe it was not lawful for them to be preſent in caſes of Blood, (whereupon they choſe Sir *Thomas Piercy*, and departed the Houſe) he granted a Commiſſion to ſeveral Peers, of which the Duke of *Lancaſter* was High-Steward, to examine and try them for all Crimes and Treaſons laid againſt them. The King had a little before prepared a large Building, like an Hall, open on all ſides but the Roof, for their Tryal, with Seats for himſelf, the Parliament, the Appellants and Defendants. When the Day of their Arraignment was come, and the Earls were brought out to their Examination, the Appellant Lords accuſed them as Traitors, for '1. Forcing the King to grant them a Commiſ-'ſion for the Government of his Realm. 2. For 'uſurping the Regal Authority in holding a Par-'liament in prejudice of the King's Royal Dig-'nity, under pretence of that traiterous Com-'miſſion. 3. For traiterouſly murthering Sir *Si-'mon Burley* and Sir *James Barniſh*, two of the 'King's faithful Leige-Subjects, without the 'King's conſent: And, 4. For raiſing a traite-'rous Inſurrection at *Haringey*-Park, and en-'tring arm'd with the Duke of *Gloceſter* and 'Earl of *Warwick* into the King's preſence; and

then

A. D. 1397.

'then severally flung down their Gloves, offering to justifie their Accusation by Fight. The Earl of *Arundel*, *Richard Fitz-Allen*, first answer'd, and boldly deny'd their Charge, saying, 'That he was not a Traitor in Thought, 'Word or Deed; and that what he had acted, 'either by Virtue of the aforesaid Commission, 'or while he was in Arms with the Duke of 'Gloucester and the Earl of *Warwick*, was not done 'with any ill Intention against the King's Person, but for the good of the King and his 'Realm, which he did not doubt but he could 'make good against any or all the Appellants 'by fight, if it would please the King to permit him so to vindicate his Innocency against 'their false Accusations. But because his Enemies had him now in their power, and his most innocent Actions would (as he very well knew) be construed in the worst sense; and what they had alledged as Treasons, they would make such, he added, as his firmest Plea, which he would abide by; that those very Acts, if Treasonable, were pardon'd to him by the King's Grace, and that not only more publickly with the Duke of *Gloucester* and Earl of *Warwick*, but he had a special and a particuler Pardon for himself. The Duke of *Lancaster* and Sir *John Busby* immediately reply'd, 'That both those 'Pardons were revoked by the King, his Lords, 'and his faithful People assembled in Parliament, and therefore could not avail him in 'this Case. The Earl reply'd, 'That the Revocation of his Pardon was not done by the 'People, for they lamented him, but by him 'and his Company, who love no faithful dealings. Then the Duke of *Lancaster* asked him if he had any thing farther to alledge for himself? But he said, 'The King's Pardon was 'freely granted him, and the benefit of it he 'hoped would not be deny'd him, for he insisted upon it. But that being over-rul'd, they proceeded to give Sentence upon him in this form: *I* John, *Steward of* England, *judge thee*, Richard, *to be a Traitor*; *and I condemn thee to be drawn and hang'd, beheaded and quarter'd*; *and thy Land, entail'd and not entail'd, from thee and from thine Heirs of thy Body descending to be confiscated*. This usual Sentence in Treason was, according to the Custom, by the King's Grace released to him in respect to his Blood, and he was commanded to be beheaded according to his Condemnation; which was executed upon him the same Afternoon upon *Tower-hill*, and his Body was interr'd in the *Austin-Fryars*-Church in *Broad-street*, *London*. This Noble Earl behav'd himself with much Courage and Calmness in his Sufferings. In his passage to his Execution he gave all the Money he had to the Poor, that he might carry their Prayers with him to his Grave. Several Lords attended him to his Execution, and among them three that were nearly related to him, the Earl of *Nottingham* that marry'd his Daughter, the Earl of *Kent* his Sisters Son, and the Earl of *Huntington*. These Men's forwardness he could not but take notice of, and therefore told them, 'It had been more decent for them to have 'been absent; but since they pleased themselves in his Misfortunes, he could foretel 'them, that their Miseries in a short time would 'be as remarkable as his then were. Then turning to the Executioner, he felt the Sword, and desired him to do his Office as carefully and speedily as he could; and kneeling down, his Head was separated from his Body at one Blow[a]. His Lands, which were Confiscated to the King, were annexed to the Earldom of *Chester*, which thereupon was advanced to a Dutchy[b]. His Death was much lamented by the Commons, among whom he was in very great esteem for Valour, and his Love of the common Good. Divers Reports were carry'd about, that Miracles were done by his Reliques, and that his Head was again miraculously cemented to his Body; which meeting with a good Opinion of him in Men's Minds, caused him to be honoured as a Martyr[c].

Earl of Arundel try'd and condemn'd.

Beheaded on Tower-hill.

A. D. 1397.

The Earl of *Warwick*, *Thomas Beauchamp*, was next brought to his Tryal, and accused of the same Heads of Treason. He answer'd for himself, 'That he never knew that it was Treason to ride so arm'd, as he confess'd he had 'done in *Haringey* Park; but since the Judges 'had declared it to be so, he begg'd the King's 'Pardon; and with many effeminate Tears besought the Nobles to intercede for him to his Majesty. The King asked him, 'Whether he 'acknowledged himself guilty of the Treason 'charged on him? The Earl answered, 'That 'he could not deny it, and wished he had never seen the Duke of *Gloucester* and Earl of 'Arundel, by whom he was led into it. Then the King having conferr'd a little while with the Duke of *Lancaster*, and received the Requests of several Peers to save his Life, told the Earl, 'That the ingenious Confession of his Fault had 'more pleased him then all the profit of their 'Lands could, and therefore he would pardon 'his Life. But his Estate was seiz'd upon for the King's use, and the Earl was banish'd into the Isle of *Man*, with an Allowance of four thousand Nobles a Year for his own and Lady's Maintenance; but it was so badly paid, that they are said to have liv'd there in great Poverty, which was so much the heavier to them, because of their old Age. The Lord *Cobham* and Sir *John Cheyney* were indicted, and condemned for the same Treasons; but by the Intercession of some of the Peers, their Lives were spared, and they were condemned to perpetual Imprisonment. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who had been summon'd to answer for the said Treasons, but was excused by the King, and pardon'd, with the Archbishop of *York*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and some others, was at the earnest Importunity of Sir *John Busby*, and the Commons of his party, banished, and his Temporalties seized into the King's hands, having six Weeks limited for his departure. While these Tryals of the Peers were carrying on, a Certi-

The Earl of Warwick try'd and banish'd.

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[a] The King was present at his Execution. *Froissard.*

[b] This Earldom was never advanc'd into a Dutchy. See *Camb. sub. Tit. Cheshire.*

[c] The People, who always pretend to be the best Judges of their Interest, and can distinguish their Friends from their Enemies, were ever ready to venerate the Memory of *Patriots*; and as they formerly reckon'd the Earl of *Lancaster* a Saint, so now they esteem'd the Earl of *Arundel* as a Martyr. Pilgrimages were daily made to the Place of his Burial in *Austin-Fryars*, *London*. A Rumour was spread about in those superstitious Times, that his Head was miraculously fix'd to his Body. The King knowing such Reports were design'd to reflect on his Justice, caus'd the Corps to be taken up and view'd ten Days after its Interment. He commanded the Ground where it lay to be pav'd in, and no mention to be made of the place; forbidding any Discourses in his favour. However, 'twas constantly aver'd for a Truth, that the King's Mind was disturb'd with the Horror of this Murther, and that he was haunted with an Apparition of his Ghost. 'Tis certainly true, that the Proceedings of this pack'd Parliament hasten'd the end of this King's Arbitrary Power in his Dethronement and Death.

ficate

A. D. 1397.

Duke of Gloceſter, tho' Dead, condemn'd.

ficate came from the Earl of *Nottingham* then Captain of *Calis*, that the Duke of *Gloceſter* was Dead, and Judge *Rikell* read a Confeſſion of ſeveral Treaſons owned and acknowledged by the Duke of *Gloceſter* under his own hand; whereupon at the Petition of the Appellants, the ſame Sentence was pronounc'd againſt him, tho' Dead, which was paſs'd upon the Earl of *Arundel*, but his Body was allow'd to be deliver'd to his Friends, by whoſe care it was convey'd to *Pleſhey*, and honourably interr'd in the Tomb which he had there prepar'd for himſelf in his Life-time in the Church.

After theſe Judgments paſſed on the Peers, the Parliament ſat ſome time, till near *Chriſtmas*, and paſſed ſeveral Acts relating to the preſent State of Affairs, *viz.* That all Benefices or Gifts granted or alienated by thoſe that were already condemn'd, or ſhould be hereafter condemn'd by this Parliament, granted ſince the tenth Year of this King, ſhould be revoked and made void. That all ſuch as gave either Counſel, Aid, or Favour, to the Children of ſuch as were or ſhould hereafter be condemn'd in this Parliament, ſhould be puniſh'd as Traitors. That all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal ſhould ſwear inviolably to obſerve whatſoever in this Parliament was enacted, and that the Cenſures of the Church ſhould be pronounced by the Prelates, againſt all thoſe that ſhould oppoſe or violate them. That all ſuch Perſons as ow'd any Moneys to *Rocheſter* Bridge[a], ſhould be deſtrain'd for the Payment of it for the uſe of the ſaid Bridge. In the time of this Seſſion, the King being deſirous to ſee the Forces of the City of *London*, cauſed them to muſter before him upon *Blackheath*. He alſo order'd, that the Arms of King *Edward the Confeſſor* ſhould be added to his own, and bare them together *parte per pale*. And then the Parliament was prorogued till after *Chriſtmas*, and appointed to meet at *Shrewſbury* on the *Quindene* of S. *Hilary*, Jan. 28.

1398. *Twenty-fourth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.*

The King having thus removed his Enemies, either by Death or Baniſhment, kept a triumphant and magnificent *Chriſtmas* at *Litchfield*, and at the time perfixed went to *Shrewsbury* to meet his Parliament. At his firſt Arrival he held a great Feaſt for all his Nobility and Commons, at which he created[b] five Dukes, a Dutcheſs, a Marqueſs, and four Earls, *viz.* *Henry Bullingbrooke* Earl of *Darby* he made Duke of *Hereford*, *Edward* Earl of *Rutland* Duke of *Aumerle*, and of *Corke* in *Ireland*; *Thomas Holland* Earl of *Kent* Duke of *Surrey*; *John Holland* Earl of *Huntington* Duke of *Exeter*; *Thomas Mowbrey* Earl of *Nottingham* and Marſhal Duke of *Norfolk*; the Lady *Margaret* Counteſs of *Norfolk*, Dutcheſs of *Norfolk*; *John* Earl of *Somerſet* Marquiſs *Dorſet*[c], *Thomas* Lord *Spenſer* Earl of *Gloceſter*; *Ralph* Lord *Nevil* Earl of *Weſtmorland*; *William* Lord *Scroop* Earl of *Wiltſhire*, and Sir *Thomas Peircy* Vice-Chamberlain Earl of *Worceſter*; to and among whom he diſpoſed of the greateſt part of the Eſtates of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, thinking thereby to oblige them more firmly to be his Friends. At this time he made the Earldom of *Cheſter* a Principality, and aſſumed to himſelf the Name and Title of the Prince of *Cheſter* to grace that Honour the more. And as the King ſought all means to ſtrengthen himſelf, and greaten his Power, ſo alſo did the Parliament; for they enacted, That the Commiſſions granted by the King to certain Noblemen to inquire into and reform Abuſes in the Realm, *Anno* 10. of his Reign, ſhould be repealed as extorted from the King by Threats, and that no ſuch Commiſſion ſhould be granted for the future; and that the Heirs of ſuch Perſons as had been ſentenc'd by the ſaid Commiſſion ſhould be reſtored to their Inheritances, Lands and Poſſeſſions, but ſhould not exact the Revenues of the Poſſeſſors from that time. 1. That it ſhould be high Treaſon for any Perſon whatſoever to compaſs or imagine the King's Death; 2. To contrive his Depoſition; 3. To ride armed, or make War againſt the King in his Realm; Or 4. to diſclaim the Homage due to him; and that the Heirs of all Perſons who were convicted of any of the ſaid four Articles of Treaſon, ſhould be for ever deprived of the Lands and Poſſeſſions of their Anceſtors, and ſhould not be allowed to have an Action of Claim for them. The King alſo obtained, that the whole Power of both Houſes ſhould for a time be put into the hands of certain Perſons nominated by himſelf, *viz.* *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*, *Edmund* Duke of *York*, *Edward* Duke of *Aumerle*, *Thomas* Duke of *Surrey*, *John* Duke of *Exeter*, *John* Marquiſs *Dorſet*, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Salisbury*, *March*, *Gloceſter*, and *Wiltſhire*, Sir *John Huſſy*, and ſome others. Theſe Men were enabled by Virtue of the ſaid Grant to hear and determine all Matters and Petitions not ended in the laſt Seſſion; and by Virtue of that Conceſſion, proceeded to conclude and determine almoſt what they pleaſed. In the end of the Seſſion the King had a Tenth and half of the Clergy, and a Fifteenth and a half of the Laity granted him, beſides the Cuſtoms of Wool at 50 *s.* a Sack of every *Engliſhman*, and 3 *l.* of every Stranger, and ſo the Parliament broke up; and a general Pardon immediately follow'd their Diſmiſſion, of all Perſons but fifty, not named, which was done to keep the Nobility in Awe, the King being at Liberty to except almoſt whom he pleaſed by that means.

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The King having thus eſtabliſh'd his Power, and put himſelf beyond all Oppoſition and Contradiction, thought himſelf ſecure and an abſolute Prince; but it being laid upon ſuch a Foundation as begat many Diſcontents among the People, all the Fabrick proved weak, and was ſoon followed with lamentable Ruin. The Parliament was indeed diſſolved, but there was ſtrange murmuring about ſeveral things that attended it and were done by it, as 1. That it was a Parliament not freely choſen, but pack'd by the King's Intereſts, conſiſting of Men impoſed on the Shires and Towns by the King's Authority. 2. That it was wholly managed by Court Favourites, and had bent all its Endeavours to deſtroy the Liberties and Privileges of the People. 3. That tho' the Duke of *Gloceſter* was ſo illegally murther'd, they were ſo far from puniſhing the wicked Actors, that they

Diſcontents about the laſt Parliament.

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[a] By this *Rocheſter* Bridge I ſuppoſe the Author means a Petition of the Commons to the King, that he wou'd be pleas'd to order three or four thouſand Marks to be diſtributed among thoſe Perſons that had been plunder'd at *Radcot* Bridge, when the Duke of *Ireland* was defeated by the Earl of *Darby*; for there is no mention of any Tax for *Rocheſter* Bridge in this Seſſion.

[b] Theſe Lords were created on *Saturday*, being *Michaelmas-Day*, *Anno* 1397. *Rot. Parl.* 21. *Rich.* II.

[c] Sir *John Hayward* in his Hiſt. of *Hen.* IV. ſays, the Earl of *Somerſet* was created Marquiſs of *Somerſet*, which is moſt likely, becauſe *Thomas de Beaufort* his younger Brother was afterwards in the thirteenth Year of *Hen.* IV. *Anno* 1412. made Earl of *Dorſet*. This Nobleman was the firſt that ever bore the Title of Marquiſs in *England*.

approved

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approved their Deeds. 4. That the Lords, who had deſerved well of the Nations, and were pardon'd all irregular Actions, were made guilty by an unpreſidented Power of revoking their Pardons. 5. That by diſannulling the Grants of the condemn'd Perſons, made ſo many Years before, they had deprived many honeſt and good Men, both Menial Servants of the ſaid Lords and others, of their lawful Inheritances and Eſtates. 6. That they had not only laid heavy Taxes upon the Nation themſelves, but had exalted the King's Authority to ſuch a pitch, and allow'd him ſuch a Power of acting, that he need not obſerve any Laws but his Will. Theſe things concurring with other Matters of Complaint in the King's Actions, partly grounded on the Grants of Parliament it ſelf, as his impoſing the Oaths ſo ſeverely on all Perſons to obſerve inviolably the Ordinances of it, and farming the Taxes to *Buſhy*, *Baggot*, and *Green*, who exacted them with the utmoſt Rigour and Severity; and partly on his own Management, as that he was prodigal in his Expences, lewd in his Behaviour, and partial in his Favours: That he diſcountenanc'd his ancient Nobility, and preferr'd ſuch Perſons to his neareſt Attendance as were neither eminent for Birth nor Virtue, on whom he beſtow'd the Revenues of the Crown, and impoveriſh'd the Nation by it: That he preferred ſuch of the Clergy to Biſhopricks and other Dignities of the Church, as either favour'd or joyn'd with him in his lewd Courſes. Theſe things alienated the Hearts of the People ſo much from him, that they lay expos'd to a Revolt upon the leaſt Temptation; of which an Occaſion ſhortly after happen'd after this manner, tho' it were ſome time before it was brought about.

Reg. 22. *The Conference between the Dukes of* Hereford *and* Norfolk.

The Dukes of *Hereford* and *Norfolk* riding between *Brainford* and *London*, and diſcourſing friendly among themſelves about Affairs of State, the Duke of *Hereford* having obſerved how faſt the People's Affections toward the King declined, freely deliver'd his Thoughts to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and told him, 'That the preſent Management and Miniſters were very 'diſtaſteful to the Nation in general; That 'the King was made odious by his mean and 'bad Counſellors, who not only raiſed the En'vy of the Nobles by enjoying the Favours 'which was their due, but gained him the Ha'tred of the People by their Conduct, which 'manifeſtly tended to their own, not the pub'lick Intereſt; and therefore he adviſed the 'Duke of *Norfolk*, who was a Privy-Counſellor, 'and had an eaſie Acceſs to the King's Ear to 'advertiſe the King of it, that he might by a 'prudent Alteration of things prevent the ill 'Conſequences which would certainly follow; 'adding, That it was not out of any ill Will he 'bore to the King, or an Humour of finding 'fault that he ſaid this, but out of a pure de- A. D. 1398.
'ſire of the Happineſs of the King and his Go'vernment. The Duke of *Norfolk* ſeemed to aſſent to the Duke *Hereford*'s words, as very neceſſary and good Counſel, and promiſed to repreſent them ſo fairly to the King, that they might have the Effect he wiſhed, and ſo they parted. The Duke of *Norfolk* was not unmindful of his Promiſe, but [a] being ſenſible how ungrateful a Meſſage it was to the King, or perhaps deſigning to ingratiate himſelf by the Report, he gave a very invidious [b] Relation of the Duke of *Hereford*'s Words to him, adding ſuch aggravating Expreſſions of his own inventing, as made them look like a Calumny both of his Majeſty and Government. The King, who was ever very impatient of Reproof, was extreamly enrag'd at the Duke of *Hereford*, and ſends for him to appear before the Council to anſwer the Accuſation brought againſt him by the Duke of *Norfolk*. The Duke of *Hereford* appeared, and having heard what the Duke of *Norfolk* had alledg'd againſt him, thank'd the King for his Favour in giving him Liberty to anſwer for himſelf, and then ingenuouſly confeſſed what he had ſaid, and with what Intention; but accuſed the Duke of *Norfolk* of perverting and miſrepreſenting his Diſcourſe, either out of Malice or Flattery, which he offer'd to juſtifie againſt the Duke of *Norfolk* by Combat, if the King would permit him. The Duke of *Norfolk* unwilling to undergo the Diſgrace either of recanting his words, or refuſing a Defence of them, ſtoutly avouched the Truth of his Relation, and [c] flinging down his Glove, accepted the Combat. The King was unwilling to grant their deſire, and endeavour'd to pacify the Contention between them by interpoſing with his Authority; but when nothing would prevail with them, the King in his Paſſion ſwore by St. *John Baptiſt*, That he would never more concern himſelf to make them Friends, and granted them a Combat to be fought on *Sept.* 17. at *Coventry* [d]. At the time appointed, the King order'd a ſtrong Stage to be erected for the Combatants; but having receiv'd Information, that the People were much diſcontented that the Duke of *Hereford*, a Valiant and Heroick Nobleman, ſhould be ſuffer'd to juſtifie his Innocency by the Hazard of a Combat, who might be ſo ſerviceable to the Nation, he permitted them to meet and bid Defiance of each of other; but before they fought, by the Advice of his Council, put an end to the Quarrel by a Sentence of Baniſhment to the Duke of *Hereford* for ten Years, as not wholly guiltleſs of the Calumny, and to the Duke of *Norfolk* for his Life, as having ſown Diſcord by his falſe Information between the King and his Peers, which was executed within a few days. The Duke of *Norfolk* went into *Germany*, and from thence to *Venice*, where he

The Duke of Norfolk *accuſes the Duke of* Hereford.

Both Dukes Baniſhed.

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[a] Sir *John Hayward* gives him his Character in little. *In former Times he had taken part with the Lords, but afterwards was deſirous to be accounted rather among the great Men than the good.*

[b] *Polydore Virgil*, the moſt unfaithful Hiſtorian that ever wrote of our *Engliſh* Hiſtory, has drawn the Modern Authors into an Errour, by affirming, That the Duke of *Norfolk* accus'd the Duke *Hereford*; whereas it appears on the contrary, on Record, *Placit. Coron. in Parl.* 21. *Richard* II. That on the 30th of *January*, *Henry* of *Lancaſter* came before the King with a Schedule in his hand and ſaid thus, *That having attended him before at* Haywood, *he there accus'd the Duke of* Norfolk *of ſlanderous Words, reflecting on his Majeſty, and now by his Command he repeated the ſame*; which Schedule is to be ſeen at large in the ſaid Records.

[c] 'Twas order'd by the King and the Dukes of *Lancaſter*, *York*, *Albemarl*, *Surrey* and *Exeter*, the Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, the Earls of *March*, *Salisbury*, *Northumberland* and *Gloceſter*, the Earls of *Worceſter* and *Wiltſhire*, Sir *John Buſhy*, Sir *Henry Green*, Sir *John Ruſſel*, Sir *Robert Tey*, Sir *Richard Chelmſwych*, and Sir *John Golofer*, Commiſſioners, appointed by the Parliament to decide the Diſpute, that the Determination of this Difference ſhou'd be according to the Laws of Chivalry. See the foremention'd Pleas of the Crown in Parliament, which Record fully confutes the Romantick Account of the Glove. The Order of the King and the Commiſſioners was made at *Oſwaldſtrue* in *Oſweſtre* in *Shropſhire*, on the 19th of *March*, and on *Monday* the 29th of *April* the two Dukes appear'd before the King at *Windſor*, where Battel or Duel was appointed between them, for want of other Proofs to determine the Difference.

[d] In *Auguſt*. Sir *John Hayward*.

through

A. D. 1398. through Melancholly and Trouble dy'd. The Duke of *Hereford* at his departure had four Years of his Baniſhment releaſed, when he took his leave of the King at *Eltham*; but being ſtill forced to leave the Kingdom for ſix Years, he went into *France*, and was honourably received in that Court by *Charles* the Sixth then King there [a].

The King fined ſeventeen Counties.

The Departure of the Duke of *Hereford*, *being the only ſurviving Perſon of the popular Lords who was likely to head a Faction againſt* the Court, gave Encouragement to more arbitrary proceedings of the King and his Miniſters than they had dared to attempt before. For ſoon after he was gone, the King impoſed a great Fine upon all the chief Inhabitants of ſeventeen Counties in the Eaſt parts of the Nation, becauſe they had ſided with the Duke of *Gloceſter* and Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick* againſt him; and having by his Agents induced the Noblemen and chief Gentry, as well Temporal as Spiritual, to acknowledge themſelves Rebels and Traytors, upon aſſurances of Pardon, he compelled them to ſecure their Pardon and his Favour for the future by ſubſcribing blank Charters, by which they obliged themſelves to pay ſuch Sums of Money to him as he ſhould think fit to require, which prov'd very heavy to many; for ſome were forced to pay a thouſand Pounds, and others a thouſand Marks, with like inſupportable Sums; commanding them alſo to take the Oath to maintain inviolable the Statutes of the laſt Parliament. This Oath, and

And extorts great Sums from the Londoners.

theſe Charters were very offenſive to the Citizens of *London*, and therefore they adviſed their Sheriffs, by whom they were order'd to be impoſed upon them, to withſtand them. The King was highly diſpleas'd with their refractory Oppoſition, and threaten'd a more then uſual Severity againſt them. But the new Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Roger Walden*, who was remov'd from being the King's Chaplain to that See about this time, and their old Friend *Robert Braybrooke* Biſhop of *London* ſo effectually interceded for them to the King, that he promiſed to forgive them, but did not do it, till by his blank Bonds and Charters which he ſent to all the richeſt Citizens, he had ſqueez'd great Sums out of them, as he had done from the Clergy and Gentry of the ſeventeen Counties, and other places before.

1399. On New-Years-Day the River near *Bedford*, which runs between *Swelſtone* and *Harewood*, divided it ſelf, and became dry for almoſt three Miles; and about the ſame time the Bay-trees, without any unuſual or extraordinary Cold, dry'd up and wither'd; which tho' not ſo much taken notice of at preſent, yet were thought afterward to portend the Changes of State which happen'd the enſuing Year. About *Candlemas* dy'd that great and illuſtrious Prince,

John *of* Gaunt *Duke of* Lancaſter *dy'd.*

John of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, fourth Son of *Edward* the Third, at the Biſhop of *Ely*'s Houſe in *Holborn*, and was honourably interr'd in St. *Paul*'s Church [b] on the North-ſide of the High-Altar, by his firſt Wife *Blanch*, the Daughter of *Henry* the Firſt, Duke of *Lancaſter*. By his Death the Dukedom of *Lancaſter* with all his other Honours and Lands deſcended to his eldeſt Son *Henry* Duke of *Hereford*, who was then in *France*; and ſo not being preſent to take poſſeſſion of his Inheritance, it was eaſily made a Prey to the Avarice of the Court *Harpye*. The King indeed had ſhew'd ſome Favour to the Duke of *Hereford* when he left his Country, and beſides the Releaſe of ſome of the Years of Baniſhment inflicted [a] by the firſt Sentence, he granted to him by his Letters-Patents [c] a power to ſue out by his Attorney *a Livery* to any Lands or Poſſeſſions, holding of the King *in Capite*, which ſhould or might befal him in his abſence, and a reſpite of his Homage, till he ſhould return, for a reaſonable Fine. But the rich Booty which was expoſed to their Pleaſure and Will by his abſence, ſo allured their deſires, that contrary to all Juſtice and Faith they perſuaded the King to revoke his Grant, and ſeize upon the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s whole Eſtate for the time of his Son's Baniſhment, which he made perpetual by their Advice, and thereupon diſpoſed of his perſonal Eſtate to and among his Favourites. This arbitrary and unkingly Action brought an Odium upon the King, not only from the Commons, who being factiouſly enamour'd with him, took every thing ill that was look'd upon as tending to his prejudice; but the Nobility themſelves, who began to doubt of their ſecurity under ſo eaſie a King, and ſuch covetous Counſellors. *Edmund* Duke of *York*, the only Uncle of the King that ſurvived, who ſeem'd not much concern'd at the Death of his Brother the Duke of *Gloceſter*, ſhew'd a great diſguſt at theſe Proceedings, and with his Son the Duke of *Aumerle* retired from Court to his Country-houſe at *Langley*, and others of the Nobility withdrew their Company from the King, becauſe they found it ungrateful. But tho' the Duke of *Hereford*'s Inheritance brought greater ſeverity upon him in *England*, yet it was a cauſe of his greater Preferment and Favour in *France*; for being there reputed to be one of the Richeſt by his Father's Death, as well as Braveſt Princes in the World for his Natural Courage, he was courted for a Match to the only Daughter of the Duke of *Berry*, the *French* King's Uncle, which was certainly a very great Honour to a baniſh'd Man. But King *Richard* having intelligence of the Deſign, and foreſeeing how much ſuch an increaſe of the Duke of *Hereford*'s Intereſt might prove prejudicial to him, diſpatched over the Earl of *Salisbury* immediately to hinder it by falſe Suggeſtions and a flattering Perſuaſion, that it would be a great Diſhonour to a Lady of the Royal Blood of *France* to be marry'd to an *Engliſh* Rebel and notorious Traitor; and ſo prevented the *French* King's Kindneſs to him. So great an Enemy was King *Richard* to the proſperous Fortunes of the Duke of *Hereford* both at home and abroad.

A. D. 1399.

King's Injuſtice to the Duke of Hereford *after his Father's Death.*

About the time of the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Death happen'd ſeveral things of Importance; the Earl of *Arundel*'s eldeſt Son, *Thomas Fitz-Allen*, who had been kept a cloſe Priſoner in the Earl of *Exeter*'s Houſe ever ſince his Father's Death, made his eſcape from his Confinement, and by the help of one *William Scott* a Mercer, got over the Sea to his Uncle, the late Archbiſhop of *Arundel*, then ſojourning at *Cullen*;

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[a] The Pleas before cited report, *That all this was done by the full Advice, Authority, and Aſſent of Parliament*, (that is, the Committee) and not by his abſolute Power, tho' he pretended to it, and was as fond of it as any of his Succeſſors. Sir *John Hayward* obſerves, *That the Sentence was given againſt the Duke of* Norfolk *the ſame Day of the Year wherein the Duke of* Gloceſter, *by his wicked means was ſtrangled at* Callis.

[b] Where his Tomb remain'd till the late general Conflagration, *Anno* 1666.

[c] He granted the ſame to the Duke of *Norfolk*.

the

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the Biſhop of *Chalcedon* alſo came into *England* out of *Greece* with Apoſtolical Letters from the Pope, exhorting all well-diſpoſed Perſons to aſſiſt the Emperor of *Conſtantinople* with a liberal Contribution of Money, that he might be able to defend *Chriſtendom* againſt the Inroads of the *Tartars*, and encouraging them to ſo important a Work by a plenary Pardon of their Sins; but another Accident hinder'd his Succeſs, and that was the Revolt of the *Iriſh*. For *Roger Mortimer* the Earl of *March* and *Ulſter* (who was lately declared Heir Apparent to the Crown, and made Lieutenant of that Nation) being beſieged at *Kenlis* by a very ſtrong Body of the wild *Iriſh*, was there ſlain in a Sally with many of his Men, and the *Engliſh* Towns left as a Prey to the Natives, who under *Obrian*, *Mackmore*, and others, committed great Barbarity and Spoil upon the King's Subjects there. The news of this Rebellion much diſturb'd the King and his Council, and put them into many Perplexities what to do; they had no Preparations for a War, and 'twould be a ſhame to the Nation to leave that Kingdom, which had coſt ſo much to conquer, and had been held ſo long by the *Engliſh*, in the hands of the Enemy: Whereupon it was at laſt reſolv'd, That the King ſhould raiſe an Army, and go over himſelf in Perſon to ſubdue them to their Obedience. Money was wanting, which is the Sinew of War; and therefore the Miniſters were forced to uſe many Exactions to raiſe a Sum to provide for the Expedition, partly borrowing upon the King's Letters-Patents of the Biſhops and others, and partly extorting it from thoſe that were unwilling to lend him; and tho' the Neceſſities of the Nation, and Intereſts of it might have been ſome excuſe for his Actions, yet his extravagant Expences in Peace, when wiſe Princes are to provide a Treaſure againſt War, were ſo good an Argument againſt his preſent Wants, that tho' he did indeed raiſe a conſiderable Army, yet it was with the extream Diſcontent of the whole Nation. In the Spring the King was ready to embark for *Ireland* with his Army, but leſt he ſhould leave his Queen in diſcontent for his departure, he celebrated ſolemn Juſts to divert her ſeveral Days; and about *Whitſuntide* ſet forward toward *Briſtol*, and in two hundred Ships paſſed from *Milford*-Haven in *Wales* with his Army into *Ireland*, and landed ſafely at *Waterford* on the laſt Day of *May*, having with him the Duke of *Exeter*, the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s and *Hereford*'s Sons, ſeveral Biſhops, the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, and many other Noblemen; and leaving his Uncle the Duke of *York* his Deputy in *England*, whom he had order'd to ſend *Edward* Duke of *Aumerle* with ſome Reinforcements to his Army, that he might not be too weak for the Enterprize, if the Troops he carry'd were not ſufficient. While the King remain'd at *Briſtol* he had ſome Information given him, that *Henry Piercy* Earl of *Northumberland*, and ſome other Noblemen, were contriving an Inſurrection in his abſence: Whereupon the King by his Purſuivant ſent to the ſaid Earl and his Aſſociates to attend him in this Expedition with all their Force they could gather together. The Earl of *Northumberland* return'd Anſwer, 'That it was not ſafe to draw 'away the Strength of the North to go againſt 'the *Iriſh*, whom a leſs Force than what he had 'with him was enough to ſubdue, becauſe by 'that means he ſhould expoſe thoſe Countries 'to the Injuries of the *Scotiſh* Borderers, who 'waited all Opportunities, as the King well 'knew, to make their Advantages of *England*, 'and were no longer Friends than they wanted 'a fair Occaſion to ſhew their Enmity with gain 'to themſelves; That ſince there was no Guard 'of thoſe appointed in his abſence, he hoped his 'Majeſty would be better adviſed than to require 'his Attendance, which would be a greater diſ'advantage to him at Home than his Service 'could profit him Abroad. This modeſt Anſwer was look'd upon by the King as a crafty Evaſion of his Command, and confirm'd him in his opinion that he was guilty of the Accuſation brought againſt him: Wherefore to deter him from any farther Attempts he ſeized upon his Eſtate, and proclaim'd him and his Aſſociates Traitors, and ſo departed into *Ireland*.

The Iriſh revolt, and the King goes over in Perſon againſt them.

The Earl of Northumberland accuſed of Treaſon, and his Eſtate confiſcated.

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The King being arriv'd in *Ireland*, ſtay'd ſome days at *Waterford* to refreſh his Army, and then march'd forward to *Kilkenny*, where he reſolv'd to ſtay ſome time for the arrival of the Duke of *Aumerle*, whom he daily expected. The King's Army ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the *Iriſh* Rebels that they dare not appear againſt him, but after their uſual manner kept cloſe in the Woods, and by Parties made their Aſſaults upon the *Engliſh*, as they happen'd to meet with Advantages. But the *Engliſh* being acquainted with their Artifices, went ſo well prepar'd for their Encounters, that they ſlew many of them. For *Jenico Dartois*, a valiant Captain under the King, in one Skirmiſh at *Ford* in *Kenlis*, ſlew two Hundred of them with the Soldiers under his Command; and the Citizens of *Dublin* invaded the Country of *Obrian*, and ſlew above thirty, with very little loſs. When the King had ſtay'd about a Fortnight at *Kilkenny*, and ſaw the Duke of *Aumerle* not come, he ſet forward and invaded the Country of the Arch-rebel *Mackmore*, who keeping in the Woods with about three Thouſand Men, little valued the King's Army. The King had two Thouſand five Hundred Pioneers with him to grub up the Woods, and open Paſſages for his Army, who were ſet to work, but could not by Art and Diligence come at him; ſo that the *Engliſh* rather ſuffer'd than gain'd by this Attempt, becauſe many of them were ſlain by *Mackmore*'s Men when they were foraging. The Uncle of *Mackmore*, and ſeveral of the *Iriſh* of better Note, came to the King with Wythes about their Necks, ſubmitted themſelves to his Mercy, and were pardon'd. This the King thought would be a good Example for *Mackmore* himſelf to imitate, and therefore invided him to come and accept of the ſame Mercy. But *Mackmore* underſtanding that the *Engliſh* could not long ſubſiſt in thoſe places for want of Proviſion, which could not be had by Force or Money, refuſed to ſubmit, but offered to lay down his Arms upon aſſurance of Indemnity for his paſt Offences, and to have his Liberty for the future. This Anſwer much enraged the King, ſo that he ſware he would not leave *Ireland* till he had *Mackmore* dead or alive; and being forced to retreat to *Dublin* to refreſh and victual his Army, took ſuch Courſes as he thought moſt effectual to obtain his ends: For firſt he publiſhed a Proclamation, wherein he promiſed a great Reward to any Perſon that ſhould bring *Mackmore* to him alive or dead; and after he had reſted and refreſhed his Army fifteen days, he divided it into three parts, and ſent them out to beſiege the Enemy on all ſides, and reduce them if poſſible. Juſt as the King had thus ſent out his Army, the Duke of *Aumerle* arrived with a great Reinforcement in an hundred Ships; and tho' his Delay was blame-

The King's arrival in Ireland, and Action there.

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worthy, yet the King received him with much Joy, and by the Conjunction of his Forces brought ſo many of the *Iriſh* into ſubjection, that had he not been call'd home, he had reduced *Ireland* into as intire Obedience as ever. But his Fate was now to rule no longer, and the Period of his Dignity came thus.

The Conſpiracy to depoſe King Richard, with the Reaſons and Cauſes of it.

The Nobility, Gentry, and Commons of the Nation having for ſeveral Years paſt been intolerably oppreſſed and ſlighted by the King and his Favourites, and now at the King's departure into *Ireland* vexed with unjuſt Exactions, began to long for Relief, and having an opportunity by the King's abſence to put their Deſigns in Execution, contriv'd to ſettle the Crown on another Head, which might govern them with greater Prudence as well as Mercy. The Earl of *Northumberland* and his Friends, who had ſuffer'd lately ſo deeply for ſuſpicion, were among the forwardeſt in this Action, hoping to regain their Loſſes by a real, which they had undergone for a ſuppoſed Inſurrection. The Perſon whom they thought fitteſt to weild a Scepter, tho' he had none, was *Henry* of *Bullingbroke* Duke of *Lancaſter* and *Hereford*. He had all the Qualifications fit to make an excellent King, as well as a Lineal Title to it. For he was the Son of *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, fourth Son of *Edward* III. and after the Death of *Roger Mortimer* lately kill'd in *Ireland*, next allied to the Crown [a]. He was a Prince of great Wiſdom, Courage and Experience, a Lover of the Commons, and a Friend to the Nobles, and having ſmarted ſo ſeverely by the Injuſtice and Cruelty of a bad King, was moſt likely to make a good one, by not laying thoſe unjuſt Impoſitions upon others Shoulders, when he found ſo heavy on his own. He was indeed in *France*, but would gladly have return'd home, if he ſafely might have done it before; how much more now, being invited by the People, and allured by a Crown: Wherefore they took up a general Reſolution to ſend for him with all the privacy and ſpeed poſſible, aſſuring him of their hearty aſſiſtance in ſettling upon him what they ſo much deſired he would accept. Theſe their Requeſts and Deſires they drew up into a Letter, and ſent it over by faithful Meſſengers to Archbiſhop *Arundel*, who was then in *Britain*, whom by Letters they alſo importun'd to be their Advocate with the Duke to comply with them. The Archbiſhop, being a Fellow-ſufferer, gladly accepted the Office, and went with the Meſſengers to the Duke of *Hereford* at *Paris*, where having obtained a Secrecy fit for a matter of ſuch Importance, they delivered their Letters from the Nobles and Commons of *England*, and the Archbiſhop ſeconded them with the beſt Perſuaſions which Reaſon could invent, or Rhetorick urge. He repreſented to him the Miſery of the preſent State of the *Engliſh* Nation, 'That they were utterly ruined and 'ſtroyed by the ill Management of the publick 'Affairs; in which tho' the King himſelf were 'not actually concerned; yet ſo long as he em-'ployed and upheld ſuch unfit Miniſters, he 'could not be thought fit to govern; That 'it is far more intolerable to be Slaves to mean 'Perſons than to the King himſelf, and there-'fore ſo long as the King could not be won 'from maintaining their Pride and Tyranny 'over his Subjects, it was hardly any Crime to 'depoſe that Perſon, who left his Power in ſuch 'baſe Hands; That the preſent Condition of the 'Nation was ſo low and diſtracted, that no-'thing but a preſent Remedy can ſave it from 'utter Ruine; for the ancient Honour of the 'Nation for Chivalry was degenerated into Ef-'feminacy, and the Men who were famous for 'their Courage and Conduct, either put to death 'or baniſhed, the Nobility is contemned and 'ſlighted, the Gentry abuſed, and the Commons 'miſerably polled and taxed, and that not to 'ſupport the Government, but the Pride and 'Avarice of their Fellow-Subjects; That the 'Relief of theſe Grievances could not be ex-'pected from any Hands but his reaſonably, 'not only becauſe he was ſo eminent for all 'warlike Atchievements, but becauſe he had ſo 'near a Relation to the Crown; and therefore 'the Nation had devolv'd their Hopes of Eaſe 'entirely upon him, which he in Honour and 'Duty ought to endeavour, eſpecially ſince 'they had reſolv'd to ſtand by him in the At-'tempt, and it could hardly prove unfortunate 'to him, where ſo much Love, Power, and In-'tereſt were united. The Duke, who had all the Reaſon in the World to hearken to theſe Propoſals, becauſe 'twas the only way left him to revenge the barbarous Death of his Uncle, recover his own Honour and his Eſtate, free himſelf of an uneaſie Baniſhment, and reſtore his Family and Children to their Natural Rights, yet was not ſo much enamour'd with ſo fair an Offer of a Crown, but he was very cautious of the Acceptance, and told them, 'That tho' he 'was ſenſible of the bad ſtate of things in *Eng-'land*, which ſtood in great need of a preſent 'Redreſs, and was much obliged to his Country-'men for their good Opinion of him, yet he 'was not unſenſible of the great danger in at-'tempting the depoſing of a King, and the fickle-'neſs of People's Affections; which tho' they 'might lead Men into hazardous Attempts, yet 'ſeldom held up to carry them through, and 'therefore could hardly think it prudent to truſt 'to them. He declared himſelf free from all 'ambitious and aſpiring Thoughts, being now 'of more ſtaid Years and Conſideration; and if 'he ſhould engage in ſo difficult an Action, 'twould be more for the Love of his Country 'than his own Honour; That tho' 'twas ſome 'motive to reſcue himſelf and Family from 'ruine, yet it was much greater to retrieve 'an whole Nation; and therefore ſince the No-'bles and Gentry had gone too far to retreat 'with ſafety, he would rather run the hazard 'of his own Life than deſert them; and ſo diſ-'miſſed the Meſſengers with promiſes of Ac-'ceptance if the Nobles and People of *England* 'would hold to their Petition [b]. This Anſwer, which was carry'd back with as great ſecrecy

The Duke of Lancaſter and Hereford ſollicited to take the Crown.

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[a] He cou'd not be ally'd to the Crown the nearer for *Mortimer*'s Death, that Lord having left a Son, *Edmund Mortimer*, who poſſeſs'd his Right.

[b] He objected to the Archbiſhop the Unlawfulneſs of the Deſign, to whom the Biſhop thus reply'd: *Examples of caſting a King out of his State are not rare (I wiſh I could affirm) nor long ſince put in practice, nor far hence to be ſetch'd. The Kings of* Denmark *and* Sweden *are oftentimes baniſhed by their Subjects, oftentimes impriſon'd and put to their Fine. The Princes of* Germany, *about an hundred Years paſt, depoſed Adolphus the Emperor, and are now in hand to depoſe their Emperor* Wenceſlaus. *The Earl of* Flanders *was a while ſince driven out of his Dominions by his own People, for uſurping greater Power than appertain'd to his Eſtate. The ancient* Britains *chas'd away their own King* Caractacus, *for the Lewdneſs of his Life, and Cruelty of his Rule. In the time of the* Saxon Heptarchy, Bernicia *King of* Mercia, *for his Pride and Stoutneſs towards his People was by them depos'd. Likewiſe* Alcredus *and* Ethelred, *Kings of* Northumberland, *were for their Diſorders expell'd by their Subjects. Since the Victory of the* Normans *the Lords endeavour'd to expel King* Henry *the Third, but they were not able; yet were they able to depoſe King* Edward *the Second*, &c. *Sir* John Hayward, Henry IV. p. 67.

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as Haſte, ſet the Nobles of *England* on work to raiſe what Men they could ready to receive him; and the Duke himſelf carrying the Matter very cloſely, obtain'd Leave of the *French* King to go and viſit the Duke of *Britain* his Kinſman, that he might paſs the more unſuſpected into *England*. Archbiſhop *Arundel*, and his Nephew *Thomas* Earl of *Arundel*, lately eſcap'd out of Priſon in *England*, the Lord *Cobham*, and ſome other Gentlemen of Note attended him. The Duke of *Britain* accommodated them with ſome Ships and Men for his deſign; but the Duke had ſo great Confidence in the *Engliſh* Nobles, that he would carry no Force along with him, but a ſmall Guard of thirty Lances [a]. From Port *Blanc* in *Britain* they ſet ſail for *England*, and being arriv'd, hover'd a while upon the Coaſts to obſerve in what Forwardneſs the Nobles were for his Reception, and where he might moſt ſafely Land. The Earl of *Northumberland* and his Friends, whoſe freſh Injuries had made them moſt zealous Enemies to King *Richard*, had ſo well diſpoſed the People of the North to the Duke of *Lancaſter*, that he eaſily found their Kindneſs to him; and thereupon Landed [b] at *Ravon Spurr* in *Holderneſſe* in *Yorkſhire*. The News of his Arrival was no ſooner ſpread Abroad, but the common People flocked in to his Aſſiſtance, and the Earl of *Northumberland* and his Son *Henry Hotſpur* [c], the Earl of *Weſtmorland*, the Lords *Nevill*, *Roſſe*, *Willoughby*, *Darcy*, *Beaumont*, and many other Perſons of Honour, with a conſiderable Body of Men, came to him; inſomuch, that in a very few Days his Army was grown to near ſixty Thouſand well accouter'd and able Men.

The Duke of Lancaſter's Paſſage and Landing in England.

The Duke of York gathers an Army againſt the Duke of Lancaſter.

The Duke of *York*, who was the Governour of the Nation in the King's abſence, had Intelligence of theſe things, and like a Perſon faithful to his Truſt, took the moſt effectual means to meet the impending Danger; and calling the King's Council together, propounded it to them, to conſult by what ways they might ſecure the Nation in its Obedience to their King, and prevent the Deſigns of the Invader. The chief Men of the Council were *Edmund Stafford* Biſhop of *Exeter*, Lord Chancellor [d]; *William Scroop* Earl of *Wiltſhire*, Lord Treaſurer; *John Buſhy*, *William Baggot*, *Henry Green*, and *John Ruſſel*, Knights. Theſe Men, upon deliberate Thoughts, reſolved, That it was beſt to leave *London*, which had been lately diſoblig'd, and had always been inclined to the Lords Party, and raiſe an Army about St. *Alban's*, for the Defence of the King and Nation, with which they might oppoſe the Duke of *Lancaſter* either at his Landing, or before he had gotten a Body of Men together to his Aſſiſtance. This Advice was immediately put in Execution, and an Army of Men, whoſe Loyalty put them upon that Service, gotten together; but when they underſtood that they were to fight againſt the Duke of *Lancaſter*, they unanimouſly declared that they would not oppoſe him, becauſe his Quarrel was ſo juſt, and they believed he ſought not the Crown, but the Reſtitution of his Right, which it would be the higheſt Injuſtice to keep him from. This Anſwer quite diſcourag'd the King's Friends, for they eaſily ſaw their Army, tho' in number ſufficient to have done much, yet was not to be truſted to; and therefore diſmiſſing it, betook themſelves to other ways for their Security. The Duke of *York* and Biſhop of *Exeter* kept a good Body of Men with them [e], but the Lord *Scroop*, *Buſhy*, and *Green*, fled to *Briſtol*, and fortified themſelves in the Caſtle; *Baggot* went to *Cheſter*, and ſo eſcap'd into *Ireland*.

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The Duke of *Lancaſter* and *Hereford*, who had found Fortune even to out-go his own Wiſhes, was invited to proceed in his Attempt by it; and therefore having taken an Oath to the Lords, 'That he would neither procure nor permit any 'bodily Harm to be done to King *Richard*; That 'he would require only the Lands which were 'deſcended to him by Inheritance from his Fa'ther, and in Right of his Wife; That he would 'obtain, that the Commons ſhould be eaſed of 'their Taxes and Subſidies, cauſe the King to ſend 'home his Guard of *Cheſhire* Men, and bring 'him to a better Order of Government; he 'made all the haſte he could to *London*, the Me'tropolis of the Nation, of which if he could 'get the Poſſeſſion, he ſhould eaſily maſter 'the reſt. In his Paſſage his Army daily increaſed, partly through the general Inclination that the People had to him, and partly through the Encouragement that Archbiſhop *Arundel* gave them by his Pardons from the Pope, promiſing Remiſſion of all their Sins to ſuch as would aſſiſt the Duke againſt his Enemies. The Duke of *York* had gotten an Army to oppoſe the Duke of *Lancaſter* in his March thither, but they would not Fight againſt him; and ſo he was forced to paſs by him to meet the King at his Landing in *Wales*. At *London* the Duke of *Lancaſter* was received with all Demonſtrations of Joy, ſuitable to the Expectations they had of him: The coſtlieſt Entertainments by Feaſting, Pageants, and Proceſſions, were thought too little Expreſſions of their Happineſs by his Preſence; and as if their Allegiance were tranſferred to him only, they beſtow'd all their good Wiſhes and Promiſes on him, leaving nothing for King *Richard* but Railings and Curſings. The Duke by his abode here, having ſecur'd the City on his ſide, had little to do but to purſue the Enemies of the common Good; and therefore bent his Courſe to *Briſtol*, where the three chief Inſtruments of the Nation's Miſery had fortified themſelves, ſending Parties on all ſides to ſeize and plunder the Perſons and Eſtates of all ſuch as did not join with him and his Confederates. The Duke and his Army beſieged the Caſtle of *Briſtol*, and after four days Siege took it by force, with the Lord *Scroop*, *Buſhy*, and *Green* that held it. The Hatred of the People to them would bear no delay of their Puniſhment, wherefore being arraign'd before the Conſtable and Marſhal, they were found guilty of Treaſon in milleading the King, and were immediately Beheaded. The Duke of *York* after this Execution, became the Duke's Friend and chief Counſellor. The Parties arreſted the Biſhop of *Norwich*, Sir *William Elmham*, and Sir *Walter Burley*, *Lawrence Drew*, and *John Goloſer*, Eſquires; and ſo what through Fear, and what through Affection, the whole Nation ſeem'd in a manner ſubdu'd to the Duke. From *Briſtol* he went to *Cheſter*, which receiv'd him with Proceſſions, and yielded their Charter up to him: From hence he ſent his Son into *Ireland*, with the Duke of *Gloceſter's* Son, but in their Paſſage the latter was drown'd.

The Duke of Lancaſter marches to London.

While theſe great Changes were working in *England*, the King was in *Ireland*, and had no Intelligence of it; for the *Iriſh* Seas were ſo

[a] Fifteen Lances. *Ibid.* [b] About the beginning of *July*. [c] Sir *Henry Pierc*.
[d] Biſhop of *Chicheſter*. Sir *J. H.* The Biſhop of *Exeter* was in *Ireland* with the King. *Walſ.* [e] *He gave over the Cauſe.* Ib.
[f] He dy'd of the Plague at *Cheſter*. See *Thin's* Collection of Conſtables, and *Gower's* Verſes in *Holinſhead*, p. 867.

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tempeſtuous for near ſix Weeks, that no Veſſels could paſs them: So that, as if Providence had favour'd the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Attempt, he met with little Oppoſition before he was ſettled in *England*. The News of it at laſt arriv'd, and put the King into ſtrange Agonies and Perplexities: Something was neceſſary to be done, but what would avail him was paſt humane Invention to contrive. The beſt Advice that could be given him was what himſelf propounded, *viz.* That he ſhould haſten with his Army into *England*, and give the Duke of *Lancaſter* Battel, before his Friends were united with him; and in the mean time he would impriſon the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Son *Henry*, and the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s Son *Humphrey* in the Caſtle of *Trim*. But the Duke of *Aumerle* (whether out of Deſign, or Ignorance is uncertain, tho' his Revolt afterward makes the former moſt credible) earneſtly perſuaded the King not to go himſelf into *England*, till the whole Fleet was ready, which it might be in few Days, and to ſend ſome of his Friends before to gather him an Army, that he might not be in Danger at his Landing. This Counſel the King accepted, and accordingly *John Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury* was ſent before to prepare an Army of *Welſh* and *Cheſhire* Men againſt his Arrival, which he promis'd ſhould be within ſix Days. The Earl landed at *Conway* in *Wales*, and by his Zeal for the King's Service, and ſending Letters to the Genlemen of thoſe Countries, which he had heard or knew to remain Loyal, raiſed an Army of forty thouſand Men, ready to march with the King againſt his Enemies, if he had met them according to his promiſe. But when the Earl of *Salisbury*, who led them to attend the King at the time appointed, ſeemed to deceive them; and ſome had raiſed a Report, That the King was dead in *Ireland*, the whole Army was ſo poſſeſs'd with the Fears or Belief of it, that they would not by any Arguments the Earl could uſe be perſuaded to begin any Action, till they ſaw the King, but were contented to ſtay fourteen Days longer for his Arrival; in which time, if it did not happen, they would depart home, as indeed they did, becauſe the King did not leave *Ireland* till eighteen Days after the Earl left him, and was three Days in his Paſſage. The King with the Dukes of *Aumerle* and *Exeter*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Lincoln*, and *Carliſle*, with divers other Nobles, landed at *Milford* Haven in *Wales*, and leaving the Forces which he had brought out of *Ireland* with the Duke of *Aumerle* at *Milford*, went in a diſguiſe to *Conway* to ſee what Army the Earl of *Salisbury* had got ready to receive him; but he found, that his Delays had robb'd him of his Friends to his great Grief, which he with the Earl of *Salisbury* much lamented. While the King was gone to *Conway*, the Duke of *Aumerle* ſhew'd the Falſeneſs of his Heart by his Actions; for giving it out, that the King had quite left his Army and was fled, he diſmiſſed every Man to provide for his own Safety, and fled himſelf with five Hundred to the Duke of *Lancaſter*. *Thomas Peircy* Earl of *Worceſter* alſo, who was Steward of the King's Houſe, brake his Staff in the midſt of the King's Servants, and ſo diſſolv'd the King's Family, and fled with him. But the *Cheſhire* Men were not corrupted by theſe ill Examples of others, they went to *Conway* to the King; where meeting with others of their Countrymen, they made a conſiderable Army, and were reſolved to maintain the King's Right againſt the Duke and his Adherents unto Death. But King *Richard* having heard, That all the Caſtles from the Borders of *Scotland* unto *Briſtol* were deliver'd up to the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and that all Lords, Gentry, and Commons of the North and South Parts of the Nation had joined themſelves with him, and that his truſty Friends and Counſellors had loſt their Heads at *Briſtol*, he deſpair'd of all Succeſs; and calling his Army together, licens'd them to depart to their Homes, chuſing rather to ſubmit himſelf to the Mercy of the Duke, than hazard the Lives of his Loyal Subjects in vain: And ſo he with the Dukes of *Exeter* and *Surrey*, the Biſhop of *Carliſle*, Sir *Stephen Scroop*, and about ten more of his faſt Friends, betook themſelves to the Caſtle of *Conway* to the Earl of *Salisbury*, reſolving to keep themſelves there till he could gain better Terms and more Security.

The News of the Duke of Lancaſter's Invaſion of England carry'd to the King in Ireland.

K. Richard Lands at Milford Haven.

The Caſtle of *Conway* was not only very ſtrong in it ſelf, but ſituated ſo upon the Sea-ſhore that the beſieged might eaſily eſcape into *Ireland*, if ſtreighten'd by a Siege. Theſe Advantages the King had ſo well ſecur'd, that he fear'd not all the Force of his Enemy the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who was haſtening with all his Army towards him, being the only Caſtle of moment which held out againſt him. The Duke was not inſenſible of the Impoſſibility of getting the King into his Power by Force, ſo long as he held this Caſtle; and therefore called a great Council of the Peers which adhered to him, to have their Advice how they ſhould get the King into their Power. Force of Arms was generally agreed upon to be of little Uſe in ſo mountainous a Country, and againſt ſo ſtrong a Fortreſs; wherefore it was adviſed by Archbiſhop *Arundel*, that the King who was always ſimple and credulous, ſhould be dealt withal by Policy; and ſince he had lately ſent the Dukes of *Exeter* and *Surrey* to know of the Duke of *Lancaſter* what he intended, and deſir'd that certain Meſſengers ſhould be diſpatch'd to the King from the Duke with this Anſwer to his Demand, 'That he 'ſought nothing but a peaceable Settlement of 'things for the Good of the Nation, and that if he 'would be pleaſed to call a Parliament, where-'in thoſe who had barbarouſly murthered, or 'adviſed the Death of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, 'ſhould be puniſh'd, and other Irregularities of Government reformed, he and the 'Duke would be good Friends; only the Duke 'ſhould have his Pardon of all Offences granted 'upon his begging of it upon his Knees, and en-'joy the Office of High Judge, as his Anceſtors 'had it for an hundred Years, to himſelf and 'Poſterity. The whole Council approv'd of this Advice as moſt politick and ſure, and accordingly the Duke ſent the Earl of *Northumberland* with four hundred Lances, and a thouſand Archers, to deliver the ſaid Meſſage to the King. In his way the Earl had the two Caſtles of *Flint* and *Rutland* deliver'd up to him: When he came at a narrow Paſſage near the Town, he divided all his Men into two Ambuſhes, and plac'd them under a Rock, charging them to keep it; and ſo he with five Men only in his Company went to the Town, where as ſoon as he arriv'd, he ſent an Herald to the King to declare, That he was ſent by the Duke about an Agreement between them, and deſir'd to have ſafe Conduct granted him. The King not ſuſpecting any Deceit, immediately gave him Licenſe, and the Earl paſſing over the Water, enter'd into the Caſtle, where he found the King and the Earl of *Salisbury*, to whom he deliver'd his Meſſage with much Serioufneſs, and after confirm'd it with a ſolemn Oath taken upon the Sacrament, that the Duke ſhould perform what

The King diſmiſſes his Army, and betakes himſelf to Conway Caſtle.

A politick Contrivance to get the King into the Duke of Lancaſter's Hands.

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he had promiſed in his Name, and if the King pleaſed to go to the Duke and confirm theſe Propoſals, he ſhould depart whether he pleaſed afterwards. The King not believing that Treachery could lurk under ſuch holy and ſacred Oaths, no ways compell'd, agreed to meet the Duke and ſettle this Agreement, intending to paſs afterwards into *Wales*, and provide an Army to ſecure himſelf againſt all future hazards. The Earl having obtained his deſires, haſten'd the King away with him to the Duke; and having got him on Horſeback, with the Earl of *Salisbury*, Biſhop of *Carliſle*, Sir *Stephen Scroope*, and Sir *William Feribee*, who attended him, rode along with him to conduct him. The King deſired the Earl of *Northumberland* to ride before to *Rutland* to provide them a Dinner, which he ſeem'd diligent to obey, and rode apace from them; but went no farther than his Ambuſhes, to whom giving Notice of the King's approach, and commending their Order, he ſtaid till the King came up, who ſeeing ſuch a company of Men with the Earl, found that he was treacherouſly enſnar'd and betray'd; but he had no way to eſcape their Hands, being on all ſides incloſed with Rocks. The Earl ſeeing the King ſurpriz'd, went to him, and kneeling down to him, told him, That they were a Guard which he had appointed to attend his Perſon; but the King retorted, That they were needleſs, and contrary to his promiſe, who had aſſured him that he would not have above ſix Perſons with him; and in an Anger ſaid, he would return to *Conway*; but the Earl was then more plain with him, and ſaid, That ſince he had him in his Power, he would now carry him to the Duke of *Lancaſter*, as he had engaged to do ten Days ſince. The King, tho' unwilling [a], was forced to go forward, and dining at *Rutland*, was conducted to *Flint*-Caſtle that Night to lodge. The next Morning the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who had Notice of the King's Arrival at *Flint*-Caſtle, drew up his whole Army, conſiſting of an hundred Thouſand Men, round about the Caſtle; and having firſt ſent the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Sir *Thomas Peircy*, and the Earl of *Rutland*, to the King in the Morning, to prepare and diſcourſe him, the Duke himſelf waited on him in the Afternoon. The King received the Duke with much Calmneſs and Obligingneſs; and when the Duke told him firſt, that he came to obtain the Reſtitution of his Honours and Lands through his favourable Permiſſion; the King reply'd, That he was ready to accompliſh his Will; and when he farther added, That ſince the People complain'd of his rigorous Government for theſe two and twenty Years, he was now reſolv'd to help him to govern better. The King anſwer'd, Fair Couſin of *Lancaſter*, ſince 'tis your Will to do ſo, it pleaſeth me well. The Duke alſo ſpake to the Biſhop of *Carliſle*, Sir *Stephen Scroope*, and Sir *William Feribee*, but took no Notice of the Earl of *Salisbury*, who thence gather'd the Duke's deadly hatred to him. After this diſcourſe was over, the Duke order'd the King's Horſes to be brought out, and being mounted with his Friends, conducted him that Night to *Cheſter*, where he was kept in the Caſtle under the Care of the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s [b] and Earl of *Arundel*'s Sons, who hating him for putting their Fathers to Death, would be more watchful to keep him for the Day of their hoped Revenge. From *Cheſter* he was remov'd by *Nantwich* to *Newcaſtle* in *Staffordſhire*, where the old Earl of *Warwick*, recalled from his Baniſhment in the Iſle of *Man*, met him to upbraid his Severity to him. From hence he was brought by *Stafford* to *Litchfield*, and being lodg'd in the Caſtle had like to have eſcaped out at a Window, but was diſcover'd and put under greater Security. From hence he was carry'd in a few Days through *Coventry*, *Daventry*, *Northampton*, *Dunſtable*, and St. *Albans*, to *London*. When the Duke was come within ſix Miles of *London*, the Mayor and Companies in their Liveries, with Trumpets ſounding, met him, and paid him much more Reverence than the King himſelf. When the Duke came within leſs than two Miles of the City, he made a pauſe, and enquired of the Citizens [c] what he ſhould do with the King? Who anſwer'd, That he ſhould be kept at *Weſtminſter*; but he ſtay'd only one Night there, and was convey'd the next Day to the *Tower*, to be kept a cloſe Priſoner till the meeting of the next Parliament. Several Citizens had contriv'd to kill him as he paſs'd through the City; but the Mayor and Aldermen having timely Notice of their Deſign, did by their Vigilance and Care prevent it, and reſerv'd him to a more miſerable Fate.

The King taken by the Earl of Northumberland's *Treachery, and carry'd to the Duke of* Lancaſter.

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The Duke of *Lancaſter* remain'd ſome Days in the City, at the Biſhop of *London*'s Palace and St. *John*'s Hoſpital without *Smithfield*, and then retired for ſome time into *Hertfordſhire*; and having at his firſt coming to *London* iſſued out Writs [d] in the King's Name to ſummon a Parliament to meet on the laſt Day of *September*, was extreamly buſie in Conſultations with his Friends [e] how to order Matters in this critical Seſſion. It ſeems that it was fully reſolv'd among them, that King *Richard* ſhould no longer govern the Nation, but the moſt plauſible Methods of depriving him was thought worthy of Conſultation. Many things were propounded, but the Duke of *York*'s Advice was follow'd, who thought it beſt, that King *Richard* ſhould both voluntarily reſign his Throne, and be ſolemnly depoſed by the Parliament too; becauſe, as he ſaid, tho' the Judgment of Parliament may make him thought worthy to be depoſed, yet his Deprivation will never be juſt, unleſs he joyn'd in a Reſignation. This Advice was much approv'd, and accordingly put in Execution; for the Day before the Parliament met, which was on the Feaſt of St. *Michael*, there aſſembled in the Tower *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Richard Scroope* Archbiſhop of *York*, *John* Biſhop of *Hereford*, *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Ralph* Earl of *Weſtmorland*; the Lords *Burnell*, *Barkley*, *Roſſe*, *Willoughby*, and *Abergevenny*; the Abbot of *Weſtminſter* [f] and Prior of *Canterbury*; *William Thirnings* and *John Markham*, Chief Juſtices; *Thomas Stoke* and *Thomas Burbach*, Doctors of Law; Sir *Thomas Harpingham* and Sir *Thomas Gray*, *William Ferly* and *Dennis Lopham*, Publick Notaries. When they were ſet in their places;

Conſultations to depoſe King Richard.

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[a] The King deſir'd to talk with the Duke, *Sir J. H.* The ſame Author affirms, That when the Archbiſhop and the Lord *Northumberland* came to him at *Conway*, he relinquiſh'd his Sovereignty at the firſt meeting. *Life of* Hen. IV. p. 83.

[b] The Duke of *Glouceſter* had but one Son, *Humphrey* Earl of *Buckingham*, who was not then arriv'd in *England*, where, as we have ſaid before, he dy'd ſoon after of the Plague.

[c] The Author of a Manuſcript Hiſtory in the Library at *Lambeth*, who was preſent at the firſt Enterview between the Duke of *Lancaſter* and King *Richard* at *Flint*-Caſtle, and accompany'd the former in his March to *London*, writes, That when he came near the City the Recorder and many Perſons of Quality waited on the Duke to deſire him to *Cut off King* Richard's *Head*, and the Heads of thoſe that were with him. The Duke anſwer'd, *'Twould be an eternal Reproach to him if he granted their Requeſt, but they ſhould be left to the Judgment of the Parliament.*

[d] He iſſu'd out theſe Writs at *Cheſter*. *Rot. Clauſ.* 23. *Rich.* 2.

[e] Of whom the Duke of *York* his Uncle was principal.

[f] This Perſon was one of King *Richard*'s chief Favourites.

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the King was brought forth in his Regal Habiliments, and being placed in a Chair of State, he read the form of his Reſignation to this Effect:

K. Richard's Reſignation.

In the Name of God, Amen, I Richard *by the Grace of God King of* England *and* France, *and Lord of* Ireland, *do hereby acquit and diſcharge all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls, Barons, Lords, and all other my Subjects, both Spiritual and Secular, of what degree ſoever, from their Oath of Fealty and Homage, and all others Bonds of Allegiance to me due both from them and their Heirs, and do hereby releaſe them from the ſaid Oaths and Allegiance, ſo far as they concern my Perſon for ever. I alſo reſign all my Kingly Majeſty and Dignity, with all the Rights and Privileges thereunto belonging, and do renounce all the Title and Claim, which I ever had or have to them. I alſo renounce the Government of the ſaid Kingdom, and the Name and Regal Highneſs thereunto belonging freely and wholly, ſwearing upon the Evangeliſts that I will never oppoſe this my voluntary Reſignation, nor ſuffer it to be oppoſed, as judging my ſelf not unworthily deprived of my Regal Dignity for my deſerts.* This Reſignation King *Richard* read with much chearfulneſs and calmneſs, as if he had gladly parted with the Burthen, not Honours of a Crown, and then ſigned and ſubſcribed it in their preſence, deſiring that his Couſin the Duke of *Lancaſter*, on whoſe Finger he put his Signet, might be his Succeſſor, and appointing the Archbiſhop of *York* and Biſhop of *Hereford* to be his Procurators, to declare and ſhew this his voluntary Reſignation to all the States of Parliament, and his deſire that his Couſin the Duke of *Lancaſter*, ſhould ſucceed him in his Throne. And this done, they took their leave of him.

The *Monday* following the Parliament met and after the Archbiſhop of *York* and Biſhop of *Hereford* had declared in the King's Name, that he voluntarily had reſigned his Regal Dignity and Power, which they all both Lords and Commons agreed to and accepted, they proceeded to his Depoſition; and in order to it digeſted all the Miſdemeanours of his whole Reign, as far as they could call them to mind, into 33 Articles of Accuſation, alledging againſt him, 'That he 'had waſted the Publick Treaſure, and given 'away the Poſſeſſions of the Crown to Perſons 'of no merit; That he had impeached certain 'Lords of Treaſon for treating of Matters concerning the State of the Nation, tho' appointed 'to it by Parliament; That he had forced the 'Judges to give their Opinions contrary to Law 'for the deſtruction of the Lords; That he had 'puniſhed the Lords, and fined their Attendants 'for Crimes pardon'd by his Proclamation and 'Charter; That he had detain'd Records of ne'ceſſary concern for the good of the Nation; 'That he had unjuſtly baniſh'd the Duke of *Lan'caſter* and *Hereford*, and forbad all his Friends 'to ſue for his return; That he had procured 'Bulls from the Pope to force his Subjects to ob'ſerve Laws made for his own ends; That he 'forbad the Duke of *Hereford*'s Proxies to pro'ſecute or defend his Cauſe, notwithſtanding his 'Grant to him under Seal; That he put out di'vers High-Sheriffs duly elected, and put in his 'Favourites, and kept them in that Office longer 'than uſual; That he borrow'd great Sums of his 'Subjects, and would not pay them; That he 'taxed his Subjects at his pleaſure, and would not 'pay them for Proviſions had of them; That he 'ſaid, *All Law was in his own Breaſt and Head, 'and the Lives of his Subjects were in his Hands*; 'That he put out Knights and Burgeſſes duly 'elected for the Parliament, and put in Men for 'his own turn; That he had extorted ſeveral 'Sums of the Clergy at his going into *Ireland*, 'contrary to Law; That he deviſed certain new 'Oaths, and forced his Subjects to take them; 'That he baniſhed the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* 'without juſt Cauſe, and gave his Goods to his 'Succeſſor, on condition he ſhould obſerve the 'Statutes made at *Shrewsbury* and *Coventry*; with other Miſdemeanours of leſs Importance. Theſe Articles being compoſed in Form and Engroſſed, were brought into the Houſes, and being read, it was demanded of the Lords and Commons, what their Judgment was concerning them? They reply'd, That they were notorious Crimes, and that King *Richard* being manifeſtly found guilty of the ſame, was worthy to be depoſed from his Royal Authority and Dignity; and thereupon Commiſſioners were appointed by both Houſes to pronounce a Sentence of Depoſition againſt him in the Manner and Form following.

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In the Name of God, Amen. We, John *Biſhop of* Aſaph, John *Abbot of* Glaſſenbury, Thomas *Earl of* Gloceſter, Thomas *Lord* Barkley, *Sir* Thomas Erpingham, *and Sir* Thomas Gray, *and* William Thirning *Juſtice, Commiſſioners ſpecially choſen by the three States of this preſent Parliament, repreſenting the whole Body of the Realm for all Matters by the ſaid States to us committed, conſidering the manifold Perjuries and Cruelties, notorious Crimes and Offences, by* Richard *late King of this Realm committed and done, contrary to the Laws and good Government of the Kingdom, during the time of his Reign, as was made manifeſt to the whole Body of Parliament by ſeveral Articles exhibited againſt him, and by his own Confeſſion of his own Inſufficiency, and Miſdemeanours of Government: We the Premiſſes well conſidering, do by the Power and Authority to us committed, in the Names of all the ſaid States, pronounce, decree and declare the ſaid* Richard *unworthy of the Rule and Government of the ſaid Realm, and for the ſaid Cauſes do deprive him of all Kingly Dignity and Worſhip, expreſsly forbidding all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls, Barons, and Knights, and all other Perſons within this Kingdom, of what Quality or Degree ſoever, from this Day forward to be Obedient or Attendant on the aforeſaid* Richard *as King and Lord of theſe Realms.* This Sentence of Depoſition being pronounced, the ſaid Commiſſioners in the Name of the Parliament reſigned unto King *Richard* all their Homage and Fealty, which in time paſt they had made or did owe unto him; and ſo King *Richard* was look'd upon as wholly depriv'd of his Regal Power and Kingdoms.

K. Richard depoſed.

The Report of theſe Commiſſioners being given in to the Parliament, it was preſently voted that the Throne was [a] vacant by the voluntary Ceſſion and juſt Depoſition of King *Richard*, and therefore they ought to proceed immediately to the Election of a new Prince into the Throne, left by a long Vacancy the Affairs of the Nation ſhould receive any Prejudice. Before any Perſon was or could be mentioned, *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter* roſe up from his Seat, and having croſſed himſelf on the Forehead and Breaſt, as the manner was, put in his Claim for the Kingdom in theſe Words:

The Duke of Lancaſter claims the Crown.

[a] The Throne was not formally voted vacant; but as ſoon as the Depoſition and Renunciation of King *Richard* were read, the Duke of *Lancaſter* roſe up and claim'd the Crown by deſcent; after which the Lords and Commons ſeverally and generally conſented to chooſe him for their King.

In

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In the Name of God, Amen. I, Henry, *Duke of* Lancaſter, *do claim as my Right the Crown and Realm of* England, *with all the Dominions and Appurtenances thereunto belonging, being Lineally deſcended from* Edmund *ſurnamed* Crouch-back, *eldeſt Son of our good Lord* Henry *the Third; and through the Right which God of his Grace hath ſent me by his Aſſiſtance, and help of my ready Kindred and noble Friends, who have adventur'd with me to recover the ſame, being at the point of Deſtruction for want of good Government and an orderly Diſtribution of Juſtice.* And then he return'd to his Place, and ſat down again.

How far this Claim prevail'd in the Election, 'tis no ways evident. The Archbiſhop, who made the Propoſals, did not think fit to inſiſt much upon this Title, but put it to the Houſes choice whom they would have for their King: For he in order mentioned ſeveral that had a near Alliance to the Crown, and asked the Houſes, Firſt, *Whether they would have the Duke of* York *for their King?* And they ſaid, *No.* Then, *Whether they deſired his eldeſt Son* Edward *Duke of* Aumerl? And they reply'd, *No.* Then he propounded the Duke of *York*'s youngeſt Son, and ſeveral others, but all were refuſed. Then the Archbiſhop pauſing awhile, asked them, *Whether they would have the Duke of* Lancaſter *for their King?* They ſaid, *We will have him, and none elſe*; and ſo anſwer'd three times. The Choice being thus fixed on the Duke of *Lancaſter*, the Archbiſhops going to him, kneeled down before him, and declaring to him that the People had unanimouſly choſe him for their King, deſired his Acceptance of the Care and Government of the Realm. The Duke being alſo on his Knees when they ſpake to him, roſe up and reply'd, *That ſince the Kingdom was devolved upon him by a ſpecial Diſpenſation of Divine Providence, he durſt not refuſe it.* Then the Archbiſhop having read to him the Duties of a King, ſigned him with the Sign of the Croſs, and the King kiſſed the Archbiſhop; and the Conſtable taking the Ring with which the Kings were wedded to the Realm, ſhewed it to the whole Aſſembly, and then put it on the King's Finger, and the King kiſſed the Conſtable. Then the Archbiſhops led the King to the Royal Seat, who made his Prayers immediately before it, and then turning himſelf to the Aſſembly, gave Thanks to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and all the States of the Realm; aſſuring them, That he would not by way of Conqueſt diſinherit, or deprive any Man of his Rights and Franchiſes which he now enjoyeth, or hath had by the Cuſtom and good Law of the Realm. Then a general Silence being kept a little time, the whole Houſe gave Thanks to God for his Gift of ſo good a King to the Nation; the Archbiſhop roſe up, and in a Sermon-like Speech upon 1 *King* 9. 17. from whence he ſingled out theſe Words for a Theme, *A Man ſhall rule over my People*, declared the Happineſs of this Nation in the Perſon they had choſen; That he was not as the former King, a Child in Underſtanding, tho' not in Years, under whoſe Government they ſuffer'd ſo many Miſeries, but a Man of perfect Reaſon and vaſt Experience and Judgment, under whoſe auſpicious Government we have Aſſurance of a full and free Profeſſion of Religion, a due Adminiſtration of Juſtice, a laſting Peace and Plenty, concluding with a ſhort Prayer, 'That he might long proſpe-'rouſly Reign over the Kingdom, to the Glory 'of God, and the Proſperity of the Nation. To which the whole Aſſembly, with joyful Acclamation ſaid, *Amen*, and *Amen*.

A. D. 1399.

The Duke of Lancaſter *elected King.*

King *Richard* was thus depoſed from his Royal Dignity, and *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter* ſettled on the Throne [a], when he had reigned two and twenty Years, three Months and eight Days. The Manner and Form of it was ſignified to him by Juſtice *William Thirning* the next Day, who at the ſame time ſurrender'd back all Homage and Fealty due unto him; but King *Richard* ſeem'd very little concern'd, hoping, that the new King would ſhew him the greater Kindneſs for his willing Reſignation of all to him. King *Henry*, as ſoon as the Parliament roſe, went to *Whitehall*, and made a great Feaſt for all the Members; at which he demean'd him with the uſual Obligingneſs and Kindneſs, without the Majeſtick Reſervedneſs or Diſtance of a King, to the good liking of all his Subjects preſent. In the Afternoon he was proclaimed King by the Name of *Henry* the Fourth King of *England* and *France*, and Lord of *Ireland*; and Proclamations were publiſhed to continue all Officers and Juſtices in their Places, to preſerve the Order and Government of the Kingdom.

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES *in the Reign of* Richard II.

IN the 5th Year of his Reign, when his firſt Wife Queen *Anne* came from *Bohemia*, ſhe had no ſooner ſet Foot on Shore, but ſuch a Tempeſt immediately aroſe as had not been ſeen in many Years. Several Ships were daſh'd in Pieces in the Harbour, and the Ship in which the Queen came over was ſhatter'd and broken; which was the more obſervable, becauſe his ſecond Wife brought a Storm with her to the *Engliſh* Coaſts, in which the King's Baggage was loſt, and many Ships of his Fleet caſt away. Sir *John Hayward.*

At *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*, as two Ship-Carpenters were ſquaring a piece of Timber, wherever they hew'd, Blood iſſu'd forth in Abundance. *Ibid.*

In the 6th Year of his Reign, on the 21ſt of *May*, ſeveral Churches were thrown down by an Earthquake; and on the 24th of *May* there was an Earthquake, or as *Holinſhead* calls it, a *Water-quake*; whoſe Motion was ſo violent, that it made the Ships in the Harbours beat one againſt the other, and very much endamag'd them.

About the ſame time the Uſe of Guns came in, and Sir *Hugh Calverly*, Governour of *Calis*, was the firſt that employ'd them in the *Engliſh* Service.

In his 10th Year Wine was ſo cheap, that the beſt was ſold for 20*s.* the Tun, and that which was not ſo good at 13*s.* 4*d.*

The ſame Year Sir *John Montacute*, a great Follower of *Wickliffe*'s, order'd all the Images to be taken out of his Church at *Shenly* in *Buckinghamſhire*. *Holinſhead.*

In his 12th Year, while the King was at his Mannor of *Sheen* in the Month of *July*, there appear'd on a ſudden ſuch innumerable Swarms of Gnats, that they darken'd the Air. They ſhir-

[a] On *Tueſday* the 30th of *September*, 1399.

miſh'd

miſh'd and fought in Parties, the ſlain fell down to the Ground by Heaps at a time; and being ſwept together with Brooms, were found to be many Buſhels full. About a third part of the whole came off Conquerors, and flew away.

In the following Year a Hurricane threw down many Houſes, deſtroy'd Cattel, and rooted up Trees. This preceded a great Mortality, eſpecially among the Youth, and that a Famine; for ſays my Author, Wheat was ſold for 13 *d.* a Buſhel. *Hol.* Tho' Money was ſcarce at that time, yet one would think ſuch a Price for Corn had never been the Sign of a Dearth in *England*.

On the 9th of *July*, in his 15th Year, the Sun appear'd to be obſcur'd by certain thick and dreary Clouds between that and the Earth; Its Beams ſeem'd of the Colour of Blood, and gave little or no Light from Noon till it ſet. Theſe Clouds roſe daily for almoſt ſix Weeks together. The North and Eaſt Parts of *England* were at the ſame time ſore afflicted with a Peſtilence: In a few Weeks there dy'd eleven thouſand Men, Women and Children, in the City of *York*. *Hol.*

The next Year Wool was ſo cheap, 'twas ſold in ſome places at 22 *d.* the Stone. The ſame Year a Dolphin was taken near *London* Bridge ten Foot long: His coming up the River ſo far was an ill Omen of the Storms that happen'd ſoon after.

In his 18th Year an Apparition of Fire was ſeen in divers Places in *England* in ſeveral Forms, ſometimes like a turning Wheel burning, ſometimes like a Barrel with Flames of Fire flaſhing out at the Head, and ſometimes like a long burning Lance: When it appear'd to any Perſons, it would go as they went, and ſtop when they ſtopp'd. A Head was made at this time, the *Cruel Parliament* then ſitting, which ſpoke of it ſelf and ſaid, *The Head ſhall be cut off, the Head ſhall be lift up aloft, the Feet ſhall be lift up aloft above the Head*; which was done, as *Holinſhead* ſuppoſes, by Necromancy, and as we would think now by a Trick. In *April* a fiery Dragon was ſeen in ſeveral Counties, and ſome time before there happen'd a Conjunction of the two greateſt Planets *Saturn* and *Jupiter*.

In the Reign of this King the moſt Famous Soldiers were Henry *Earl of* Darby, *who ſucceeded him in the Throne*, Thomas *of* Woodſtock *Duke of* Gloceſter, Richard *Earl of* Arundel; *Popular Lords*, Henry *Earl of* Northumberland, *and* Roger Mortimer *Earl of* March. *For Learning the moſt Eminent were*,

Henry of *Bury* an Auſtin Fryar.
Simon Alcock.
Ethred Bolton a *Welſhman*, and a Monk of *Durham*.
William Jordan a Black Fryar.
John Hilton a Fryar Minor.
John Clipton a Carmelite Fryar in *Nottingham*.
Ralph Marham.
John Markly a Gray Fryar.
Thomas Broom a Carmelite Fryar of *London*.
John Bridlington a *Yorkſhire* Man.
John Thompſon a Carmelite Fryar of *Norfolk*.
Thomas Winterton of *Lincolnſhire*, an Auguſtine Fryar at *Stamford*.
John Botleſham a Black Fryar of *Cambridge*.
William Babbie a Carmelite Fryar, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and Confeſſor to the Duke of *Lancaſter*.
William Folleville a Fryar Minor of *Lincolnſhire*.
Dr. *John Bourgh* Chancellor of *Cambridge*.
William Sclade a Monk of *Buckfaſt* Abbey in *Devonſhire*.
Thomas Aſhburn an Auſtin Fryar.
John Aſton a *Wickliviſt*, condemn'd to perpetual Impriſonment.
Mr. *Caſterton* a Monk of *Norwich*, an excellent Divine.
Nicholas Radcliffe a Monk of St. *Albans*.
John Aſhwarby a *Wickliviſt*.
Richard of *Maidſtone* a Carmelite Fryar of *Ailesford*.
John Wardbie an Auguſtine Fryar, a great Divine.
Robert Warldbie Archbiſhop of *Dublin*.
Dr. *William Berton* Chancellor of *Oxford*, an Enemy to the *Wickliviſts*.
Philip Repington a *Wickliviſt*.
Thomas Lombe a Carmelite Fryar of *Lyn*.
Dr. *Nicholas Hereford* one of *Wickliff's* Followers.
Henry Herkly Chancellor of *Oxford*, an Enemy to *Wickliff*, and a great Sophiſt.
Robert Ivory a Carmelite Fryar of *London*, the 20th Provincial of his Order here in *England*.
Dr. *Lankine* a *Londoner*, an Auguſtine Fryar, an Enemy to *Wickliff*.
William Gillingham a Monk of St. *Saviours* in *Canterbury*.
Peter Pateſhall a zealous *Wickliviſt*, forc'd at laſt to fly to *Bohemia*.
William Woodford a Franciſcan Fryar, a choſen Champion of the Papacy againſt *Wickliff*.
John Bromyard a Lawyer and Divine, one of the ſame Principle.
Marcil Ingelne an excellent Divine and Philoſopher, one of the firſt Profeſſors in the Univerſity of *Heidelbergh*.
Richard Northall Son to the Lord Mayor of *London* of that Name.
Thomas Edwardſon Prior of St. *Auſtin's* Fryars at *Clare* in *Suffolk*.
John Somers a Franciſcan Fryar of *Bridgwater*, an Enemy to the *Wickliviſts*.
John Swetham Biſhop of *Bangor*, a violent Adverſary to the Followers of *Wickliff*.
William Egumond a Fryar-Hermit of the Sect of St. *Auſtin's* in *Stamford*.
Robert Withee a *Wickliviſt*.
Cardinal *Adam Eſton* advanc'd to that Dignity by Pope *Gregory* XI. he was Biſhop of *London*.
John Tiſſington a Franciſcan Fryar, and
William Rimſton a Monk of *Salleie*, both Champions of the Papacy.
Dr. *John Beaufu* a Carmelite Fryar of *Northampton*, Prior of that Monaſtery.
Roger Twiford an Auguſtine Fryar.
William Shireburn,
Richard Wichingham, and
Ralph Spalding, theſe were all Prieſts and Fryars, Men noted in thoſe Days for their good Learning and good Preaching.
Henry Daniel a Phyſician.
Simon Bredon the ſame, and an Aſtronomer.
Adam Meremub a Canon of St. *Paul's* Church, *London*.
William Packington Secretary and Treaſurer of the Houſhold to the *Black Prince*.
Henry de Knighton. The three laſt were Hiſtorians.
John Treviſa a *Corniſhman*, tranſlated the Bible.
John Mohun an *Engliſhman* born, but bred up in the Univerſity of *Paris*, he wrote the Romance of the *Roſe* in *French*, and 'twas tranſlated by *Gefferey Chaucer*.

THE

E. Lutterell delin.
P. Vanderbanck Sculp.
KING HENRY THE IIIIth

THE LIFE and REIGN OF HENRY IV.

A. D. 1399. Reg. 1.

K. *Henry*'s Pedegree, Birth, and Succeſſion.

HENRY, ſurnamed, of *Bullingbrooke*, a Town of ~~*Lincolnſhire*~~, the Place of his Birth, having obtain'd the Crown of *England* by the Reſignation of King *Richard*, and Election of the Three States of the Realm, then aſſembled in Parliament, aſſumed the Government, *Sept.* 30. 1399. He was the Eldeſt Son of *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, Fourth Son of King *Edward* the Third, and after his Father's Death was himſelf Duke of *Lancaſter*, as he was before in Right of his Wife, Duke of *Hereford*. The Regal Power did not belong to him in a Lineal Succeſſion after King *Richard*, becauſe there were yet ſurviving ſome of the Poſterity of *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, (the Elder Brother of *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*,) by a Female Branch, his Daughter *Philippa*, who being married to *Edmund Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, left a Son *Roger Mortimer*, who had been declared next Heir of the Crown by Parliament in King *Richard*'s Time, and dying left *Edmund Mortimer* the Heir of his Honour and Eſtate, with ſeveral other Children. But as the great Opinion of *Henry*'s Merit, in reſcuing the Nation from the Tyranny of Favourites, and the Oppreſſion of bad Governours, made no Reward to be thought great enough for him, but that of the Crown; ſo *Henry* being confident of the People's Favour, and conſidering the Obſcurity of *Mortimer*'s Family, ventured upon it, and, as if the *Salick* Law had been in Force in *England*, claim'd the Royal Authority, as the next Heir to it. *Edmund Mortimer* was not inſenſible of his Right, and tho' he ſaw it in vain, while the Nation was in ſo great a Ferment, and the Minds of the People were ſo paſſionately fix'd upon the Duke of *Lancaſter*, to oppoſe the Current of Favour, and Power with his Claim, and therefore betook himſelf to Privacy at his Mannor of *Wigmore*, in *Herefordſhire*; yet it was very grating to him to hear *Henry* call himſelf Heir of the Crown of *England*, and therefore ſaid to his Friends, that he was *Hæres malus*, ſuch an Heir as the Pirate is to the Merchant's Goods, which he by Force takes from him.

Richard II.

K. *Henry*'s Coronation.

Henry being thus got into the Poſſeſſion of the Crown, uſed all the Arts of a politick Prince, to ſettle himſelf firmly in it, and entail it as ſtrongly as was poſſible upon his Poſterity. The Firſt of theſe he had no other Way left to do, but by his Coronation; which for that End he appointed to be celebrated on St. *Edward*'s Day, *October* 13. as ſoon as Preparations could be made for ſo great a Ceremony. The latter he reſolved to do by Parliament, which he upon mature Deliberation diſſolved, (becauſe it was called by King *Richard*, Writ, and therefore its Acts might become diſputable, if it had been continued,) and ſent out his own Writs to have another choſen, which he appointed to meet the next Day after his Coronation, *October* 14. in order to his Crowning, which drew on apace. He not only ſupply'd all Offices of the Court, which were vacant either by the Deaths of ſuch as had ſuffer'd, or were fled for their Miſdemeanors under King *Richard*, with ſuch Perſons as were moſt faithful and deſerving, (*viz. Henry Piercy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, he made High-Conſtable; *Ralph*, Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, Earl-Marſhal; Sir *John Norbury*, Lord-Treaſurer; Sir *John Sherley*, Chancellor; and Sir *Richard Clifford*, Keeper of the Privy-Seal; and confirm'd the other Officers of State, who were to aſſiſt at that Ceremony,) but conſtituted a Special Court to receive the Claims of ſuch as by certain Tenures or Cuſtom were to officiate at it; of which his Second Son *Thomas* was appointed Steward, (*a*) and for that Purpoſe kept his Court in *Weſtminſter-Hall* ſeveral Days together, till all Things were ſettled, and order'd for the Solemnity. The King on St. *Edward*'s Eve lodged in the *Tower* of *London*, and there made his Three Sons, with ſeveral of the Sons of the Nobility, and many others to the Number of Forty Six, Knights of the *Bath*. On St. *Edward*'s Day in the Morning he rode through the City of *Weſtminſter*, being attended by the Mayor, Aldermen, and chief Citizens of *London*, cloathed in rich Liveries, and follow'd with a coſtly Equipage, were he was Conſecrated, Anointed, and Crown'd by *Thomas Arundel*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. He was anointed with an Oil, which was then thought to have a peculiar Sanctity, and Excellency in it, being given to his Grand-Father by the Mother-Side, to *Henry*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, by a religious Hermite, with this Prophecy; *That the Kings that ſhould be anointed with it, ſhould be endued with a Zeal to patronize and defend the Church.* King *Richard* having found it among his Father's Jewels and Treaſures, with a Label, ſignifying the Uſe of it, had a Deſign to have been crown'd again, that he might be anointed with it; but Archbiſhop *Arundel* aſſerting it unlawful for him to be anointed twice, put him from that Reſolution; and ſo *Henry* having got it of King *Richard*, at *Flint*-Caſtle, by the Archbiſhop's Means, was the firſt that was anointed with it. At his Coronation, King *Henry* ha-

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Knights of the *Bath* made at the Coronation.

(*a*) *Thomas Piercy*, Earl of *Worceſter*, officiated for him, the Prince being not above Ten Years of Age.

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ving obſerv'd that his Hereditary Claim was not juſtifiable, (*b*) and that it began to be ridiculed by his Enemies, cauſed himſelf to be proclaim'd King of *England*, firſt by Conqueſt, and then by the ſpecial Deſignation of King *Richard*, who at his Reſignation of his Crown had given it to him, then Duke of *Lancaſter*, as his adopted Son. And thus did *Henry* ſeem to himſelf, to have clear'd up his Title, and ſecured himſelf a firm Poſſeſſion of the Crown, which ſome at that time judged to be given him by God's ſpecial Favour and Providence, ſo much the more, becauſe his Coronation happen'd exactly upon that Day Twelve-month, on which he had been baniſh'd by King *Richard*, as if this great Change of the Kings had been the Reward of the Injuſtice of the One, and the Innocency of the Other, and God *had beſtowed Crowns not for Civil Titles, but Deſerts.*

(*c*) The Parliament, according to Appointment, aſſembled the next Day after the Coronation; and having choſen a new Speaker, *William Durwood*, Eſq; in the Place of Sir *John Cheyney*, who deſired to be excuſed for his Infirmity and Sickneſs, they were order'd by the King, in the firſt place, to inſpect into the Abuſes of Government, in the Reign of King *Richard*, and to regulate all Things that had been found prejudicial to the publick Intereſts; to examine the Caſe of the condemn'd Lords; and, more eſpecially, to bring the Murtherers of the Duke of *Gloceſter* to condign Puniſhment. The Parliament were very zealous to obey ſo juſt a Command; and in purſuit of it, having recited, and condemn'd the Tranſactions of the Parliament, in the 21 *Richard* II. in baniſhing the Duke of *Hereford* without any reaſonable Cauſe; in condemning the Archbiſhop, without hearing his Defence; in barbarouſly juſtifying the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s Murther; in denying the Earl of *Arundel* the Benefit of his Pardons, and putting the whole Power of the Parliament into the Hands of certain ſelect Perſons, to the great Injury of the Nation, they repeal'd, and utterly made void all, and ſingular the Statutes and Ordinances of the ſaid Parliament, and abrogated the Authority and Power given to any Perſon or Perſons by any Act or Law of the ſame, and revived the Statutes of the Parliament held in 11 *Rich.* 2. by which the Supreme Power of the Nation was put into the Hands of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, and ſome others, till the King ſhould be of full Age to aſſume the Government himſelf. By theſe Acts the Attaint of Blood was removed from the Lords, which had ſuffered, or were condemn'd in the ſaid Parliament; and as a neceſſary Conſequence of that, the Heirs of the condemn'd Lords were reſtored to their Honours and Eſtates by another Act made for that Purpoſe; yet, with a *Proviſo*, That the Rents of their Lands ſhould not be exacted of the Perſons that had been in Poſſeſſion of them for the time paſt. And becauſe many Things had by the ſaid Parlaiment been made to be Treaſon, which had not been formerly ſo eſteem'd, and that for no other Reaſon, but that the Crimes of the ſaid Lords might be more notorious; yet with ſuch Prejudice to all the King's Subjects, that no Man hardly could be-

The Statutes of King *Richard*'s pack'd Parliament repeal'd.

have himſelf cautiouſly enough to avoid the Penalty of it; therefore it was further enacted, That nothing for the future ſhould be eſteem'd, or adjudg'd to be Treaſon, but what was ordain'd to be Treaſon by 25 *Edw.* 3. A. D. 1399. Reg. 1.

The next Thing they enter'd upon, was the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s Murther, concerning which they had a very particular Information given them by Sir *John Baggott*, then a Priſoner in the *Tower*, who in a kind of Narrative, among many other Things relating to King *Richard*'s Actions and Sayings, diſcover'd; 'That it was by 'the Advice and Inſtigation of the Duke of *Au-*'*merle*, that the Lords were apprehended by the 'King, and that the Duke of *Gloceſter* was in-'humanely murther'd at *Callis*; That the Duke 'of *Norfolk* did keep the Duke of *Gloceſter* alive 'Three Weeks againſt the King's Will;--but, 'that for fear of the King's Diſpleaſure, both 'the ſaid Duke and himſelf, with ſeveral of the 'King's, and Lord's Servants, went over to '*Callis*, and ſaw him put to Death. The Duke of *Aumerle* denied the Charge brought againſt him by Sir *John Baggott*, and offer'd to juſtifie his Innocency by Combat, in ſuch manner, as ſhould be thought requiſite; but *Baggott* not being at Liberty to accept the Challenge, the Lord *Fitzwater*, with Twenty other Lords, offer'd to make it good by their Bodies, *That he was the very Cauſe of the Duke of* Gloceſter's *Death.* The Duke of *Surrey* ſtood up againſt the Lord *Fitzwater*; and having affirm'd, that what the Duke of *Aumerle* had done againſt the Duke of *Gloceſter*, was by Conſtraint and Force, offer'd to vindicate him by Fight: Their Hoods, which they flung down as Pledges of their Intention, were deliver'd to the Conſtable and Marſhal to be kept. The Parliament might have taken Occaſion from theſe Diſſentions of the Noblemen to have proceeded with greater Severity againſt all the Inſtruments of this barbarous Fact; but the King having preſcribed them ſuch Meaſures as were more ſuitable for his preſent Condition, they contented themſelves to inflict a more moderate Puniſhment on them, *viz.* That the Dukes of *Aumerle*, *Surrey*, and *Exeter*, the Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, and Earl of *Gloceſter*, who had been the Accuſers of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the other Lords, ſhould be reduced to the ſame State they were in before the Arreſt of the ſaid Duke and Lords, loſing not only their preſent Titles of Honour, of Duke, Marqueſs, and Earl, but alſo all thoſe Caſtles, Lordſhips, Manors, or other Poſſeſſions whatſoever, which had been given them ſince the laſt Parliament, and belonged to any of the Perſons whom they had impeach'd, or were held by Gift from the King, and ſhould forthwith bring the Charters and Deeds of the ſaid Lands, Caſtles, or Manors into the Chancery to be cancell'd; and, That it ſhould be utterly unlawful for any of the ſaid Lords to give Liveries to any Retainers, or keep any Perſons about them, but neceſſary Servants; and, That it ſhould be High-Treaſon in any of them to enable, or any ways aſſiſt King *Richard*, to recover his Crown, and diſturb King *Henry* in the Poſſeſſion of it.

Duke of *Gloceſter*'s Murther examined and puniſhed.

Theſe Inflictions ſatisfied the King and Parliament, but the Commonalty were not ſo con-

(*b*) His Hereditary Title was one of the Three by which he proclaim'd, that he held the Crown. The Firſt was, *By Right of Conqueſt*; the Second was, *King* Richard's *Reſignation and Deſignation of him for his Succeſſor*; the Third and Laſt was, *His being of the Blood Royal, and next Heir Male of King* Richard; which laſt Words in the Proclamation occaſion'd that *Pun* of *Mortimer*'s, *Hæres Malus*; but *Edmund* had his Jeſt, and *Henry* his Crown.

(*c*) On the Day of his Coronation his eldeſt Son *Henry* was by aſſent of all the Three Eſtates created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Cheſter*, being then about Eleven Years old; the Crown was alſo ſettled upon him after his Father's Death; and in caſe of the Death of the Prince, on Kings *Henry*'s other Sons.

tented,

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tented, for they repined againſt the King, Archbiſhop, Earl of *Northumberland*, and others, that they were not put to Death, as well as thoſe who had been immediate Actors; of whom *John Hall*, who confeſſed himſelf to be one, was in the Time of this Seſſion hang'd and quarter'd, and his Head ſent to *Callis*, to be ſet upon the Caſtle; 'for, if the Executioner acting by the 'King's Command be guilty of Murther, much 'more the falſe Accuſers and Witneſſes, who 'cauſed his Condemnation; but Moderation was thought more neceſſary at this Juncture, and eſpecially, ſince the King's Authority was pleaded for their Action: But, that no ſuch Pretences ſhould be uſed for the future, a Statute was made, enacting, That it ſhould be no Excuſe hereafter for any Perſons doing an unlawful Action, to alledge, that he was forced and conſtrained by the King; and a general Pardon was then granted to all Perſons, but the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s Murtherers.

Proceedings againſt King *Richard.*

The Parliament having proceeded thus far in the Matters done in King *Richard's* Reign, came next to conſider about his Perſon; and the Motion being made how he ſhould be diſpoſed of, (*d*) that he might not be a Trouble to the King and Nation for the future, the Houſes enter'd into hot and long Debates concerning it, as being a Matter of very great Importance; and among others, who by ſpecial Order of the Houſes were allow'd to deliver their Opinions upon that Subject without Interruption; *John Marke*, Biſhop of *Carliſle*, a Perſon both of Learning and Integrity (and as Sir *Walter Rayleigh* ſays, the only honeſt Man in the Parliament, who ſcorn'd his Life and Eſtate in reſpect to his Sovereign's Right, and his own Allegiance) having always diſliked the former Proceedings, in depoſing King *Richard*, and ſetting the Duke of *Lancaſter* on the Throne, deliver'd his Judgment to this Effect, in a grave and learned Speech; 'That the Reſolution of this 'Queſtion being ſo neceſſary for the Settling the 'Peace of their own Conſciences, as well as the 'future Order and Quiet of the Nation, they 'ought to conſider, before they came to any Determination upon theſe Two Things. 1. Whether King *Richard* be ſufficiently and lawfully depoſed: And, 2. Whether King *Henry* be juſtly and prudently choſen in his Place. As 'for his own Opinion upon them, he freely and 'boldly laid it down before them thus: That 'though in a popular or conſular State, ſuch as 'of old, the Commonwealth of the *Lacedæmonians* and *Romans* at firſt were, and ſuch as the 'Empire of *Germany*, Kingdoms of *Denmark*, *Swedeland*, and Dukedom of *Venice* at this Day 'are, it may be lawful for the Nobles, or People to reſtrain, or remove their Princes from 'their Imperial Power and Dignity, becauſe 'they have not Regal Rights, yet in ſuch Governments as the Sovereign Majeſty is abſolutely ſeated in the Prince, as it was in the 'Three firſt Empires, and in the Kingdoms of *Iſrael* and *Judæa* anciently, and is in the Nations of *England*, *France*, *Spain*, and almoſt all 'the Kingdoms of *Aſia* and *Africa* at preſent, 'it is not, nor can be lawful for any, nor all 'their Subjects, whether Nobles or Commons, 'to injure and hurt the Perſons, nor limit and 'abrogate the Power of ſuch Kings, either by 'any judicial Proceedings, or by Force, altho' 'they be become not only unprofitable and hurtful, but intolerable and deſtructive to their 'Subjects; and that becauſe neither one, nor 'all Magiſtrates have any Authority over their 'Prince, from whom all their Power is derived, 'and whoſe Preſence doth immediately ſuſpend 'all their Rule and Juriſdiction; and more eſpecially, becauſe no Subject of what Degree 'or Condition ſoever can imagine, attempt, 'counſel, aſſiſt, or undertake any thing prejudicial to the Perſon or Authority of ſuch 'Princes, but they incur the great and heinous 'Crime of High-Treaſon. Who were more 'cruel, unjuſt, and impious Princes than *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Saul*, and yet the Prophets 'Jeremiah and *David* command Obedience to, 'and condemn all rebellious Attempts againſt 'them? The Law of God allows not the Child 'to lift up his Hand againſt his Parent, be he a 'Robber, a Murtherer, and a Perſon never ſo 'execrable for Villanies, both to God and Man; 'and ſurely our Prince, who is *Pater Patriæ*, 'the common Father of all his Subjects, and 'therefore ought to be more ſacred and dear 'to us than our natural Parents, may much 'leſs be rebelled againſt or depoſed, though never ſo Tyrannical and Impious. The Oracles 'of God tell us, That King's have Dominion 'over the Bodies and over the Cattle of their 'Subjects at their Pleaſure; and the Church 'hath declared it an Hereſie, to hold, That a 'Prince may be ſlain, or depoſed by his Subjects 'for any Defects, either in his Life or Government. And if it be really unlawful to depoſe 'the worſt of Princes, how unjuſt is it to depoſe good King *Richard*, who his really guilty 'neither of any Cruelty, nor Impiety. For, 'if we impartially examine the Accuſations 'brought againſt him, we ſhall find nothing either of Truth or Moment objected. Some Errors and Overſights he may be guilty of, but 'ſuch as have proceeded from ſuch Originals, 'viz. want of Experience, or corrupt Counſels, as are very pardonable, and in their 'worſt Effects have not ſavoured of Tyranny, 'or Cruelty; and if theſe Failings may be allow'd as juſt Cauſes of depoſing Kings, the 'beſt of Princes will be daily in Danger, and 'every Tax, Execution of Criminals, or diſapproved Action ſhall arm their Subjects againſt 'them. But ſuppoſe King *Richard* muſt be depoſed without Authority in us, or deſert in 'him, yet what Right had the Duke of *Lancaſter* to the Crown? Why did we give it him? 'Heir he could not be to the Crown, not only becauſe King *Richard* is ſtill alive, and the Living have no Heirs; but becauſe ſome of the 'Poſterity of *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, are yet 'ſurviving, whoſe Line by the Judgment of the 'Parliament, holden 8 *Rich.* II. was declared 'Heirs to the Crown. By Right of Conqueſt 'he could not have it; for being a Subject, all 'War raiſed by him againſt his Sovereign was 'Rebellion; and Victory, Treaſon. As for King *Richard*'s Reſignation of the Crown to the 'Duke, it gives him no Title; for by the Laws 'of the Land the King can't alienate ſo much 'as the ancient Jewels and Ornaments belonging to the Crown, much leſs the Crown it ſelf 'and Kingdom; which, if it were in his Power, yet ſince it was exacted of the King in 'his Impriſonment, and under Conſtraint, it 'can't in Reaſon be thought of any Force to 'bind him; for no Act of a King can be obligatory that is not free, and none is free where 'Liberty is reſtrain'd, and Fear juſtly ſuſpected.

Prerogative of Parliament, *p.* 85.

Biſhop of *Carliſle*'s Speech in the Parliament.

Neb. 9. 37. *Alph. à Caſtro in Lib. de Hær. & Sto de Juſt. & Jur.*

(*d*) *Hollinſhead* ſays, The Commons Addreſs was to this Purpoſe; *That ſince King* Richard *had reſign'd, and was lawfully depoſed from his Royal D nity, he might have Judgment decreed againſt him.* P. 512.

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'We have no Cuſtom in *England*, that the Peo-
'ple ſhould elect them a King at their Pleaſure,
'but they are always bound to ſubmit to him,
'who by Right of Blood is the next Succeſſor;
'and therefore the People's Election, as it can
'neither create a Title to the Crown, nor give
'any Regal Right, ſo neither can it make that
'Title good, which is before by Violence got-
'ten and uſurp'd. 'Twas nothing then that
'raiſed *Henry* to the Crown, but Ambition in
'himſelf, and a ſeditious Diſpoſition in the
'People, who, though they have gotten greater
'Wiſdom and Courage in their King by the
'Change; yet will find, if not greater Cruelty
'and Policy, ſhou'd the right Heirs ever be able
'to vindicate their Title by Arms, that they
'have entail'd Miſery and Bloodſhed upon them-
'ſelves and Poſterity. From theſe Premiſſes, he
'boldly concluded, That they had neither Pow-
'er nor Policy to depoſe King *Richard*, nor
'elect King *Henry* in his room; That King *Ri-*
'*chard* was ſtill their lawful King, and that they
'ought not to paſs any Judgment concerning
'him; That the Duke of *Lancaſter* had offend-
'ed more againſt the King and Realm by his
'impious Arms, than King *Richard* hath againſt
'him or us; and if they thought not fit to take
'Notice of *Henry*'s Injuries done to the Nation,
'contrary to his Oath, yet their private and
'publick Dangers ought to deter them from
'any violent Proceedings againſt King *Richard*.

This Speech how well ſoever it was inward-ly approved in ſuch Men's Minds, whoſe Loyal-ty was ſtifled rather then extinct, yet was out-wardly generally diſguſted, and the Biſhop him-ſelf being apprehended and ſent to the *Tower* by the Earl-Marſhal, (*e*) the Houſe proceeded to this Reſolution, and cauſed it to be enacted, 'That King *Richard* having been lawfully depo-
'ſed from his Royal Dignity for his Miſgovern-
'ment, was by the Clemency of King *Henry*,
'granted his Life; yet, for the Security of the
'Kingdom, ſhould be kept in cloſe Impriſon-
'ment ſo long as he lived, being allow'd a
'Princely Attendance and Maintenance; but,
'if any Perſon ſhould attempt his Deliverance,
'King *Richard* himſelf ſhould be the firſt Man
'that ſhould be put to Death for it.

And thus was the Nation ſecured againſt King *Richard*, and the bad Effects of his Government, as was thought; whereupon the Houſes pro-ceeded to provide as effectually as they could for the future Safety, Greatneſs, and Continu-ance of their new King, his Friends, and Chil-dren; and to that End made ſeveral Statutes, *viz.* 1. That no Perſons that had been aſſiſting to King *Henry*, either in ſubduing King *Richard*, and his Adherents, or in raiſing King *Henry* to the Regal Dignity, ſhould be hereafter im-peach'd for Rebellion and Treaſon. And where-as King *Richard* had procured a Bull of the Pope for the more certain Obſervation of ſome Sta-tutes made by him and his Parliament, as tho' there were not ſufficient Power in them to en-force Obedience without the Pope's Concur-rence: This was look'd upon by the Parlia-ment as a Derogation to the Regal Dignity of *England*; and accordingly, after they had vo-ted it to be an act of Wrong to the Nation in King *Richard*, to deſire any ſuch Bull of the Pope, they enacted; 'That the Crown of the Realm
'of *England*, and the Juriſdiction belonging to
'the ſame; as alſo the whole Realm it ſelf is
'ſtill, and at all Times lately paſt hath been at
'ſuch Liberty, and enjoy'd ſuch an independent
'and abſolute Prerogative, that neither the
'Pope, nor any other Prince or Potentate, who
'is out of the Kingdom, ought or may intrude
'himſelf, or intermeddle with the Rule and
'Government of the ſame; and ſo ſecured the full Power of the Regal Dignity to King *Henry*. And that not only himſelf, but Poſterity might enjoy it, an Act of Settlement was made to entail the Crown upon King *Henry*, and the Heirs of his Body, lawfully begotten, *viz.* 'That from
'and after the Deceaſe of King *Henry*, his El-
'deſt Son *Henry*, lately created by his Father,
'Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of
'*Cheſter*, ſhould ſucceed him in the Crown and
'Government of the Nation, and his Heirs af-
'ter him; but for want of ſuch Heirs, it ſhould
'deſcend and come unto his Three Younger
'Brothers, *Thomas*, *John*, and *Humphrey*, in or-
'der, in caſe the Heirs of any, or all of them did
'not ſurvive them. By this Parliament alſo Archbiſhop *Arundel* was reſtored to his See; and *Roger Walden*, who had been put into it by King *Richard*, was removed. (*f*) Other Mat-ters relating to the preſent State and Conditi-on of the Nation were reſolved, and agreed on; as about the Accompts of Sheriffs, the Liberties of Merchants-Strangers, the Neceſſity of ſend-ing Ambaſſadors to the Neighbouring Princes, about the preſent Change, to ſatisfie them in the King's Title, and Reaſon of his aſſuming the Kingdom, with ſuch like Things; and ſo the Parliament was diſſolved.

Henry having thus attended his Parliament for his Eſtabliſhment; and not much minding how other Affairs went, till he ſaw what the Effects of that would be, becauſe he knew that if the Parliament ſtood by him, other Oppoſition would eaſily be conquer'd, found the *Engliſh* Dominions both at Home and Abroad in great Diſorder, and himſelf to ſtand very dubious, not only of the Affections of many of his own Subjects, but alſo of the Foreign Princes his Neighbours. The *Scots*, while the Parliament ſat, knowing that the Lords and Gentlemen, who were the Guardians of the Northern Parts, could not be abſent from it in this Juncture, in-vaded theſe Countries; and becauſe the Peſti-lence ſo afflicted the Inhabitants of them, that few Men of Intereſt or Eſtate were left in them, had an Opportunity of doing much Miſchief, which they were not wanting to make uſe of, and took the Caſtle of *Warke* in *Northumberland*, and demoliſhed it.

K. *Henry*'s Prudence, in compoſing the Diſor-ders of the Nation, and ſettling his wavering Subjects in *Aquitain*.

The People of *Aquitain*, and eſpecially thoſe about *Bourdeaux*, the Place of King *Richard*'s Nativity, were much diſcontented, and were almoſt reſolved to deſert that perfidious Nati-on, which had proved ſo falſe and treacherous to their natural Prince, fancying they could not expect a Bleſſing from Heaven upon ſo unjuſt an Uſurpation; and to join in Submiſſion, was to bring themſelves, as they ſuppoſed, under the Stroke of the deſerved Vengeance, which was due to ſo unreaſonable a Rebellion. The King of *France*, who was extreamly incenſed at the Severity of the *Engliſh* againſt his Son-in-Law, King *Richard*, becauſe he was diſappointed at once of the Advantage he had propounded to himſelf in ſo good an Alliance, and to his Daughter in ſo great a Match, was not a little pleaſed to ſee his Neighbours in *Aquitain* ſo much diſturbed at the Change in *England*; and endeavouring to make their Diſcontents his Ad-

Ex *Anno* 1 *Hen.* 4. Act 27.

(*e*) He was confin'd in the Abbey of St. *Alban*'s. *Hol.*
(*f*) But had the Biſhoprick of *London* given him.

vantage,

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vantage, ſent the Duke of *Bourbon* to ſollicit them to a Revolt, which they had eaſily been tempted to, had not Sir *Robert Knolles*, the *Engliſh* Governour there, and ſome of the moſt conſiderate Men over-perſwaded them, that it was Madneſs to yield their Necks to the unſupportable Burthen of *French* Tyranny, out of mere Fears and Jealouſies of a bad Conſequence of the Revolution in *England*, which was at beſt changing a Certainty for an Uncertainty, and ſo reſtrain'd their Determination for a Time. King *Henry* being a watchful and crafty Prince, was not inſenſible of all theſe Inconveniencies to himſelf and Government, but with a wonderful Dexterity he applied ſuch ſuitable Remedies to them all, as, in ſome meaſure, quickly diſpelled the Dangers which ſeem'd thus to threaten him on all Sides. His own Subjects he won by Kindneſs, taking the Dukes of *Aumerle* and *Exeter* into particular Favour, and ſpecial Truſt about his Perſon; which Confidence, tho' his Friends blamed him for, yet he choſe to ſhew to them, leſt any Indications of Jealouſie ſhould excite them to diſturb his unſettled State. The *Scots* he deſpiſed, becauſe they appear'd not as Enemies, but as Robbers. The Neighbouring Princes he endeavour'd to ſatisfie, by ſending an Embaſſage to each of them, fully inſtructed with all ſuch Arguments for his aſſuming the Regal Dignity, as rather made his Cauſe plauſible, than juſtified it; and was ſo ſucceſsful with all the Princes unconcern'd, that they ſeem'd to approve what he had done; unleſs it were the King of *France*, who reſolved upon a War with *England*, to reſtore his Son-in-Law, King *Richard*, being inſtigated to it by many of his Nobles, but chiefly by *Valerem*, Earl of S. *Paul*, who had married King *Richard*'s half Siſter. The depoſed King who had been kept a Priſoner in the Tower of *London*, during the Seſſion of Parliament, was removed to his Caſtle of *Leeds* in *Kent*, and a little after ſent to *Pomfract* Caſtle in *Yorkſhire*. The People of *Guyenne* and *Aquitain* King *Henry* pacified by ſending over to them *Tho. Piercy*, Earl of *Worceſter*, a Perſon faithful to his Intereſts, and very expert in managing Matters of that Nature, with a conſiderable Body of Men. He behaved himſelf with that Prudence and Moderation towards the wavering People, perſwading the better Sort with fair Promiſes and good Arguments to continue their Subjection, and terrifying the common People with Threats and Arms, that he in a ſhort time brought thoſe Provinces to ſwear Fealty to King *Richard*, and yield as willing Obedience to him, as to any of the former Kings of *England*; yet he thought fit to plant ſome Garriſons among them, to ſecure their Allegiance, if they ſhould be tempted to revolt, and ſo return'd Home again.

An Embaſſie ſent to the Neighbouring Princes.

A. D. 1400.

Things being thus ſettled, and tolerably compoſed for the preſent, the King was encouraged to keep his *Chriſtmas* after the uſual Manner at *Windſor*, in Feaſting and Sports, as being ſecure from all Dangers, which were near at hand, or within his own Dominions at leaſt, and having Time enough to prepare againſt his only open Enemy the King of *France*. But as Sores haſtily cured ſeldom prove ſound, ſo this ſudden Settlement of Affairs, after ſo great a Change, ſoon appear'd to be weak: For, though the Nation generally approved and liked the King, yet there were many Malecontents, who either out of a true Principle of Loyalty, or out of Pity and Compaſſion to King *Richard*, or out of Diſcontent for their own Loſſes or Sufferings, deſired and ſought the Fall of the new erected Government. The firſt Attempt that was made towards it, was begun while the King was giving up himſelf to the Pleaſures and Eaſe of *Chriſtmas*; and that it might carry no Shew of the Miſchief deſign'd, was contrived to be acted in a Sport that was uſual at that time, *Mumming*, or *Juſting*, after this manner. The Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, who was a much better Politician than Divine, and upon that account had been in great Favour and Credit with King *Richard*, was upon the Depoſition of his Maſter not only troubled for the Loſs of the Honours and Greatneſs he enjoy'd under him; but by the Placing of the Duke of *Lancaſter* on the Throne, was put in great Fears of loſing what he ſtill enjoy'd, becauſe he had heard him often ſay, when he was a Subject, *That the Revenues of the Church were too great, and the Eſtates of the Noblemen in* England *too little*; which made him conclude, That being now King, he would certainly take away the Revenues of the Abbies, to enrich his Nobles, and ſo ingratiate himſelf with the Laity, as well as ſtrengthen his Intereſt with the Great Men of the Nation. To prevent ſuch a Miſchief to the Church, as well as to himſelf, the Abbot invited ſeveral of the Nobility and Gentry, whom he knew to be diſaffected to the preſent Conſtitution, to a Feaſt in his Monaſtery, *viz.* the Lords lately degraded by Parliament, *Edward*, Earl of *Rutland*, late Duke of *Aumerle*, *Thomas* and *John Holland*, the Earls of *Huntington* and *Kent*, late Dukes of *Exeter* and *Surrey*, *John Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Hugh*, Lord *Spencer*, late Earl of *Gloceſter*, *Thomas*, Biſhop of *Carliſle*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, Sir *Bernard Brockas*, Sir *Ralph Lumley*, Sir *Bennet Celey*, and one *Magdalen*, a Prieſt, one of King *Richard*'s Chaplains, in Perſon much reſembling his Maſter; and after Dinner, withdrawing with them into a private Chamber, he propounded the Reſtitution of King *Richard*. The Earl of *Holland*, whoſe Mind was full of Revenge againſt King *Henry* for his late Diſgrace, as well as of Deſires of reſtoring King *Richard*, who was not only his Brother, but beſt Benefactor, greedily embraced the Propoſal; and having urged it upon the whole Company, 'That they were in Conſcience obliged to endeavour to ſet their lawful King on his Throne again, and depoſe the Uſurper, tho' with Loſs of their Lives; That they had no Reaſon to think it an unlawful Fact, ſince the Laws and Examples of all civilized Nations did not barely permit this Action, but rewarded and honoured the Actors, as the greateſt Benefactors to a Commonwealth: So far prevailed, that they all promiſed their utmoſt Aſſiſtance to deſtroy and murther King *Henry*, and entred into an Indenture *Sextipartite*, to bind themſelves each to other to be diligent and faithful in the Undertaking, ſwearing to keep their Deſign ſecret, and attend carefully upon the Execution.

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A Conſpiracy to murther King *Henry*, and reſtore King *Richard*, and the Occaſion of it.

K. *Henry* keeps his *Chriſtmas* at *Windſor*.

The Manner of effecting and bringing about their intended Plot, was thus contrived: The Earls of *Huntington* and *Salisbury* appointed to celebrate a ſolemn *Juſtes*, with Twenty ſelect Men of a Side, at *Oxford*, under a Pretence of diverting the King; and to that End, the Earl of *Huntington* went to Him, to deſire his Preſence, and that his Majeſty would be pleaſed to be Judge, if any Controverſie ſhould ariſe in their Exerciſe. The King not ſuſpecting any Deceit, promiſed that he would be there at the Time prefix'd, and the Earls made ſuch Preparations as if they were in Earneſt, reſolving, that when the King was intent upon the Sport,

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Sport, a Party of Men, placed conveniently on purpoſe, ſhould fall upon him, and kill him. The Plot went on ſmoothly and unſuſpected till the Day drew near, and the Lords, having all Things in a Readineſs, were preparing to ſet forward for *Oxford*. The Earl of *Rutland*, late Duke of *Aumerle*, who was one of the principal Conſpirators, was as forward as any in the Deſign; but as he was paſſing to *Oxford*, left his direct Way to give his Father, the Duke of *York*, a Viſit, and dine with him. The Earl had brought with him the Counterpart of the Indenture, in which he was bound to the Confederates, and having put it in his Boſom as he was eating, it was eſpied by his Father, who immediately ask'd him what Writing it was, and what was the Purport of it? The Earl, conſcious of the Subject, and knowing how ungrateful ſuch an Enterprize would be to his Father, ſubmiſſively told him, *That it was nothing that concern'd him, and humbly begg'd that he might be excuſed.* But the Duke ſeeing his Son's Backwardneſs to ſhew him the Writing, accompanied with Fear and Surprize, was the more eager to know the Contents of it, and ſwearing by St. *George*, That he would ſee it, flew upon his Son, and by Force took it from him. When the Duke had read it, and ſaw the Treaſonable Deſign carry'd on by it, he burſt out into a great Paſſion at his Son, charging him not only with Treaſon to the King, but the moſt ungrateful Perfidiouſneſs to himſelf, who being bound for his Allegiance in the laſt Parliament, was involved in the ſame Ruine and Deſtruction with him: And therefore told him, *That ſince he had ſo little Regard to the Safety of a Father, that had been ſo tender of his Son's Preſervation, as to lay down his Life as a Pledge for it, he would take Care to ſecure his own Life, tho' with an Hazard to his Son's*; and thereupon order'd his Horſes to be ſaddled, to go to *Windſor*, and diſcover the whole Matter to the King. The Earl of *Rutland*, affrighted with his preſent Danger, and having his Conſcience, as well as his Father, for his Accuſer, was in great Perplexity what he ſhould do; and tho' he was unwilling to deſert his Confederates, yet, now ſeeing nothing but unavoidable Ruine to attend the Proſecution of their Deſign, becauſe the King would, by his Father's Diſcovery of it, have Time to avoid their Contrivance, and provide againſt them, he reſolved to become the firſt Betrayer of the Plot himſelf, and therefore taking Horſe as ſoon as his Father was gone, rode another Way to *Windſor*, and got to the King before him, Youth and Danger putting Spurs to his Horſe. As ſoon as he arrived at the Caſtle, and had gain'd Admiſſion, he pretended earneſt Buſineſs with the King, and having cauſed the Gates to be lock'd, took the Keys with him. Being come into the King's Preſence, he kneel'd down to him, and with a trembling Voice, and dejected Countenance, begg'd his Mercy and Pardon. The King wondring at his Petition, ask'd him, *For what Offence?* Then the Earl gave him a full Account of the Conſpiracy, and Conſpirators, with the Manner and Deſign of the Execution of it. The King, neither raſhly credulous, nor imprudently careleſs of his own Safety, entertain'd the Diſcovery kindly, and told the Earl, *That if his Relation were true, he would pardon him, but if he ſought to impoſe upon him, it ſhould be at his own Peril.* Theſe Things had hardly paſſed between the King and Earl, but the Duke of *York* arriv'd, who by delivering the Indenture to the King, gave him a ſufficient Demonſtration of the intended Treaſon and Plot againſt his Life: So that after he had read and peruſed it, there was no Room left to doubt of the Confeſſion he had receiv'd from the Earl of *Rutland*; wherefore, making ſome Reflections upon the Baſeneſs and Ingratude of his Enemies, whom he ſpared, contrary to the Deſire of the People, in thus ſeeking his Ruin, he turn'd his Thoughts to more neceſſary Conſiderations, how he ſhould ſecure himſelf, and defeat the Deſigns of his Enemies, for his Intention of going to *Oxford* ſunk of it ſelf. And for that End he wrote his Letters to the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmoreland*, and ſuch of his Friends as he had in other Countries, to provide what Forces they could raiſe with all Speed, and come to him to *London*, whether he poſted as faſt as he could, for fear leaſt his Enemies ſhould ſurprize him at *Windſor*; and (*g*) having acquainted the Major with his impending Danger, provided a Force in the City for his Defence, reſolving to ſtay there till he could find what Courſe his Enemies would take againſt him.

Conſpiracy betrayed by the Earl of Rutland.

The Lords carried on the Rebellion after Diſcovery.

The Lords, and the reſt of the Conſpirators at *Oxford* who waited in Expectation of the Earl of *Rutland*, not hearing of his or the King's Approach, eaſily gueſs'd, that the Plot was betray'd, and therefore conſidering, that they had ſo lately been pardon'd, and could not hope again for Mercy, which they had ſo groſly abuſed, reſolved to undertake by open Arms, what they had contrived to effect more privately: And that they might get as great a Party as was poſſible, they cloath'd *Magdalen* in Royal Robes, and gave it out, That King *Richard* had made his Eſcape from *Pomfret*-Caſtle, and was come among them to recover his Right, having their *Pſeudo-Richard* ready to juſtifie their Pretences to the Scrupulous and Inquiſitive. And becauſe they knew, that the King of *France* would be glad of an Opportunity of reſtoring his Son-in-Law K. *Richard*, they ſent to him for his Aſſiſtance, and tho' it was not poſſible to have it preſently, yet hoped, he might contribute ſomething in the Spring to their Succeſs. In the mean time, they ſent out their Emiſſaries, to gather as great Numbers out of the Nation to reſtore King *Richard*, as they could, and wrought ſo far upon the People, who generally pity'd the hard Fate of the Captive King, that in a few Days they had gotten together 40000 Men well arm'd. This proſperous Beginning ſeem'd an Omen of their good End; and, that they might effect their Deſires as ſoon as poſſible, they march'd firſt towards *Windſor* againſt King *Henry*, whom if they could ſurprize, they hoped to make a ſpeedy Concluſion of the Nation's Troubles; but the King was eſcaped to *London* the Night before, and ſo they miſs'd of their Prey. This Diſappointment put them into great Doubts how to proceed effectually againſt him. Some adviſed to march forward to *London*, and ſet upon the King, while the City was unreſolv'd, and in no Readineſs to make any Reſiſtance, which as it was the beſt Courſe they could take, ſo it ſhew'd a brave Courage in the Adviſers: But the moſt part, who were more timorous and cautious, thought it better to releaſe King *Richard* firſt, leſt if

(*g*) He ſtaid a Day or two at *Windſor*, but hearing the Conſpirators had got 40000 Men together, he ſtole away in the Night to *London*; and a few Hours after he was gone, the Rebels came to *Windſor*. Sir *J. Hayward*'s, *Henry* IV.

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it ſhould be diſcover'd, that he was ſtill in Priſon, all their Plot ſhould be unravell'd. This Counſel, tho' the worſt, was accepted, and in purſuit of it, they turn'd back to *Colebrook*, and ſo went to *Sunnings*, near *Reading*, where Queen *Iſabel*'s Palace was; to whom they gave this Account, That the King was gotten from his Impriſonment, at *Pomfract*, and at the Head of an Army of 100000 Men. Which News was ſo pleaſant to the Queen, that ſhe immediately defaced King *Henry*'s Arms, and pull'd off his Badge from her Servants, who were engaged to wear it, (*b*) and then departed with the Lords to meet King *Richard*; exhorting the People, as they paſſed along, to take Arms to vindicate their injured King, who was, and is, and ſhould be their Sovereign. They paſſed through *Wallingford*, and *Abbington*, and at length came to (*i*) *Cirenceſter*; where having encamp'd their Army in the Fields, the Lords took up their Lodgings in the Town, the Earl of *Kent*, late Duke of *Surrey*, and Earl of *Salisbury*, in one Inn; and Earl of *Huntington*, late Duke of *Exeter*, and the Lord *Spencer*, late Earl of *Gloceſter*, in another Inn. The Bailiff of the Town, who was a firm Friend to King *Henry*, obſerving the ill Conduct of this rebellious Rout, and knowing, that if the Heads of the Faction could be ſuppreſſed, the miſguided Multitude would melt away of it ſelf, look'd upon the impolitick Separation of the Lords from the Body of the Army, to be a good Opportunity of ſuppreſſing the Rebellion, if he could get them into his Power, which ſeem'd no difficult Matter, becauſe they lay in weak Inns, with no Guards, but a ſmall Attendance of Servants: Wherefore, getting together about Eighty Archers, and ſuch other Arms, as the Time would give leave, he beſet the Inns; and though the Duke of *Exeter* and Earl of *Salisbury* with their Men made as brave a Reſiſtance as the Place and their Company would permit; yet they were at length all, but the Duke of *Exeter* and Sir *John Shelly* taken, and carried Priſoners to the Abbey. All Means was uſed by the Servants of the Lords, and their Retainers to further their Eſcape, for they ſet the Town on fire in ſeveral Places, hoping, that while the Townſmen were buſied to ſave their Houſes and Goods, their Maſters might have Opportunity to get from them: Others fled to the Army to relate the Accident, and bring them to reſcue their Captains and Leaders, but all proved in vain; for the Townſmen enraged by the miſchievous Action, neglected their Houſes, and bringing forth the Lords, whom they look'd upon as the Authors and Adviſers of this cruel Act, beheaded Two of them in the Market-place, *viz.* The Duke of *Surrey*, and Earl of *Salisbury*. And the Army ſeeing the Fires in the Town, ſuppoſed that King *Henry*, who had gotten a good Army of *Londoners*, and others, and was purſuing them, had entred the Town; ſo every Man fled to ſave themſelves.

The Rebels routed at *Cirenceſter*.

Several of the Chief of the Rebels executed at *Cirenceſter*.

King *Henry* was by this Time arriv'd at *Oxford*, with Intention to ſtop the Progreſs of the Rebels; but the Service of the Men of *Cirenceſter* had made his Arms uſeleſs, being met there with the good News of their Diſperſion, and a ſtrong Guard, with Sir *Bennitt Shelly*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, Sir *Bernard Brockas*, and Twenty Eight Lords, Knights and Gentlemen more, who were the chief Leaders of the Rebellion, whom they had taken and ſent to be diſpoſed of at the King's Pleaſure. Theſe he immediately cauſed to be executed there. Some of the Lords, and others who were Chief in this Revolt, were fled, as the Duke of *Exeter* and Sir *John Shelly*, (*k*) who got into *Eſſex*, and attempted ſeveral Times to get over into *France*, but were driven back by contrary Winds; and ſo at length were taken at *Prittle-Well*, and being carry'd to *Pleſhy*, were executed in the very Place where the Duke had before arreſted the Duke of *Gloceſter*; a juſt Reward, as was then thought, of his Wickedneſs to that Nobleman. The Earl of *Gloceſter* fled towards *Wales*, but being taken, was Beheaded at *Briſtol*, and *Magdalene*, the Counterfeit *Richard*, with one *Fezeby*, another of King *Richard*'s Chaplains, were apprehended in their Flight to *Scotland*, and being brought to the *Tower* of *London*, were hang'd and quarter'd. The Heads and Quarters of many of the Conſpirators were ſet upon *London-Bridge*, and ſent into other Parts of the Nation to be a Terrour to the King's Subjects againſt ſuch Attempts for the future, which, though a juſt Puniſhment, yet favour'd ſo much of Cruelty, that many grave Men were diſcontented at it, and ſpared not to ſay, *That in a ſhort time they ſhould wiſh they ſtill had had King* Richard *for their Governour, the Faults which proceeded from his Remiſneſs and Mildneſs being more tolerable than the Cruelty of their new King.* But yet, for the preſent, all Things ſeem'd quiet, and the Rebellion was perfectly allay'd, which though it was a great Satisfaction to King *Henry* and his Friends, yet was born ſo heavily by the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, who was the Author of it, that for mere Grief of the Diſappointment, he fell ſuddenly into a Palſey, of which he ſhortly after died. The Biſhop of *Carliſle* had the like Death about the ſame time; for being condemn'd for this Rebellion, he prevented his more ſhameful Execution by dying for Grief and Trouble in Priſon. And thus moſt of King *Richard*'s beſt Friends were taken off by this firſt Attempt.

But altho' this Conſpiracy againſt King *Henry*'s Life and Dignity was by a propitious Providence diſappointed, and the Actors periſh'd as ſuddenly and exemplarily as the King himſelf could have deſired; yet ſo long as the Cauſe remain'd, and King *Richard* was alive, he thought he could never promiſe himſelf any Security, but, upon every ſmall Diſcontent, the plauſible Pretence of reſtoring King *Richard* to his Throne would be made uſe of to revenge themſelves, and diſturb his Quiet: He ſhould be always look'd upon as an Uſurper ſo long as King *Richard*, whoſe Right was confirm'd by 22 Years Poſſeſſion, ſurvived; and, notwithſtanding the Rebellion was now appeas'd, yet what Reſpite could he hope from the like Attempts, ſo long as the Body of the Rebels ſtill remain'd, wanting only Heads to lead them. Theſe Arguments, grounded upon ſtrong Fears and Preſumptions, made him think King *Richard*'s Death neceſſary firſt, and after put him upon Reſolutions of deſtroying him. Our Hiſtorians differ much in the Manner of his Death, tho' moſt agree it was by *Henry*'s Means: For that King *Richard* ſhould voluntarily ſtarve himſelf for Diſcontent at the ill Succeſs of the late Rebellion, as ſome have related, ſeems very

K. *Richard* murther'd

(*b*) The King's own Servants attended on her.

(*i*) at *Chicheſter*.

(*k*) They got out of *Chicheſter*, while the Duke of *Surrey*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and the other Conſpirators, were fighting with the Townſmen, and coming to the Rebels Camp, found them diſperſed at the Sight of the Fire in the Town.

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improbable, becauſe he could not be ſo ignorant of the uncertain Events of Battles and Warlike Attempts, as to be ſo impatient for a Diſappointment, nor had Reaſon to deſpair of future Endeavours for him, ſince of the many Thouſands that join'd for his Reſtoration, he had not loſt Half an Hundred. Thoſe that impute King *Richard*'s Death to King *Henry*'s Order or Encouragement, diſagree in the Method of doing it. Some ſay, He was, by his Order, kept Fifteen Days together from Food, and ſo, by the Help of Cold, ſtarv'd to Death. Others write, That he was every Day ſerved with Plenty of Diſhes fit for a King's Table, as was order'd by Parliament, but not permitted to touch any of them, and ſo died with Hunger: But both theſe Ways of deſtroying were ſo plain and barbarous, that moſt of our Modern Hiſtorians are of Opinion, That King *Henry* would not ſo notoriouſly contradict his Promiſe, which he had ſo lately made in Parliament, *That King* Richard's *Life ſhould not be touch'd.* And therefore the general Current of our Writers follow the Relation of an Author (*l*) of thoſe Times, who ſeems to have had very good Intelligence of his Death, and relates it thus: That K. *Henry* ſitting at Table one Day very ſad and melancholy, burſt out into theſe Words, *How miſerable is my Condition! who live in continual Fears and Dangers from but one Cauſe, and yet have no Man ſo much my Friend as to free me from them.* Sir *Peirce de Exton* hearing theſe Words, eaſily gueſs'd what the King meant, and though he knew them to be no Order or Command, yet he believ'd it would be the more acceptable Undertaking to execute his Deſire without an expreſs Command from him; and therefore immediately haſten'd, with Eight Ruffians, to *Pomfract* to execute his bloody Deſign. When he was arrived, he order'd the Gentleman, who uſually was King *Richard*'s Taſter, to neglect his Service, and let him eat what he pleaſed, becauſe he ſhould not eat long. When his Dinner therefore was ſerved in, the Taſter omitting his Duty, King *Richard* demanded the Cauſe of it, who reply'd, *That Sir* Peirce de Exton, *who was lately come from the King, had forbad him.* At which Anſwer King *Richard*, being angry, catch'd up the Carving-Knife, and ſtriking the Taſter with it, ſaid, *The Devil take* Harry *of* Lancaſter, *and thee together.* As the King ſpoke theſe Words, came in Sir *Peirce* himſelf, and his Eight Attendants arm'd. Their Deſign was eaſily known by the Roughneſs of their Entrance, and King *Richard* was ſo far from being daunted at their Preſence, that he wrung an Pole-Ax out of one of their Hands, and ſtood upon his Defence. The Ruffians and Sir *Peirce* undauntedly purſued their Intent, and aſſaulted the King, who ſo well defended himſelf, that he kill'd Four of them before they could maſter him. At length Sir *Peirce* himſelf coming behind him ſtruck him a Blow on the Head, and fell'd him, and ſo he died. The News of King *Richard*'s Death, however it might inwardly pleaſe *Henry*, yet he openly received it with no ſmall Signs of Sorrow for his untimely Fate, and as great Diſguſt to the Inſtruments of it; ſo that Sir *Peirce*, who expected a Reward for this Piece of Service, was quite put out of Favour, and forced to flie to eſcape the Puniſhment due to his Crime, which the King, to ſave his own Honour, ſeem'd zealous to execute, and died in Diſcontent, and Horrour of Conſcience.

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Thus did King *Richard* end his Life, after he had lived 33 Years, and reigned 22, ſome few Months after his Depoſition. He was a Man of a very well-proportion'd Body and graceful Perſonage, of a very liberal and kind Diſpoſition, which, for want of more Age and Experience, expoſed him to the Flatteries and crafty Inſinuations of ſuch as were about him, and humour'd his Genius to Pleaſures and Paſtimes, which he much lov'd and follow'd. He was by Nature every way qualified to have made an excellent King, neither wanting Underſtanding to rule, not Courage to defend a Nation; but being corrupted in his Youth by Flattery, and miſled by lewd Perſons, he neither knew himſelf nor others, which was the only Cauſe of his Ruine; for had he dared to do as much at his laſt Arrival in *Wales*, as he did at his Death, or had he made better Choice of Friends, as he had Judgment enough to have done, he might have kept his Kingdom, perhaps, longer than he did. He was guilty certainly of many Faults in Government; but thoſe, either really none of his own, or for want of Experience; which, had they happen'd in other Times, might have been born with, but meeting with Pride and Ambition in the Great Ones, and Diſcontents in the People, proved his Deſtruction.

The Character of K. *Richard.*

King *Henry*, being thus rid of his Fears, took ſuch Care of his Funeral, as ſhew'd, that he neither neglected him, nor would own him for a Rival in his Dignity. His Body being embalm'd, and wrapp'd in Sear-Cloaths, was cover'd with Lead all but the Face, and ſet in the *Minſter* at *Pomfract* ſeveral Days to be ſeen of all Perſons, who, either out of Curioſity or Pity, would behold him. From thence it was removed to *London*, and in moſt of the principal Towns as it was carry'd along, was ſhew'd to all Spectators. In its Paſſage thro' the City, the Corps was carried bare-faced, and being brought to St. *Paul*'s, lay Three Days alſo open to all Beholders, in which time was kept a ſolemn Obſequies to the deceaſed Prince, both in that Cathedral, and at *Weſtminſter*, King *Henry* himſelf being preſent at them, with all the Magiſtrates, and chief Men of the City. Theſe ſacred Offices being perform'd according to the Religion of thoſe Times, the King commanded his Corps to be carried down to *Langley-Abbey*, in *Buckinghamſhire*, and there buried in the Church of the *Friars-Preachers*, which was accordingly done by the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, and the Abbots of *Waltham*, and St. *Albans*; none of the Nobles or Commoners being allow'd to attend it, nor any Dinner, or other Ceremony uſed at it, as was the Cuſtom of thoſe Times. But King *Henry* afterwards had his Body brought back again, and magnificently entombed at *Weſtminſter*, by the Body of his Queen *Ann*, by this pious Deed endeavouring to expiate his Father's Injuſtice, and Cruelty done to that King.

The Interment of King *Richard* at *Langley*.

Much about the Time of King *Richard*'s Death, deceaſed alſo the Dutcheſs of *Gloceſter*, who being extremely grieved for the Loſs of her Eldeſt Son *Humphrey*, who died of the Peſtilence at *Cheſter*, ſunk under the Load of her Sorrows, and departed this Life. *Thomas Mowbrey*, Duke of *Norfolk*, who, for his Accuſation of the then Duke of *Hereford*, but now the King, was baniſh'd for his Life, died alſo in

Several great Perſons died.

(*l*) *Thomas* of *Walſingham.*

Exile

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Exile at *Venice*, *John*, Duke of *Brittain* in *France*, who had for his firſt Wife *Mary*, Daughter of King *Edward* the Third, deceaſed alſo, leaving behind him a Widow *Joanna*, who was not long after marry'd to King *Henry*, and three Sons, *John*, *Richard*, and *Arthur*. *Edmund*, Duke of *York*, alſo yielded to Mortality about this Time, and left two Sons, *Edward*, late Duke of *Aumerl*, and then Earl of *Rutland*, who was Heir of his Honour and Eſtate; and *Richard*, Earl of *Cambridge*, who marrying *Anna Mortimer*, the Heireſs of *Roger Mortimer*, Earl of *Mareh*, and Daughter of *Philippa*, the only Child ſurviving of *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, became afterward a Competitor for the Crown. He carry'd himſelf in his Nephew King *Richard*'s Reign with ſuch Prudence and Caution, that he neither incurr'd the Odium of the Court or People, as almoſt all the reſt of the Nobility did, but was truſted by the King, and yet loved by the Commons. Under King *Henry* he ſhew'd more Compliance to the Change of Government, than was thought agreeable to the Relation he had to the King; but there was ſo great a Neceſſity of ſubmitting where all Oppoſition had been fruitleſs, that even in this worſt Action of his Life, he kept up his Reputation of Honeſty and Prudence to the laſt, and died lamented and honour'd; his Moderation in all times gaining him both Praiſe and Safety.

The D. of *York*'s Death and Character.

King of *France* ready to invade *England*, deſiſts from it upon the News of King *Richard*'s Death.

While theſe Things happen'd in *England*, *Charles*, King of *France*, who had reſolved to revenge the Wrong done to King *Richard* by the *Engliſh*, was very active and buſie to gather ſuch an Army, as might be able to effect his Deſign; and by the Aſſiſtance of his Nobility, who readily concurr'd with him in ſo great a piece of Juſtice, had got all Things neceſſary for that Expedition ready againſt the Spring, and was come down with a mighty Army into *Picardy*; from whence he intended to ſail over into *England*: But the News of the Death of King *Richard* being brought to the Army, chang'd their Reſolutions; and now ſince they ſaw it impoſſible to reſtore him, the King and chief Men engag'd in that Enterprize, thought it the beſt way to deſiſt from the Invaſion, which, though it had ſome ſhews of Advantage by plundering ſo rich a Country, for which End ſome deſir'd it might go on, yet had ſo much evident Hazard attending it, that moſt were willing and glad of the Opportunity of laying it aſide, and ſo the Army was diſmiſſed: And it was reſolv'd, that a ſolemn Embaſſage ſhould be ſent over to *Henry* to demand, that Queen *Iſabell* ſhould be ſent into *France* to her Father with her Dower, which was accordingly done; but King *Henry* would give them no other Anſwer than this, *That he would ſhortly ſend his Commiſſioners to* Callis *to treat and conclude with their Maſter about that, and ſeveral other Affairs of Importance to both Realms, and then would do what was Juſt and Reaſonable.*

The *Welſh* rebel under *Owen Glendour*.

This Summer the *Welſh* weary of Subjection to the *Engliſh*, and thinking this a fit Opportunity to revolt, when Subjection was grown a diſputed Duty, ſet up *Owen Glendour* to be their Prince and Captain, and aſſociating themſelves in a firm League under him, reſolv'd to recover their Ancient Liberty, and free themſelves from the *Engliſh* Yoke. This *Owen* was of no great Parentage among his People nor Eſtate; but being a Gentleman of great Courage and Boldneſs in himſelf, and becauſe he had been a Servant to King *Richard* at *Flint-Caſtle*, was very forward to oppoſe and annoy King *Henry*'s Dominions, partly to vindicate his Old Maſter, and partly his own private Wrongs. The latter he thought would be the more plauſible Pretence for his Rebellion; and therefore having had a Quarrel with *Reginald*, Lord *Gray* of *Ruthen*, about a part of a Common which lay between their Eſtates, and had been enjoy'd by *Owen* ſome time in King *Richard*'s Days, but was lately adjudg'd by Law to belong to the Lord *Gray*, to the great Diſcontent of *Owen Glendour*, who taking occaſion from the rebellious Humour of his Country-men, invaded the Lord *Gray*'s Eſtate, with a Body of Men, burns his Houſes and Woods, tramples down his Corn, and barbarouſly murder'd his Servants and Tenants. The Lord *Gray*, with ſuch Aſſiſtance as he could get among his Neighbours and Friends, ſtood up in his own Defence, and ſought to ſubdue his Enemies: But being overpower'd by *Owen Glendour* and his *Welſh* Men, was taken Priſoner himſelf, and many of his Aſſiſtance kill'd. *Owen*, glad of this Advantage to raiſe his Family, treated the Lord very gently and civilly, and promiſed him Liberty upon Condition, that he would marry his Daughter: But the Lord at firſt ſcorn'd the Offer; yet at length conſidering that he was unable to diſcharge his Ranſom without a greater Damage to his Eſtate accepted it, and was marry'd to her, which was not ſo grateful to *Owen*, as to oblige him to releaſe him, becauſe he look'd upon it as only a crafty Deſign, and therefore he as deceitfully dealt with him, and kept him Priſoner till his Death. The Succeſs which the *Welſh* had againſt the Lord *Gray*, ſo encouraging'd them, that they made another Inroad into *Herefordſhire*, and having ſpoil'd and harraſſed the Country, return'd with much Riches and Prey. *Edmund Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, who was retreated to his Manner of *Wigmore*, in that Country, being much griev'd for the Miſeries of his Country, aſſembl'd all the Gentry of thoſe Parts to oppoſe the Inſolencies of their Neighbours, and engaging with them, maintain'd a bloody and long Battel; but by the good Conduct of *Owen*, who like a brave Commander encourag'd his Men to hold out, with the Glory of Victory, and Promiſes of Reward, they were overcome, above a Thouſand of the *Engliſh* being ſlain, and the Earl of *March* himſelf taken Priſoner: The *Welſh* grew very Inſolent by this Victory, and not only abuſed the Bodies of the ſlain, but having loaden the Earl of *March* with Chains, put him into a naſty and irkſom Dungeon, and ravag'd all the Countries on the Weſt of *Severn*, burning and deſtroying the Towns and Villages with extreme Barbarity. King *Henry* was not inſenſible of theſe Miſchiefs, but either looking upon them as the Effects of a private Quarrel between the *Welſh* and their Neighbours, or elſe being taken up with Matters of greater Moment, would not concern himſelf in them; and though he was ſolicited much by the Friends of the Earl of *March* to revenge his Quarrel, and redeem him from Captivity, yet he would not liſten to their Deſires, knowing his Title to the Crown, and his Liberty might be a Damage to him, but told them, *The Earl had not engag'd in his Quarrel, and therefore he was under no Obligation to redeem him.*

A. D. 1400. Reg. 1.

Reg. 2.

The Earl of *March* taken Priſoner by the *Welſh*.

While theſe Things were done by the *Welſh*, the *Scots* were not idle in moleſting *England* both by Land and Sea, though with no great Advantage to themſelves, the *Engliſh* doing as much Damage to the *Scots* in the Iſles of *Orkney*, as they had done in *Northumberland*, and taking the greateſt part of their Fleet, which they had

The *Scots* trouble *England*, and War is proclaim'd between the Two Nations.

A. D. 1400. Reg. 2.

ſent out, under the Command of Sir *Robert Logon*, to ſurprize the *Engliſh* Fiſhermen; yet ſo long as Damages were equal, the Peace was not actually broken, till King *Henry* was thought to give an Occaſion to *Robert*, King of *Scots*, to proclaim open War upon this Account, and for this Reaſon: *George Dunbarr*, Earl of the *Marches* of *Scotland*, having betroth'd his Daughter to Prince *David*, the Eldeſt Son of *Robert*, King of *Scots*, had paid that King a great Sum of Money, in Conſideration of the Marriage which was ſhortly to be celebrated; but being defeated in his Agreement by the Subtilty of *Archibald*, Earl of *Dowglaſs*, who envying the Dignity of the Earl of *March*'s Family, ſo prevail'd with the King, that he married his Son to his own Daughter *Mariel*. This Affront and Diſappointment was a very great Vexation to the Earl of *March*, inſomuch that he could hardly reſtrain his Paſſions from breaking out into open Rebellion; but chuſing firſt to make the Cauſe known, demanded of King *Robert* the Reſtitution of his Money, which he had paid him; but the King not able to ſpare it, tho' he could not refuſe Payment, yet would neither promiſe it, nor pay it, but put him off with deluſory Anſwers and Delays. The Earl being impatient at the Injuſtice of *Robert*, ſends Meſſengers to the King of *England*, to requeſt of him a Permiſſion for himſelf and Family to come into his Dominions, and Letters of ſafe Conduct for that End, complaining heavily of the Injury done him by his own King, and intending by the Aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh* to revenge his Wrongs and Loſs. King *Henry* thinking that the Earl might be ſome Advantage to him, if there ſhould happen any Wars between the Two Nations, gave him Liberty to come into his Kingdom; and he immediately fled out of *Scotland* with his Family to *Henry*, Earl of *Northumberland*, by whom he was receiv'd with a grateful Welcome, and by his Aſſiſtance and Advice, the Earl made many Incurſions into *Scotland* with Succeſs, burning their Towns, and returning with much Booty.

The King of *Scots* hearing that the Earl of *March* was gone, and turn'd his open Enemy, deprived him of his Honour, ſeiz'd upon all his Goods and Poſſeſſions in *Scotland*, and proclaim'd him an open Traitor, ſending Meſſengers to King *Henry*, to tell him, *That he muſt either deliver up to him the Earl of* March, *or baniſh him his Dominions, or elſe not expect that the Truce between the Two Nations ſhould laſt long.* King *Henry* knowing the uncertain Humour of the *Scots*, and conſidering their late Incurſions, to the Prejudice of his Subjects, was reſolv'd not to loſe the Benefit of this Diſcontent between the King of *Scots* and Earl of *March*, and therefore return'd an Anſwer, *That he was deſirous of the Continuance of the Peace, but not fearful of the War, which he would rather run the Hazard of, than falſifie his Honour and Promiſe to the Earl of* March, *and his Company, who had come into his Nation by his Permiſſion and Leave.* This Anſwer being brought to the *Scotch* King, ſo incenſed him, that he proclaim'd War againſt the King of *England*, and accordingly both Kings began their Preparations for it againſt the next Spring, when the Seaſon would allow it.

The *Greek* Emperor comes into *England*.

The *Grecian* Emperor *Immanuel Palæologus*, whoſe Dominions were in great Danger to be loſt by the Incurſions of the *Turks* under *Bazajet* the Sixth, came into *England* to beg King *Henry*'s Aſſiſtance againſt them. The King met him at *Black-Heath*, and conducted him with much Reſpect and Honour through the City of *London*, and entertain'd him magnificently, bearing his Charges all the Time of his Abode in *England*, which was but ſhort, becauſe he receiv'd News, that the King of *Leto* had defeated the *Baſſa* of *Jeruſalem*, and taken that City, and he thought it might be ſome Advantage to his Affairs at Home: Wherefore, taking his Leave of King *Henry*, he departed, being diſmiſs'd by him with rich Gifts, and Promiſes of a larger Aſſiſtance, when he ſhould by God's Providence have Peace ſettled among his Subjects. A. D. 1400. Reg. 2.

A. D. 1401.

In the *Utas* or *Octaves* of S. *Hilary*, Jan. 21. the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, and made divers Acts for the Benefit both of Church and State. For the Good of the Church, it was made a *Præmunire* for any Perſon to purchaſe any Bull from the Pope, to exempt them from Payment of Tythes, for the *Ciſtertian* Monks, and other religious Orders then began to bring in ſuch Exemptions, not only for their own *Granges*, but alſo for all their Farms and Lands belonging to their Monaſtries holden by Laymen, and ſo much leſſen'd the Maintenance of the ſecular Clergy, which further to prevent, the Parliament made this Act. But that which was then thought to be the beſt Act for the Support of the Church, was the Statute againſt the *Lollards*, or Hereticks of thoſe Times, becauſe Corruptions in Doctrines are more prejudicial to the Church, than the Loſs of its Revenues. The Occaſion of this Act, was this: One *William Sawter*, a Prieſt, but a Follower of *Wickliffe*'s Doctrine, having formerly recanted his Opinions before the Biſhop of *Norwich*, grew more zealous upon his Repentance, and riſe from this Fall; and that he might ſatisfie for his Lapſe, by an Act of ſingular Courage and Charity, came into the Parliament Houſe, and petition'd, That he might be allow'd to ſpeak ſomething for the ineſtimable Benefit and Advantage of the Nation, purpoſing to propound a general Reformation both of Doctrine and Diſcipline in the Church. The Biſhops, who ſome of them knew the Man and his Converſation, and that though he were a Man of ſingular Piety and Vertue, yet worſhipp'd God after the Way which they call'd Hereſie, oppoſed his Requeſt, and deſired that he might be turn'd over to the Convocation to be examined; which being granted, he was there accuſed of holding Heterodox Opinions about the Worſhip of Saints and Angels, Pilgrimages to Tombs and Shrines, and the real Preſence of the Body and Blood of Chriſt in the Sacrament. To which, being obliged to anſwer particularly, many Days were ſpent in his Examination, and Conviction. In the mean time the Clergy and their Friends, being excited by his Forwardneſs, to ſtand up for their Doctrine and Church, became earneſt Suiters to the King, to provide a ſufficient Remedy againſt ſo growing an Evil, and obtain'd a ſevere Act againſt all erroneous Opinions; becauſe, in this unſettled Eſtate, he was willing to gratifie the Clergy, who had aſſiſted him in his coming to the Throne, and being diſcontented, might much embroil his Affairs. Therefore he cauſed it to be enacted, 'That none ſhould preach without 'Licenſe, except Perſons priviledged: That 'none ſhould preach any Doctrine contrary to 'the Catholick Faith, or the Determination of 'Holy Church; and, that none ſhould favour 'or abet ſuch Preachers, or their Doctrines, 'nor keep their Books, but deliver them to 'the Dioceſan of the Place, within Forty Days 'after the Proclamation of this Statute: And, 'if

Second Parliament, and its Acts.

The Act *de Hæretico comburendo*, firſt made.

A. D. 1401. Reg. 2.

'if any Perſons were defamed, or ſuſpected of 'doing againſt this Ordinance, then the Ordi- 'nary might arreſt them, and keep them in 'Priſon till they were Canonically clear'd of 'the Articles laid to their Charge, or abjured 'them according to the Laws of the Church, 'provided that the Proceedings againſt them 'were publickly and judicially done, and end- 'ed within Three Months after the Arreſt; 'and, if they were convicted, he might fine 'them, and keep them in Priſon, as to him ſhould 'ſeem fit: And if any being convict did refuſe 'to abjure, or after Abjuration did fall into 'Relapſe, then they were to be left to the Se- 'cular Court: And the Mayors, Sheriffs, or 'Bailiffs being preſent at the Paſſing the Sen- 'tence, were to receive them after Sentence, 'and they before the People in an High-place 'to be burnt.

This Act was no ſooner paſt, but the Clergy put it in Execution upon *William Sauter*, that it might be a Terror to all others; for being convicted of Hereſie, and Relapſe, the King iſſued out his Writ, *Feb.* 26. for his Execution, which was done accordingly, (*m*) and ſo the Act was ſealed with Blood.

Other Laws alſo were made of great Uſe and Advantage to the State, *viz.* 'That no 'Proviſions ſhould be brought from *Rome* by 'any religious Perſon, to exempt him from 'Obedience to the Secular Power; and that 'all ſuch Perſons that ſhall bring any ſuch Pro- 'viſions into the Nation, ſhall incur a *Præmu- 'nire*. That no Perſon ſhall carry any Gold or 'Silver in Coin, without the ſpecial Licenſe 'of the King, out of the Nation; and if any 'Perſon ſhall preſume to do the Contrary, he 'ſhall forfeit all the ſaid Coin to the King. 'That the Chirographer of the *Common-Pleas*, 'Clerk of the Crown of the *King's-Bench*, the 'Marſhal of the *Marſhalſea* of the King's Houſe 'ſhould take no greater Fees than what are pre- 'ſcribed and limited by the ſaid Statutes.

By theſe Acts the due Subjection of the Clergy and People was preſerved and ſecured to the King, the Traffick of the Nation promoted, and Courts of Juſtice made an Eaſe, and not an intolerable Grievance, as ſince they have been, to all ſuch as ſeek their Rights. We do not find that the King had, or deſired any Tax in this or the former Parliament, becauſe, as he had no great Need of more than the Revenues of the Crown, ſo he was willing to get the Love of the People by eaſing them of Charge, and oppreſſing Taxes.

A Treaty between the *Engliſh* and *French*, and Queen *Iſabel* ſent into *France*.

As ſoon as the Parliament was diſmiſſed, the King ſent his Ambaſſadors according to his Promiſe to *Guiſnes*, to treat with the *French* about Queen *Iſabel*'s Reſtitution, and others Matters of Importance. The *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors were *Edward*, Duke of *York*; *Henry*, Earl of *Northumberland*, and his Son *Henry*, ſurnamed, *Hotſpur*; the Lord *Fitz-Warren*, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Lincoln*; and the *French* were, the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Lords *D' Albert*, *Hangeſt*, and *Chaſtlemorant*, and the Biſhops of *Paris* and *Beauvais*. The main Things inſiſted upon by the *Engliſh* were, that Queen *Iſabel* might be given in Marriage to King *Henry*, (*n*) ſince the Marriage between her and King *Richard* was never conſummated by actual Knowledge; and that the Truce which was made by King *Richard* for Thirty Years, might be continued for the Years that were unexpired. The *French* Ambaſſadors would by no Means conſent to a Marriage, becauſe it was not in their Inſtructions to treat about it, and their Maſter being in a Fit of his old Diſeaſe, the Frenzy, was not capable of treating with, about any ſuch Propoſition; and ſo they inſiſted upon it, That ſhe ſhould be reſtor'd, with her Dower. The *Engliſh* reply'd, That the Marriage not being compleated, ſhe had no Dower, but ſhe ſhould be ſent back with her Treaſure and Jewels. Concerning the Truce, they came to a firm Agreement, That ſo much of the Truce as was unexpired ſhould go on, till the Thirty Years were out: And ſo the Treaty ended, and Queen *Iſabel* was ſoon after ſent, under the Care of the Earl of *Worceſter*, and ſeveral other Noblemen and Women, into *France*, and between *Bulloigne* and *Callis* was deliver'd to the Lord *Valeran*, Earl of St. *Paul*, Lieutenant in *Picardy*, who, with many *French* Lords and Ladies, convey'd her to *Paris* to her Father and Mother, by whom ſhe was not long after given in Marriage to *Charles*, the eldeſt Son of *Lewis*, Duke of *Orleans*. The Earl of *Northumberland* proteſted her free from all Marriage-Bonds, and received a Teſtimonial of her ſafe Delivery to them, from the Earl of St. *Paul*.

A. D. 1401. Reg. 2.

King *Henry*, having gather'd a large Army to go againſt *Scotland*, thought it was the wiſeſt Way not to wait for the Coming of the *Scots*, but to invade his Enemies Country, becauſe by that means the Miſeries of the War would fall wholly upon the *Scots*, and both Sides prey upon *Scotland*: Wherefore ſending ſome of his Light Troops before, to bring a Terrour upon them, that they might not invade *England* before he could arrive with the whole Army, he entred *Scotland* at laſt with all his Forces, and burnt many of their Towns and Villages, took their Caſtles, and ruin'd the greateſt part of *Edinburgh* and *Leith*, ſparing nothing but Monaſtries and Churches. The *Scots*, terrified with the Greatneſs of his Army, which they repreſented much greater than it really was, fled before him, and made no Reſiſtance; ſo that where-ever he came, the whole Country was left in his Power, and to the Will of his Soldiers.

King *Henry* goes into *Scotland* to make War there.

In the End of *September*, the King beſieged the Caſtle of *Maidens* in *Edinburgh*, which was maintain'd againſt him by *David*, Duke of *Rothſay*, Prince of the Realm, and *Archibald*, Earl of *Dowglaſs*, who were the Cauſes of the War. While this Caſtle was beſieged, *Robert*, Duke of *Albany*, was appointed Governour of the Realm, becauſe the King of the *Scots* was very ſick, and unable to govern. This Duke, being under an Obligation, as Vice-Roy, to reſcue the Caſtle from being taken, ſent to King *Henry*, deſiring him to forbear an Aſſault upon it for ſix Days only, and he would give him Battle, and either raiſe the Siege, or loſe his Life. King *Henry*, being a very magnanimous and couragious Prince, who valued an Heroick Action above the Taking of an inconſiderable Fort, liberally rewarded the Herald that came with the Petition and Promiſe, giving him a Silk-Gown and a Gold-Chain; and aſſuring him on his Word, that he would tarry the Time deſired: But it was evident, that the Duke of *Albany* was not ſo ſincere in his De-

Reg. 3.

(*m*) He was burnt in *Smithfield*.

(*n*) The *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors demanded her in Marriage for the Prince of *Wales*, King *Henry*'s eldeſt Son; *A Man anſwerable to her in equal Degree both of Blood and Years*.

A. D. 1401. Reg. 3.

fire, as *Henry* was in his Promiſe, becauſe he never durſt appear againſt King *Henry*, and, 'tis probable, had no other Deſign, but, by his Delays, to keep the King from Action, till Winter and Want ſhould force him home, which the Time of the Year eaſily foretold were at Hand, as, indeed, it happen'd accordingly; for the King, out of Generoſity, waiting longer than his Appointment, was forced to withdraw Home without any further Action, becauſe of the Weather and the Want of Proviſion. The *Scots*, while King *Henry* remain'd in *Scotland*, having the Lords Wardens of the *Marches* with him, had made ſome Inroads into *England*, and did much Harm in *Cumberland* about *Bamborough*-Caſtle, but retreated when the People aſſembled againſt 'em: And when King *Henry* was gone, they again vex'd the Borders, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Halibarton* of *Dirleton*, and Sir *Patrick Hebborn* of *Hales*; and though they did little Harm, yet they ſhew'd, that though they had no Courage to fight their Enemies, they had Malice to revenge themſelves upon them. And thus concluded the firſt Summer's War between the *Engliſh* and *Scots*.

K. *Henry* goes againſt the *Welſh*.

While the King was thus buſied in *Scotland*, *Owen Glendour*, and his *Welſh*, were (*o*) very active in annoying the Counties adjoining, doing all manner of Miſchief, which either Malice or Cruelty could invent, burning, plundering and deſtroying as they pleaſed. The King being return'd, tho' he was not much concern'd to revenge the Earl of *Marche*'s Quarrel, whoſe Captivity he did not much pity, becauſe he would have been well pleaſed if a more ſevere Fate had befallen him; yet hearing of the Miſeries of his Subjects in thoſe Parts, he march'd, with his Army, againſt the *Welſh*, to puniſh them for their Cruelty. *Owen*, as unequal in Strength to the King as in Courage, withdrew himſelf and his Party, and fled into the Deſarts and inacceſſible Places about *Snowdon* Hills (*p*); ſo that the King could do no more, than plunder and waſte the Country, which he did very ſeverely, to ſhow his Anger againſt thoſe Rebels, and carried away a great Booty of Cattle with him.

Some Accidents of this Year.

Several remarkable Things are ſaid to have happen'd this Year. King *Henry*'s Enemies, diſcouraged by the ill Succeſs of their Plot the laſt Year, dared not to appear in any open and form'd Action, but they are ſuppoſed to have convey'd a Galthrap (*q*) into his Bed, which being ſo fram'd, That Three Iron Spikes, very ſharp, ſtood upward, it was almoſt impoſſible for him to have eſcap'd Death, if he had chanced to have lain down upon it; but diſcovering it before he went into his Bed, he ſaved his Life. The Contrivers and Layers of it could never be found out. The uſual Plenty of this Nation was ſo much abated, that Wheat is ſaid to have been ſold at Sixteen Shillings a Quarter, which not long before was at Four Shillings; and it had been much dearer, but that the Merchants brought much Rye and Rye-Flour out of *Sprucia*, (*r*) which ſerving for common Uſe, kept down the Price of Wheat. But tho' there was ſuch a Judgment upon the Nation as Famine, yet the Natives were not humbled by it, but great Pride and Vanity in Cloathing were uſed, Maſters and Servants wearing Gowns with Poke-Sleeves down to the Ground, which were both vain and ſuperfluous. The Conduit in *Cornhill* was built in a Place, where before had ſtood a Priſon for Night-Walkers, call'd, *The Tun*, the Materials of which ſerv'd to raiſe the new Conduit.

A. D. 1401. Reg. 3.

The King having been at very great Charges by his Expeditions into *Wales* and *Scotland*, had a Subſidy granted him by the Laity, by way of voluntary Contribution, or Gift, without calling hie Parliament; ſo ready are Subjects to aſſiſt the King with Monies, when they ſee them careful for the publick Welfare of the Nation.

A. D. 1402.

Libels and Reports againſt the King, and Authors puniſh'd.

About the Beginning of *March* appear'd a very terrible Blazing-Star, ſending forth its Fiery Streams at firſt toward the North-Eaſt, and at length toward the North, where it ſeem'd to fix, which was after thought to portend the bloody Wars between the *Scots* and *Engliſh*, and the ſeveral Executions done this Year upon the Malecontents under the Government. Theſe latter not only raiſed divers Reports, that King *Richard* was alive, and would ſhortly come to recover his Right with a puiſſant Army, but induſtriouſly diſperſed them as Things certain thro' the whole Nation by their Books and Libels, in which they encouraged all Perſons, by Hopes of great Rewards, to aſſiſt King *Richard*, and aſperſed King *Henry* as an Uſurper, and cruel Tyrant. The King had Knowledge of all theſe Things, and to deter theſe Diſturbers of the Government from their Deſigns, he declar'd, That he would ſpare none that he could find inſtrumental in promoting theſe Reports, and would be at any Pains or Charge to diſcover them: But it ſeems this did not ſo affright them from their Attempts, but that ſeveral Perſons were apprehended, and upon their Conviction executed. Sir *Roger Clarringdon*, who was ſaid to be the Baſtard Son of *Edward* the Black Prince, and Eight Fryars, were hanged and beheaded for reporting, That King *Richard* was alive. A Prieſt alſo was taken, who had a Catalogue of divers Gentlemen and others, who had avouch'd, that King *Richard* was alive, and had promiſed him their Aſſiſtance when he ſhould arrive in *England*. Several of the Perſons in the Liſt were alſo taken and impriſon'd: However, nothing being prov'd againſt them, and the Prieſt himſelf confeſſing, that he had never heard any ſuch Thing from them, but had ſet down their Names either by the Report of others, or mere Conjecture, they were at length diſmiſs'd, after much Charge and Trouble, and only the Prieſt hang'd and quarter'd. *Walter Baldocke*, Prior of *Laund*, a ſmall Monaſtry in *Leiceſterſhire*, was alſo apprehended, and accuſed of being an Inſtrument in the above-mention'd Reports, but nothing could be prov'd againſt him; yet becauſe in his Examination he confeſs'd, that he knew ſome that had been induſtrious in ſpreading ſuch Treaſonable Reports, and otherwiſe acting againſt the Peace and Government, he was condemn'd for Miſpriſion of Treaſon, and hang'd. *Richard Friſby* alſo, a Doctor of Divi-

(*o*) Sir *John Hayward*, writes, That Sir *Patrick Hepburn* was kill'd in the Firſt Year of *Henry* the Fourth's Reign. *Life of* Henry IV. *p.* 149.
(*p*) In *Carnarvanſhire*.
(*q*) A Smith's Tool, ſo call'd.
(*r*) From *Pruſſia*.

nity,

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nity ſuffer'd the like Puniſhment, for ſaying, upon the Report that King *Richard* was alive, *That if he were indeed alive, he would fight to Death in his Quarrel.* (s) Theſe, with many others, ſuffer'd for thoſe Reports and Libels, the King ſparing none according to his Reſolution; in which, tho' he may ſeem to have kept a good Conſcience, and rid himſelf of his Enemies, yet he was eſteem'd cruel, and over-ſevere for ſuch an Act.

K. *Henry's* Second Expedition into *Wales.*

Owen Glendour and his *Welſh* having with Succeſs made ſeveral Inroads upon the *Engliſh* Borders, to their great Enriching, began this Summer with freſh Aſſaults upon the Inhabitants, burning, plundering, and deſtroying all Places where-ever they came. The King deſirous to relieve his oppreſſed and injured Subjects, aſſembled a great Army of his Nobles, Gentry, and Commons to reduce *Wales* to its due Obedience, who being all troubled at the Sufferings of their Fellow-Subjects, went with full Reſolutions of ſubduing it before they return'd: Nor did *Owen Glendour* himſelf ſeem to retain ſo much as Hopes of withſtanding an Army of Men ſo well prepared for an Encounter, the *Welſh* being all ſtruck with a panick Fear of their Deſtruction. The King with theſe full Hopes, arrived in *Wales*, but before he could enter upon any Action of moment, there happen'd ſuch foul and tempeſtuous Weather, that the Army ſuffer'd much Damage, and the King was at length forced to return without doing any thing worthy his Reputation. Theſe Storms falling out at a Seaſon of the Year, when they were moſt unuſual, were ſaid to be raiſed by the Magical Skill of *Owen Glendour*, who was thought to be a Wizzard.

Scots invade *England*, and are twice routed.

The *Scots* hearing of King *Henry's* Expedition into *Wales* with ſo numerous an Army, and accompany'd with many Nobles, ſuppoſed that the Northern Lords, who were their implacable Enemies, and the Guardians of their Country againſt them, were alſo gone along with the King, and therefore they could not have a fitter Opportunity to invade the *Engliſh* Borders. Sir *Patrick Hebborn*, (t) who had the Year before made ſome Incurſions into *England* with Succeſs, was choſen their Captain, and with a competent Army of the Men of *Loughdean*, or *Lawden*, enter'd *Northumberland* as far as *New-Caſtle*, taking many Priſoners, and loading themſelves with Spoil and Prey, as if being out of Fear of Oppoſition, they came not to fight, but enrich themſelves. But the Earl of *Northumberland*, and his Son, who were left behind upon Suſpicion of the *Scots* Attempts, had News of theſe their Actions, and with a ſufficient Strength, falls upon them at a Town called *Nesbyt:* The *Scots* receiv'd them couragiouſly, and maintain'd the Battle ſtoutly a good while, but being in Confuſion when they firſt joyn'd the Battle, they were not able to hold out againſt as ſtrong, and a better order'd Army, ſo that they were forced to yield the Victory to the *Engliſh*. Sir *Patrick* perceiv'd the Advantage which the *Engliſh* had againſt them, and thought to patch up the Defects in their Order, by animating his Men to fight, and giving them an Example of Bravery, in encountring the Enemy at the Head of them, but all was to no Purpoſe. He was ſlain himſelf, and his Army abſolutely vanquiſh'd, many of the Flower of *Loughdean* being ſlain, and ſome of the principal Commanders, as Sir *John* and *William Cockburn*, Sir *William Baſſe*, *John* and *Thomas Hablington*, Eſquires, and many of the common Soldiers being taken. Of the *Engliſh* few were kill'd, and thoſe not of any Quality. This Fight happen'd upon *June* 22. The News of this ill Succeſs was heavily taken in *Scotland*, and by none more than *Archibald*, Earl *Dowglaſs*, who reſolving to revenge this Loſs upon the *Engliſh*, obtain'd a Commiſſion at his own Charge to invade *England*; and having gather'd an Army of 20000 Men, enter'd the Kingdom like an enraged Enemy, deſtroying all before him. The Earl of *Northumberland*, and his Son *Hotſpur* as zealous to keep the Victory they had gotten, as Earl *Dowglaſs* was to recover it, being certified of the *Scots* Return, augmented their Forces proportionable to their Adverſaries, and upon *Holy-rood-day*, tho' it was then Harveſt, met the *Scots* at *Hamildon*, or *Halidown*, and with equal Courage and Fury engaged them. The Battle was very fierce and laſting, but the *Scots* not able to endure the violent Shot of the *Engliſh* Archers, were forced to give Ground, and betake themſelves to flight with an incredible Loſs; for there were ſlain not only ſome Men of Eſteem, *viz.* Sir *John Swinton*, Sir *Adam Gurdon*, Sir *John Leviſon*, Sir *Alexander Ramſey*, and 23 Knights more, but alſo 10000 of the Commons; and many Priſoners were taken; of which the Chief were *Mordack*, Earl of *Fife*, (u) Earl *Dowglaſs*'s Son, who himſelf loſt one of his Eyes in the Battle, the Earls of *Angus*, *Murrey*, *Athol*, and *Monteith*, with 500 Men of an inferiour Degree.

1. At *Nesbyt.*

2. At *Halidown.*

The Earl of *Northumberland* being thus victorious, reſolved to purſue the Advantage he had gotten over ſo reſtleſs and troubleſome an Enemy; and therefore having diſpoſed of his Priſoners into ſafe Cuſtody, he invaded *Scotland*, and entring *Tividale*, he burnt and deſtroy'd the whole Country. Then he laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Cocklaws*, of which Sir *John Greenlow* was Captain; he, tho' he were a valiant Man, finding himſelf unable to withſtand ſo great an Army, promiſed to reſign the Caſtle to the Earl of *Northumberland*, if it were not reliev'd within Three Months; but before that was expired, the King call'd the Earl off to aſſiſt in another Enterprize, and ſo the Caſtle was ſaved, and they had Liberty to redeem their Priſoners.

Particular Accidents.

Particular Accidents this Year were theſe: *Tho. Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, died *Apr.* 8. The Lady *Blaunch*, the King's eldeſt Daughter, was marry'd to *William*, Duke of *Bavaria*, the eldeſt Son of *Lewis Barbatus*, the Emperor, at *Cologn*, in great Magnificence, being conducted by the Earl of *Somerſet*, the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, Lord *Clifford*, and ſeveral others of the Nobility. The Devil is ſaid alſo to have appear'd, in the Shape and Habit of a Gray Fryar, in *Danbury* Church, in *Eſſex*, where he behaved himſelf ſo outragiouſly, that he much affrighted the Inhabitants. At the ſame time aroſe ſo great a Tempeſt thereabout, that it blew down the Steeple, and carry'd away Half the Chancel. One Sir *Lewis Clifford* alſo, who had for a long time lean'd to the Doctrine of the *Lollards*, wholly deſerted them, and diſ-

(s) This *Richard Friſeby* was a Gray Fryar, and hang'd in his Fryar's Weeds, to the great Mortification of his Brethen.
(t) Sir *Patrick Hebborn* was kill'd in a former Invaſion. This was his Son, *Patrick Hebborn* the Younger. *Hollinſhead.*
(u) *Mordack*, Earl of *Fife*, was Son to the Duke of *Albany*, Governour of *Scotland*, Ibid. Earl *Dowglaſs* was himſelf taken Priſoner.

cover'd

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cover'd all he knew of them to the Archbiſhop, *viz.* The Doctrines maintain'd by them, and chief Miniſters among them, confeſſing his Error.

Third Parliament; its Acts and Taxes.

On the Morrow after the Feaſt of St. *Michael* a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, and ſat Seven Weeks, to diſpatch ſeveral Matters for the Good and Advantage of the Realm. In this Parliament the King declaring, 'That he 'had in Remembrance the faithful Hearts and 'inward Affections that the Clergy of *England* 'had born to him, and alſo the great Charges 'they had ſuſtain'd for his Honour and Profit 'ſince the Time of his Coronation, and there-'fore was deſirous to be unto them a gracious 'Lord; cauſed ſeveral Privileges of the Church and Clergy to be eſtabliſhed and enacted: For, Firſt, He confirm'd the ſeveral Statutes made by his Grand-father King *Edward* the Third, in his 25th Year, called, *Statutes for the Clergy*; as alſo, the Statute of 15 *Rich.* 2. 6. whereby it was provided, That in appropriating of Benefices to any Religious Houſe, there ſhould be a perpetual Vicar appointed, who ſhould be allow'd coveniently, at the Diſcretion of the Ordinary, a ſufficient Stipend, for ſaying Divine Service, and to inform the People, and keep Hoſpitality, and that no Religious or Monk ſhall be Vicar. It was alſo enacted, That the begging Fryars ſhould admit none into their Order, without their Parents Conſent, or under Fourteen Years of Age. Several other Acts relating to the Affairs of State were paſs'd, but that which the Parliament was chiefly buſied in, was to ſettle the Diſorders in *Wales*; for which End they made Nine ſeveral Acts, prohibiting the *Welſh* to paſs any Judicial Sentence upon an *Engliſh* Man, to have any publick Aſſemblies, to wear Arms, or buy any out of *England*, to raiſe any Forts or Caſtles, to bear any Office in Church or State, and commanding them to put all their Wall'd Towns into the Cuſtody of *Engliſh* Men. All which Acts tended to ſubduing and humbling the *Welſh*, who at that time were very troubleſome to the King and Realm. In the End of this Seſſion, the Parliament gave the King a Tenth and Half of the Clergy, and Fifteenth of the Laity, and a Tenth of all Boroughs, and particularly recommended the *Scotch* Earl of *March* to the King's Favour, becauſe he had behaved himſelf with ſo much Fidelity to the Nation: And ſo were diſmiſs'd into their ſeveral Countries.

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About *Chriſtmas*, King *Henry*, who had the Year before made ſome Propoſitions of Marriage to *Joan de Navarre*, the Widow of *John de Mountfort*, late Duke of *Brittain*, and was come to an Agreement about it, ſent ſeveral Perſons of Honour into *Brittain*, to conduct her over into *England*, who accordingly, after Two Months Stay, brought her ſafely to *Falmouth* in *Cornwall*, Feb 7. The King hearing of her Landing, went to meet her at *Winchester*, whither he had order'd her before to be convey'd, and there was marry'd to her in St. *Swithin*'s Church, on the 7th of *February*, by the Biſhop of that See. From thence, within a few Days, he paſſed with her to *London*, where they were receiv'd magnificiently by the Citizens; and on *Feb.* 26. the Queen was ſolemnly crown'd at *Weſtminſter* by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. She had Three Sons, but they were left in *France* under the Care and Guardianſhip of that King. Her Coronation was kept with great State and Splendor, and there appear'd an Univerſal Joy both at Court, and in the Kingdom for theſe Nuptials: But it was not in this King's Fate to enjoy Peace or Pleaſure long, freſh Troubles, both at Home and Abroad ſpringing up to diſturb his Eaſe and Quiet.

K. *Henry's* Marriage to the Dutcheſs of *Brittain.*

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French invade the *Iſle of Wight* and *Gaſcoigne.*

The Firſt Enemy that annoy'd his Dominions after them, were the *French*, under *Valeran*, Earl of St *Paul*, who envying *Henry*'s Power, becauſe it was raiſed upon the Ruins of his own Intereſts, gather'd an Army of 16 or 1700 Men, invaded the *Iſle of Wight*, and burnt Two ſmall Villages, and a few ſeparate Cottages. The Inhabitants of the Iſle, who had formerly had the like Injuries done them by the *French*, and found that they loved Prey more than Fighting, and ſeldom would ſtand out againſt a faint Reſiſtance, aſſembled in a conſiderable Body, and drew up againſt them to fight them. The *French*, tho enough in Number to have conquer'd the Iſland, yet ſeeing the Courage of the People, withdrew to their Ships, and with little Prey, and leſs Honour, return'd Home. The Earl, that he might make this Expedition ſeem the more conſiderable, Knighted Four of his Captains, as he pretended, for their Bravery and Valour: But the more knowing Men of his Company repined at their ſpeedy Return, being ſenſible, that the Charge of this Expedition was much greater than the Gain. At the ſame time that the Earl of St. *Paul* infeſted the *Engliſh* Coaſts, *John*, Earl of *Clermont*, Son to the Duke of *Bourbon*, was ſent with an Army againſt the Subjects of the King of *England* in *Gaſcoigne*, and won the Caſtles of S. *Peter*, S. *Mary*, and *New-Caſtle* from the *Engliſh*, and the Lord *De la Bret* at the ſame time got the Caſtle of *Carlaſin*; all which were a great Loſs to the *Engliſh*. Theſe Damages King *Henry*'s Courage would not have patiently ſuſtain'd without a ſharp Revenge, had he enjoy'd a peaceable Kingdom at Home; but before he could make any Preparations for a Foreign Expedition, the Rebellion of his own Subjects broke out, and drew all his Deſigns and Endeavours to ſecure himſelf at Home. The Occaſion of it was this:

The Rebellion of the Earl of *Northumberland*; its Cauſe and Succeſs.

King *Henry* not contented with the Peace, which the late Victories gotten by the Earl of *Northumberland* over the *Scots* had brought his Dominions, was very eager, and deſirous to ſhare in the Gains and Advantage of them; and to that End, required of the Earl his moſt gainful Priſoners, all the Lords, whoſe Redemption would raiſe great Sums. The Earl alledg'd, 'That as it was moſt *juſt*, that 'they who had undergone the Danger of the 'Battle, ſhould have all the Advantages of 'Prey and Priſoners; ſo it had been the Cu-'ſtom of the Kings of *England* to allow the 'Lords of the North all the Advantage of the '*Scots* Wars, to encourage them in defending 'his Dominions, and make up the Damages of 'the continual Depredations of that faithleſs 'People. The King was very angry at this Denial, tho' dutiful and ſubmiſſive, and not only took the Priſoners he had demanded, but continued his Diſpleaſure to the Earl, not ſuffering him to come into his Preſence. This Severity the Earl, who had been ſo inſtrumental in raiſing King *Henry* to the Throne, reſented not only as a great Piece of Injuſtice, but which was worſe, very great Ingratitude; and therefore reſolved to revenge his Wrong upon the King himſelf, whom as he had ſet up, ſo he thought he had Power enough to pull him down. He was, indeed, in very great Power in the North, and commanded in his Country as a Petty King. He had a near Relation to *Edmund*, *Mor-*

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Mortimer, Earl of *March*, by the Marriage of *Eleanor* his Aunt, *Mortimer* being Heir of the Crown had no ſmall Intereſt in the Nation, and therefore he might well pretend ſome Obligation to reſtore him to his Right, or at leaſt to his Liberty. Theſe Two Intereſts he thought ſufficient to effect his Deſign, eſpecially ſince the Earl of *March* was upon fair Terms with *Owen Glendour*, and it would be no hard Matter to unite the *Welſh* with himſelf in dethroning King *Henry*. The Earl having laid a ſure Train for Rebellion, that he might render his future Actions more plauſible, and make his Party more firm to him, he by the Advice of his Couſin *Thomas Peircy*, Earl of *Worceſter*, goes to the King, and demands the Redemption of the Earl of *March* his Kinſman, who had long lain in his foul and miſerable Impriſonment, among the King's Enemies. But the King anſwer'd, 'That he had no Reaſon to redeem, or 'relieve the Earl of *March*, nor would, be'cauſe he was not taken for his Cauſe, nor in 'his Service, but had ſuffer'd himſelf to fall in'to the Hands of *Owen Glendour* and the *Welſh*, 'being not willing to reſiſt them. The Earl having receiv'd this Anſwer, pretended to be angry, and blaz'd abroad the Cruelty of the King, who would not redeem a Perſon ſo nearly related to him, and his Son *Henry*, ſurnam'd *Hotſpur*, ſaid openly, 'Behold, the 'Heir of the Realm is Robb'd of his Right, 'and the Robber will not redeem him with a 'Part of his own. Hereupon the Earl and his Son, meeting in the Arch-Deacon of *Bangor*'s Houſe, (x) with the Earl of *March* and *Owen Glendour*, by an Indenture Tripartite obliged themſelves mutually and firmly to depoſe King *Henry*, and, after his Depoſition, it was farther agreed to, and among them, 'That '*Owen Glendour* ſhould have *Wales*, and all 'the Lands beyond the *Severn*, to rule over 'them as their King and Supreme Lord: 'That the Earl of *Northumberland*, ſhould go'vern all the Countries on the North Side of 'the River *Trent*, and the Earl of *March* ſhould 'enjoy all the Reſidue of *England* in his Right, 'as Supreme Lord. This Agreement being made, they all employ'd the utmoſt Intereſts they had to raiſe an Army ſufficient for their Deſign. The Earl of *Northumberland*, beſides the Forces he raiſed among his Northern Neighbours, procured an Augmentation of his Forces out of *Scotland*, partly by releaſing the Captives, which he had in his Keeping, and partly by Promiſes of ſeveral Lordſhips and Seignories in theſe Parts adjoyning to their Country, by which Means they raiſed a large and well appointed Army. All things being thus prepar'd, they put out their Declaration, 'That King *Henry* giving Encourage'ment to Flatterers and Calumnators, their 'Enemies, had entertain'd ſuch an Averſion to 'them, that they dare not come into his Pre'ſence, but by the Mediation of the Biſhops: 'That though he was raiſed to the Throne, 'for the Good of the Nation, yet he had 'play'd the Tyrant, and abuſed his Truſt, 'converting the Money given by Parliament, 'for the publick Defence, to his own private 'Intereſt: Wherefore, that they might ſecure 'their own Perſons, and reform the Govern'ment, they had raiſed ſuch Force, as might 'be ſufficient to reduce Things into a better 'Courſe, both for themſelves and the whole 'Nation. They alſo gave out a Report, to further their Deſign, That King *Richard* was yet alive in the Caſtle of *Cheſter*, ready to join with *Owen Glendour* to recover his Right; and ſo march'd to *Shrewsbury*, intending to make that City the Rendezvous of their Army.

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The King had no ſuſpicion of theſe Treaſonable Contrivances and Actions, becauſe they carried them on with very great Secreſie; yet, having no viſible Enemy but the *Welſh*, he raiſed a powerful Army to reduce them to their Allegiance; ſo that when the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Forces appear'd, he was in a very good Condition to oppoſe them. But conſidering, that a Civil War would bring great Damages to his Subjects, he choſe to allay the Diſcontents of the Seditious Party by anſwering their Declaration, alledging, That he never had denied the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Peircy* his Son, or any of the Lords of their Party, any Acceſs to him; but allow'd them to come into his Preſence at any Time, without all Danger or Damage to their Perſons; and that the Monies which had been given by the Parliament for the Defence of the Nation, were paid to the Earl of *Northumberland* himſelf for that End, as he could prove by his Receipts; ſo that their Complaints were ill grounded and ſlanderous. The King himſelf was inclined to wait for the Effect of this Anſwer; but the Earl of *March*, a *Scot*, telling the King, That Delays would ſtrengthen his Enemies, put him upon haſtening to them, to give them Battle, which proved of ſome Advantage to the King: For the Earl of *Northumberland*, being ſomewhat indiſpoſed, was not come up to his Son at *Shrewsbury*, and the King's ſudden Arrival put the Army there into a Conſternation, ſo that they were unfit to engage him. The King being ready to join his Enemies in Fight, was very loth to ſpill his People's Blood, and therefore ſent the Abbot of *Shrewsbury*, and one of the Clerks of his Privy-Seal, to offer them Pardon upon ſuch reaſonable Terms as they ſhould deſire. The Lord *Peircy* was ſo far wrought upon by their Perſwaſions, that he was willing to accept of the King's Mercy, and ſent his Uncle, the Earl of *Worceſter*, to repreſent their Grievances, and having procur'd a Reformation to ſubmit to the King. The King is ſaid to have condeſcended beneath himſelf to heal the Breach; but the Earl of *Worceſter*, a Man that ſought to foment the Quarrel, repreſented Things ſo ill to the Lord *Piercy*, at his Return, that his Nephew was more incenſed than before, and forthwith blew the Trumpet for Battle. The King was ready to receive him, and the Signs being given on both Sides, St. *George* by the King, and *Eſperance Peircy* by the Lord *Peircy*, the Fight began. The *Scots* behav'd themſelves with great Reſolution, and ſo fiercely fell upon the Kings Van-Guard, that they forced them to give Ground, and had almoſt broke in upon his main Body, and being ſeconded by the *Welſh*, who reſerv'd themſelves for an advantagious Onſet, put the King upon his laſt Refuge, to call in his Reſerve to reinforce his Army, by which means he recover'd his Ground, and, after a freſh Rencounter, got the better of the

K. *Henry*'s Mercy to the Rebels.

His Fight with, and Victory over them.

(x) How could the Earl and his Son meet *Glendour* and *March* in *Wales*, the *Welſh* being at open War with the *Engliſh*? *Holinſhead* ſaith, They did it by their *Deputies* in the Houſe of the Arch-Deacon of *Bangor*. And 'tis not likely, the *Peircy*'s would venture to Treat in Perſon with the Rebel *Glendour*, before they were provided to publiſh their Rebellion to the King and Kingdom; for ſuch an Interview would have given too much Umbrage to both, and ruin their Plot.

Re-

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Rebels. The Lord *Peircy*, and Earl *Douglaſs*, General of the *Scots*, deſpairing of Victory, boldly attempted to ſlay the King, and overthrow his Standard, and to that end forcing their Way thro' the King's Party, they at length got to the King's Standard, which they overthrew, killing Sir *Walter Blunt*, the Standard-Bearer, and the Earl of *Stafford*, with many others that ſtood to guard it. The King was retreated from the Standard, by the Advice of the Earl of *March*, the *Scot*, who obſerving their Deſign, timely warn'd the King of his Danger, and cauſed him to avoid it. But the King neglected not this Opportunity to aſſault his Enemies in the Abſence of their Captains, and crying, *St. George*, made ſuch an impetuous Onſet upon the Rebels, that he broke their Order, and put them to Flight, and obtain'd a compleat Victory. In this Battle which laſted Three Hours, the King himſelf was once diſmounted, and the Prince, fighting in Defence of his Father, was wounded in the Face, yet would not leave the Army till the Fight was ended, leſt he ſhould diſcourage the Soldiers. *Ten* Knights and 1600 Soldiers were kill'd, and 4000 wounded, on the King's Side; but with much greater Loſs to the Rebels, for they had 200 Knights and 5000 Soldiers ſlain, beſides the Lord *Piercy* himſelf. The Earl of *Worceſter*, the Baron of *Kinderton*, and Sir *Richard Vernon* were taken, and, being condemned, were beheaded Two Days after the Battle, on the 23d of *July*. The Earl's Head was ſent up to *London*, to be ſet on the Bridge. The Lord *Peircy*'s Body was permitted to be buried, but upon after Thoughts the King commanded it to be taken up again, and being beheaded and quarter'd, diſpoſed of it into ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom. The Earl of *Northumberland*, who had been kept from uniting with his Brother and Son by ſome Indiſpoſition of Body, ſoon after the Fight, ſet out towards *Shrewsbury*, with a conſiderable Recruit, to aſſiſt his Son and Brother, but being met with in his Paſſage by the Earl of *Weſtmorland* and Sir *Robert Waterton*, with a ſtrong Detachment from the King's Army, he retreated to *Warkworth* Caſtle, and there fortified himſelf. The King having ſettled the Countries about *Shrewſbury*, went to *York*, and there ſent his Commands to the Earl of *Northumberland* to diſmiſs his Forces, and come to him upon Aſſurances of Mercy. The Earl, ſeeing no Poſſibility of ſtanding out againſt the King's Power, obey'd his Summons, and diſmiſſing his Forces, attended upon the King at *York* upon the Morrow after St. *Lawrence*'s Day, *Aug.* 11. The King, according to his Promiſe, pardon'd him his Life, but kept (*y*) him in Priſon ſometime till the Ferment of his Trouble was a little over, and then reſtor'd him to his Liberty, but deprived him of his Eſtate and Honour for the preſent, yet afterwards gave him that alſo, hoping by his Kindneſs to oblige him to be more faithful and firm to him for the future.

King *Henry* ſends the Prince againſt the *Welſh*.

The King having thus ſettled the Diſguſts of the North, kept his Army about him, which being encouraged by their late Succeſs, was moſt likely to effect his Deſigns againſt the *Welſh*, and took up ſome Reſolutions to go on, and Endeavours to ſubdue that People: But wanting Money to pay his Soldiers, and furniſh himſelf out for his Expedition, he became wavering in that Reſolve. Some Perſons about him, who were more zealous for the King's Service, and deſirous to pleaſe him, than to chuſe out fit Ways for it, adviſed him to ſeize upon the Biſhops Treaſure and Lands; but Archbiſhop *Arundel* boldly told them, That none of his Province ſhould be ſpoil'd by them, unleſs with Oppoſition. Though the King was not forward to meddle with the Church-men, yet this Advice put him in mind of the Riches and Plenty of the Clergy, which being beſtow'd on Perſons, whoſe beſt Character it is to be Diſpiſers of the World, might beſt be ſpared at this Juncture, and thereupon, though he would uſe no Force, yet he dealt with the Archbiſhop to procure him a Supply in this Exigency, and ſo prevail'd with him, that calling a Synod of the Clergy, he obtain'd a Tenth of them for him, and the King ſent the Prince, with his Army, into *Wales*.

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The *Brittains* under the Lord *Caſſils*, rob the *Engliſh* Coaſts.

In the latter end of this Summer, the *Brittains*, under the Conduct of the Lord *Caſſils*, came to the *Engliſh* Coaſts, and having burnt and plunder'd *Plymouth*, return'd Home ſafe, loaden with rich Spoils. This Inſolence was not long unrevenged, for the Weſtern Parts being incenſed by the Loſs, did, by the King's Leave and Permiſſion, man out a Fleet, to recover their Damage, and ſent it to ravage the Coaſts of *Brittain*, under the Command of *William Wilford*, Eſq; who being both a skilful Captain, and a Perſon very zealous for his Country-mens Injuries, faithfully diſcharged his Truſt; for he took Forty Sail of Merchant Ships, loaden with Oil and Soap, and a Thouſand Tun of *Rochel* Wine; and, not contented with this Prey, though ſufficient to compenſate for the Spoils of the *Engliſh*, he landed in the Country of *Penmarch*, and, for Six Miles together, burnt and deſtroy'd the Towns and Villages, as far as the Town of St. *Matthew*, which alſo he left in Flames, and returning to his Ships, ſet ſeveral empty Veſſels on Fire, which lay in the Harbour, and ſo departed, well ſatisfied with the Retaliation of their Wrongs upon the *Brittains*.

Reg. 5.

Fourth Parliament.

About the Feaſt of *All-Saints* a Parliament was called at *Coventry*, and ſat till St. *Andrew*'s-Day, when they were prorogued, and order'd to meet again at *Weſtminſter* upon the *Octaves* of *Epiphany*. The Shortneſs of this Seſſion was cauſed by the Inconvenience of the Place, there being neither ſuitable Accommodations for Proviſion or Lodging. Nothing was done by this Parliament of Moment, their Debates being interrupted by their ſudden Adjournment, only the King proclaim'd and granted a Pardon to all ſuch Perſons, as had been engaged in the Rebellion of the *Peircy*'s, and all other Offenders againſt the King's Crown and Dignity, thoſe only excepted, who had contrived to deliver up *Calais* to the *French*, whom the King ſent over to ſuffer the Puniſhment of their Perfidiouſneſs in that City.

King's Pardon.

French invade the *Iſle of Wight*.

A little before *Chriſtmas* a Party of *French* landed in the *Iſle of Wight*, and with their uſual Confidence told the Inhabitants, *That they were come to keep their* Chriſtmas *with them*. They demanded a Tax of them for King *Richard* and Queen *Iſabel*, and began to drive off their Cattle to their Ships. The People of the Iſland deriding their Pretenſions and Confidence, gather'd together in a Body, and challenged them to fight, but the *French* Men not loving dry Blows, fled to their Ships, and departed without their Prey, to their great Shame.

(*y*) *Hall* writes, that he ſuffer'd him to depart Home at their firſt meeting.

The

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Fifth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

The Parliament according to Appointment met at *Weſtminſter*, and ſat Twelve Weeks to ſettle many Abuſes and Irregularities of the Nation, as well as conſtitute ſeveral Things for the Good of it. The moſt remarkable were, againſt ſuch as procured Pardons for thoſe Perſons that had been once guilty of notorious Felonies, but relapſed into the like Crimes again; That thoſe who procured their Pardon for ſuch reiterated Felonies ſhould forfeit 100 *l.* to the King's Uſe: That Watches ſhould be conſtantly kept upon the Sea-Coaſt, to prevent the Damages done by the *French* Rovers: That Merchants-Aliens, who brought Goods into the Nation, and ſold them, ſhould lay out the Money upon other ſaleable Commodities, and not carry out the Coin of the Kingdom into Foreign Parts: That Conſtables of Caſtles ſhould not impriſon any Man in their own Caſtles; and that all Veſſels that were Gilt, or Silver'd over, ſhould have a Place in the Foot, or elſewhere, to diſcover their baſe Metal. In this Parliament, the Earl of *Northumberland* was reſtored to his Lands and Honours, excepting only the *Iſle of Man*, which the King had beſtow'd on him (z) at the Beginning of his Reign, to hold of the Crown by the Tenure of carrying the *Lancaſter*'s Sword at the Coronation, and now took away from him to ſhew that he was undeſerving of his Favour. By this Parliament, the King had ſo great a Tax granted him, that the Houſes deſired there might be no particular Record of it left to Poſterity, *viz.* Twenty Shillings for every Knight's Fee, and Twenty Pence for every Twenty Pounds a Year, and One Shilling in in the Pound for Goods: So cautious was the Parliament of oppreſſing the People with heavy Taxes, and where Neceſſity requir'd it, not to leave a Preſident to their Succeſſors of over-loading the People. The Clergy alſo, being met in their Convocation, give the King a Tenth.

Earl of *Northumberland* reſtored to his Lands.

Duke of *Orleans* challenges K. *Henry*.

In the Time of this Seſſion of Parliament, the Duke of *Orleans*, Brother to the *French* King, a Perſon courageous, but of more than equal Pride, ſent a Challenge to King *Henry* to meet him at *Bourdeaux*, with 100 Men, well arm'd, and expert Warriours, and fight the ſame Number of *Engliſh*, and every Victor to have his Priſoner. The King, tho' ſenſible of the Preſumption of that Peer, gravely anſwer'd the Meſſengers: 1. 'That he could 'not but wonder at the Imprudence of the 'Duke, who ſought to break the Peace be'tween the Two Nations, by ſuch idle Pre'tences of Feats of Arms. 2. That if this 'could not be objected, yet it was againſt the 'Cuſtom of Nations, for any Crown'd and A'nointed King to accept a Challenge from 'any Perſon, but ſuch as is of equal Dignity, 'which he could not pretend to be, but yet, 'that he might ſatisfie his courageous Deſire, 'he promiſed, upon the Word of a Prince, 'to go ſoon into *Gaſcoigne*, with a convenient 'Number of Men; and there, either as he 'had propounded, or by ſingle Combat, for 'the avoiding of the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, 'to enter the Liſts with him. The Duke of *Orleans* reply'd to this Anſwer, and the King retorted with ſo much Sharpneſs, that the Duke burſt out into Arms, and raiſing 6000 Men, invaded *Guienne*, and beſieged the Town of *Vergi*. Sir *Robert Antifield*, a valiant Captain, was the Governour of it, and had a Garriſon of 3000 *Engliſh*, who defended the Town ſo bravely, that the Duke was forced to leave it, after Three Months Siege.

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The *Britains* again infeſt *England*, but are repulſed.

In the Spring, the *Britains*, under the Lord *Caſſils*, being deſirous to revenge the Loſſes they had ſuſtain'd from the *Engliſh* the laſt Year, came with 30 Ships, mann'd with 1200 Men of Arms, to the *Engliſh* Coaſts, and took Two or Three *Engliſh* Ships, laden with Wines, and not being ſatisfied with ſo ſmall a Prey, landed about *Dartmouth*; but were driven from the Place by the Inhabitants, who had arm'd themſelves in Expectation of their Coming, with no ſmall Loſs; and after being met by the *Engliſh* Fleet in *Black-Pool*, were engaged with ſo much Succeſs, that the Lord *Caſſils* was kill'd, with 400 more of the Common Soldiers, and 200 taken, of whom the Lord *Baquevil*, the Marſhal of *Britain*, was one. The Country People, pleaſed not more with the Succeſs, than that they had an Opportunity to approve their Courage, and Fidelity to the King, preſented him with their Priſoners, who graciouſly accepted their Service and Gift, and gave them Plenty of Gold for their Pains; which, though not of equal Value with their Ranſoms, yet was more acceptable to the People, with his Approbation, than greater Sums would have been without it: Yet, ſome of lower Degree they kept, and had their Ranſoms.

Owen Glendour infeſts the *Engliſh*.

This Summer *Owen Glendour*, with more than uſual Cruelty, infeſted the *Engliſh* Borders, plundering and burning their Towns, and carrying away many Priſoners and great Booty; and intending to take the Country into his Dominions, poſſeſs'd himſelf of divers Caſtles, which he fortified, and mann'd to defend it. This Succeſs, whether through the Neglect of the King, or becauſe other more important Affairs of State took up his Care, was thought an Approbation of his Cauſe; and ſo far prevail'd with *John Trevor*, Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, that he fled to him, and took his Part againſt K. *Henry*. With theſe Calamities by the *Welſh*, concurr'd other Damages done by the *Britains* and *Flemings*, who cruzing upon the *Engliſh* Coaſts, took ſeveral *Engliſh* Ships, laden with rich Merchandize, and hanging the Mariners, carry'd the Goods Home with them. But theſe Misfortunes did not ſo much diſturb the King, as a Rumour which was diſperſed up and down the Nation at this Time, That King *Richard* was in *Scotland*, at the Head of an Army of *French* and *Scots* of 100000, and would ſhortly come to recover his Crown. This Rmmour was built upon the Letters of one *Serlow*, a Gentleman of King *Richard*'s Bed-Chamber, who having heard of the like Report in *France*, went into *Scotland*, and found, indeed, a Gentleman very like King *Richard*, but not the Perſon, as he very well knew; yet, in Hatred to King *Henry*, he ſent Letters to ſeveral of King *Richard*'s Friends in *England*, ſeal'd with his Privy-Seal, That King *Richard* was, indeed, alive, and would ſhortly appear, to the Comfort of his Friends, and Confuſion of all his Enemies. The Counteſs of *Oxford*, Mother to *Robert de Vere*, late Duke of *Ireland*, eagerly laid hold upon this falſe News, and employ'd her Agents to publiſh it in all Parts of *Eſſex*; and to confirm ſuch as ſeem'd moſt zealous to eſpouſe King *Richard*'s Intereſt, ſhe cauſed a great Number of Hearts of Gold and Silver to be made, and given to them, as Badges of King *Richard*'s Favour,

A ſeditious Rumour about King *Richard*.

(z) It fell to the Crown by the Attainder of the Earl of *Saliſbury*, in the Beginning of his Reign, and was granted to the Earl of *Northumberland* for his Service to King *Henry*.

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becauſe that King was wont to give ſuch Tokens of his Kindneſs to his Friends. King *Henry*, who was very jealous of his Crown, knowing the Tendency of ſuch Reports might prove fatal to him, tho' falſe, was very watchful upon the Inſtruments and Authors of them, and finding them entertain'd by many, ſeiz'd upon the Counteſs of *Oxford*, and committed her to Priſon, and confiſcated her Goods and Eſtate. Her Secretary, who both by Letters and Report had ſpread abroad the falſe News, he hang'd and quarter'd. This Severity againſt ſome of the principal Actors ſtruck Terror into the reſt, and made others Ambitious to gain King *Henry*'s Favour by apprehending ſuch as had been guilty of the like Crime. For Sir *William Clifford*, Governour of *Berwick*, who had incurred King *Henry*'s Diſpleaſure in holding out of the Caſtle of *Berwick* againſt him, apprehended *Serlow* and preſented him to him, who thereupon pardoned his own Treaſon. *Serlow* being before known to have been one of the Perſons that murder'd the Duke of *Glouceſter*, was immediately examined about that, and being found guilty of both, was Condemn'd at *Pontefract*, and Executed at *London*, confeſſing his wicked Actions, and Purpoſes ſo fully and freely, that many pity'd him, and promiſed to hire the Prieſt to ſay Maſſes for his Soul. The King had heard, that the Earl of *Northumberland* had been engaged in this Conſpiracy, and ſent for him to come to him at *Pontefract* to clear himſelf; but the Earl bringing his Two Nephews to be Pledges of his Fidelity, gave him ſuch Satisfaction, that the King declar'd him innocent of this Attempt.

Reg. 6.

Sixth Parliament its Acts and Taxes, *Parliamentum indoctum.*

On St. *Faith*'s Day, *October* the 6th, a Parliament met at *Coventry*, which becauſe it conſiſted of ſuch Perſons as were unskilful in the Laws of the Nation, and illiterate, according to the particular Orders given by the King to the Sheriffs of Counties, and Mayors of Corporations, that none but ſuch Perſons ſhould be choſen, was called *Parliamentum indoctum*, or the *Lack-learning Parliament*. The chief Buſineſs of this Parliament was to raiſe a Tax for the King's preſent Supply, and therefore little elſe was done, ſave that the Lord *Stephen Scroope* of *Maſham*, and the Lord *Fitz-hugh* were admitted to ſit among the Peers, and two or three Acts were made. *Firſt*, To prohibit the Clergy from paying to the Court of *Rome* more for the Firſt-Fruits of any Benefice, Dignity, or Biſhoprick, than was uſually paid before, under the Penalty of a double Forfeiture of the ſame to the King. *Secondly*, To prevent the Deceits of Sheriffs, Eſcheators and Cuſtomers in giving up their Accompts. And *Laſtly*, To provide, that Merchants-Strangers ſhould not carry their Goods out of the Nation, which they have once brought in. Theſe Statutes being ſettled, they proceeded to Debates about the Tax, and it was concluded by the Commons, 'That the 'King ſtanding in need of very great Sums of 'Money to defend the Nation from ſo many 'Enemies, as then appeared againſt it, *viz.* 'the *Welſh*, *Scots*, *Britains*, *Flemings* and *French*, 'could not be ſupplied by the Laity, but that 'it was neceſſary, that he ſhould ſeize upon 'the Temporalties of the Clergy; which be'ing one full third Part of the Nation did lit'tle Service to the Publick, and did the Cler'gy themſelves no good, making them care'leſs of their Duty, negligent in their Stu'dies, and abominably corrupt in their Morals. 'And this they judged the more reaſonable, 'becauſe the Laity ſerved the King in his 'Wars both with their Perſons and Eſtates, but 'the Clergy were exempted in their Perſons, 'and therefore their Eſtates ought to bear a 'greater part of the Charge. Theſe Votes much provoked the Clergy, and the Archbiſhop in a Paſſion replied; 'That the Clergy 'had always as well in this, as former Kings 'Reigns given as large Sums to ſupport the 'publick Charge, as the Laity: And though 'they did not ſerve the King in Perſon in his 'Wars, they ſent their Tenants to aſſiſt him, 'and contributed as much to his Succeſs by 'their Prayers, as the Laity did by their Wea'pons. Sir *John Cheyny*, the Speaker of the Commons, a Perſon who was very forward to make the Clergy's Revenues a prey to the King's Neceſſities, replied to the Archbiſhop; 'That they did not value the Clergy's Pray'ers, their Lands would do the King and Na'tion more good. This Anſwer more ſtirr'd the Arch-Biſhop's Choler, and he told him plainly; 'That that King and Kingdom could 'not expect to thrive, where the Prayers and 'Suffrages of the Clergy were undervalued; 'but yet if they feared not their Religion, they 'ſhould find their Power and Intereſts were 'not ſo inconſiderable, but that they ſhould 'have hot Work of it to take away their juſt 'Rights and Poſſeſſions from them, though un'der the ſpecious pretence of a Law. And he declared, 'That ſo long as he was Archbiſhop 'of *Canterbury* no Man ſhould meddle with 'any Lands belonging to his See, but he would 'oppoſe them with all his Intereſt and Might. The King was preſent at this Conteſt between the Arch-Biſhop and Commons, and ſhewed ſo little Concern for the Clergy, that he ſeemed to favour the *Deſign* of the Commons. Whereupon the Archbiſhop in ſome fear of it turn'd to the King, and kneeling down beſought him, 'That he would conſider, that God had given 'him the Kingdom, that he ſhould be the Prote'ctor of his Church, and to that End he had ſworn 'at his Coronation to preſerve the Church, and 'her Miniſters in their Liberties; which Oath 'he could not break without a great Prejudice 'to his own Conſcience, and Offence to God as 'well as Injuſtice to Men, and therefore implo'red him to fear the God by whom he Reign'd, 'and his own Conſcience. The King ſeeing the Biſhop's Earneſtneſs and Zeal, anſwer'd him; 'That though he could not condemn his Piety, 'yet his Fears were Groundleſs as to him, for 'he might aſſure himſelf, that he would leave 'the Church in as good, if not a better Eſtate 'than he found it. The Archbiſhop being encouraged with this Promiſe, told the Commons, 'That their wicked Advice was intended more 'for their own, than the King's Advantage; 'for as it happen'd to the King's Predeceſſors, 'who ſeized upon the Lands and Goods of the 'Friar's Aliens, which were worth many thou'ſand Pounds; the Courtiers begg'd them, and 'left not the King ten Groats of them: So if 'you could obtain your wicked Deſigns to have 'our Temporalties ſeized, you would find ſuch 'ways to gratifie your Covetouſneſs by them, 'that the King would not in a Twelve-month 'be one Farthing the Richer. The Commons made no Reply, but proſecuted their Deſign ſo vigorouſly, that had not the Archbiſhop gotten a ſtrong Party againſt it in the Houſe of Lords, the Commons had carry'd it; but by his Courage and Diligence they were driven from their Purpoſe, and ſo fell into the old Current of Taxing: For the Laity were to pay Two Fifteens, and the Clergy a Tenth and a Half, but upon

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upon Condition, that it ſhould be put into the Hands of the Lord *Furnivall* to be imploy'd for the King's Wars, and ſo the Parliament broke up.

A great Inundation.

About the End of this Parliament happen'd a great Inundation of the Sea in *Kent*, which overflowed many of the Archbiſhop's Grounds, and others, and drown'd much Cattel. The like Damages did the Waters do alſo in *Flanders*, *Holland* and *Zealand*. But the greateſt Loſs which *England* ſuſtained at this Time was by the Death of *William* of *Wickham*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, one of the greateſt Benefactors, to the Publick that ever *England* had: For though he was but of mean Parentage, being the Son of *John Long*, (*a*) Pariſh-Clerk of *Wickham*, in the County of *Southampton*; yet having obtained great Riches by the Preferments which were heaped upon him by King *Edward* the 3d, and King *Richard* the 2d, for his Deſerts, he employ'd them wholly in Works of publick Charity, and for the Encouragement of Piety and Learning: For he built a Chappel at *Tytchfield* for a Prieſt to pray for the Souls of his Father, Mother and Siſter; a Chauntry at *Southwick*, in the County of *Southampton* for five Prieſts; *New-College* in *Oxford* endowing it with ſufficient Revenues to maintain one Warden, ſeventy Students, twelve Chaplains, three Clerks, ſixteen Choriſters, an Organiſt, and other Officers; A publick School in the South-Suburbs of *Wincheſter*, to be a Nurſery for his College; in which are ſuſtained one Warden, ten Fellows, two Maſters, ſeventy Scholars, three Chaplains, three Clerks, an Organiſt, ſixteen Choriſters, and other Statutable Officers and Servants, by the Revenues of it; the Weſt part of the Cathedral from the Quire, and ſeveral other Buildings of leſs Note. He expended alſo twenty thouſand Marks in repairing the Manor-Houſes and Farms belonging to his Biſhoprick; added two hundred Marks *per Annum* to the See, repaired all the High-ways from *Wincheſter* to *London*, and releaſed all the Priſoners in his Dioceſs, who were in Goal for Debts under twenty Pounds. Other Acts of Charity and Piety he did in ſo great Numbers, that as none equall'd him in his Beneficence while he lived, ſo none died ſo much loved or deſired. He was eighty years Old when he deceaſed, and ſtill lives in the Hearts of many grateful Men in this World, but moſt happily in the Preſence of God, the Rewarder of all good Actions (*b*).

William of *Wickham* Biſhop of *Wincheſter's* Death.

New College and *Wincheſter* School built.

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The Earl of *March's* Children ſtoln.

About St. *Valentine's* Day the Earl of *March's* Children, which the King had taken and kept in *Windſor-Caſtle* Priſoners, that he might bring their Father to Submiſſion, leaſt by his Attempts againſt King *Henry*, he ſhould provoke him to put them to Death, were taken from their Impriſonment, and convey'd away to be carry'd to their Father in *Wales*. The King was much concerned at their Eſcape, and uſed all ſpeedy Means, not only to take them again, but to find out the Inſtrument of their Releaſe, in which the Perſons employ'd were ſo ſucceſsful, that they ſoon diſcovered and apprehended them both: The Children were remanded to their Priſon, and put into more ſafe Cuſtody, and the Smith who made the Keys to open the Goal, had his Hands firſt cut off, and then was beheaded. The Duke of *York* was accuſed by his own Siſter, the Lady *Spencer* (*c*), to be the Head of the Conſpiracy, and was impriſoned upon it in *Pemſey-Caſtle* till the Parliament met, but was then diſcharged, either for want of fuller Proof, or becauſe the King was willing to drop the Proſecution of ſo inconſiderable a Fact, eſpecially he having already ſuffered Impriſonment for it.

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Two Battels with the *Welſh*.

Very early in the Spring the King, who had been making Preparations againſt the *Welſh* all the *Winter*, ſent his Son the Prince of *Wales* into the adjoyning Parts with a very good Army, and well furniſhed with all Neceſſaries; by which he had reduced himſelf to ſuch Streights, that he was forced to call a Council of his Nobility at *London*, to get a Supply of Money of them for his preſent Wants; but the Peers having lately paid their Two Fifteens, were not willing, or not able to ſpare any more, and ſo were diſmiſſed with ſome diſguſt. Then the King ſummoned the Clergy to St. *Albans* to deſire a Contribution of them: But they guided by the Precedent of the Lords, would not grant him any thing; whereupon they alſo were ſent Home on *Palm-Sunday*, under the King's Diſpleaſure. But the Prince of *Wales* had better Succeſs in the Camp, than his Father in the Council; for he being as Active as Courageous ſoon after his Arrival engaged the *Welſh-Men* at a Town called *Huske*, on *March* the 15th, and after a ſharp Battel obtain'd a ſignal Victory, ſlaying fifteen hundred *Welſh-Men*, and taking *Owen Glendour's* Son Priſoner. *Owen Glendour* being troubled for the loſs of his Son, reſolved to try the Fate of another Battel, in hopes, that if Fortune ſhould favour him, he might recover his Son, and accordingly encountred the *Engliſh* on St. *Dunſtan's* Day, *May* the 14th, but not with the Succeſs deſired; for the *Engliſh* had much the better in this Fight alſo, and ſlaying many of his Men, took *Owen's* Chancellor Priſoner, who being ſent up with the reſt of the Priſoners, was ſafely kept in the *Tower* with his Maſter's Son.

The *French* and *Engliſh* infeſt each other.

While the *Engliſh* Arms were thus employ'd againſt the *Welſh*, *Valeran*, Earl of *St. Paul*, who ſought all Advantages to diſturb King *Henry's* Peace and Dominions, and was encouraged in all his Attempts that way by his Maſter the *French* King, laid Siege to the Caſtle of St. *Marke*, which was three Leagues from *Calais*, with five hundred Men of Arms, five hundred *Genoeſe* Croſs-Bows, and a thouſand *Flemiſh* Foot. Sir *Philip Hall* was Governour of it, a very violent Man, who though he had but

(*a*) According to *Leland* the great Antiquary, he was Baſtard-Son to one *Perrot*, Town-Clerk of *Wickham* in *Hampſhire*. Hol. *pag.* 527.

(*b*) The Reward of good Actions is to be expected according to the Sincerity of the Heart. An Oſtentation of Charity, and the Merit of Alms in thoſe Days put People on wicked Courſes to ſhew their Beneficence to the Church and Church-men. This *William* of *Wickham* was hated by the *Black-Prince* for his Miſmanagement in the publick Offices he enjoy'd; he was baniſh'd afterwards, and liv'd abroad all the Time of King *Edward's* Reign, from that of his Exile; nor durſt he come into *England* in the Reign of *Richard* the Second till he had procured a Pardon for his paſt Offences. He was firſt Chaplain to King *Edward* the Third. Preacher at St. *Martins*, *London*, and Arch-Deacon of *Buckingham*. Then Surveyor of the King's Works and Forts; for the Clergy in thoſe Days eaſily reconciled the Eccleſiaſtical and Military Functions. After this he was advanced to be Keeper of the Privy-Seal, Maſter of the Wards, Overſeer of the Forreſts, Treaſurer of the King's Dominions in *France*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and at laſt Lord-Chancellor: No wonder he raiſed ſuch a mighty Eſtate in his Miniſtry, conſidering he lived in ſo looſe a Government as that of King *Richard* the Second.

(*c*) She was Widow to the Lord *Thomas Spencer*, beheaded at *Briſtol*.

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eighty Archers, and twenty-four Soldiers, yet defended it ſo manfully, that the Earl could not gain it at the firſt Aſſault, and at the ſecond took only the outward Court, with a conſiderable Booty of Cattle. The Garriſon at *Callis* in the mean time having Intelligence of this Action of the *French* againſt St. *Mark*, ſent out two hundred Men of Arms, two hundred Archers, and three hundred Foot, with twelve Waggons of Proviſions and Artillery, under the Command of Sir *Richard Aſton*, to relieve it. The *French*, who fearing this Deſcent of the *Engliſh* upon them, had fortified the Town, kept themſelves cloſe in it: However, the *Engliſh* poured in their Arrows ſo thick, that the *French* could not ſtand the Brunt, but having loſt ſome of their Number betook themſelves to flight, and were purſu'd ſo cloſely by the *Engliſh*, that near Fourſcore of them were taken, and among them ſome of Note, *viz.* the Lord *Dampier*, *Seneſchall* of *Ponthieu*, the Lord *de Rambures*, *Monſieur de Weriners*, and other Gentlemen, and ſixty ſlain, of whom the Lord of *Queray*, the Lord *Courbet*, Sir *Robert Berenguevile*, and ſome others were the Chief. The *Engliſh* laden with the Spoils of the Earl's Camp, and having gotten a good Number of Priſoners returned to *Callis*. This Succeſs encouraged them ſo, that within five Days five hundred iſſued out by Night, and aſſaulted the Caſtle of *Arde*, but it was ſo well defended by Sir *Monfred de Bois*, and the Lord *Kigine*, that the *Engliſh* were forced to return to *Callis* with the Loſs of forty of their Men. Theſe Inroads of the *Engliſh* and *French* one upon another made way for greater Deſigns; for as King *Henry* thought it convenient to ſtrengthen his Garriſon at *Callis*, not only to defend it ſelf, but make Invaſions upon the *French* Countries, by ſending a thouſand freſh Men thither; ſo the *French* King made effectual Proviſions againſt them, furniſhing *Graveling*, and other Fortreſſes with Plenty of Soldiers for their Defence; but becauſe all they could do was not enough to ſecure themſelves againſt ſo potent an Enemy as the *Calliſians* then were; therefore the Duke of *Burgundy* was ſent by the *French* King to beſiege *Callis* with ſix thouſand Men of Arms, fifteen hundred Croſs-Bows, and twelve thouſand Foot. The King of *England* diſturbed with the News of this Siege, ſent a Navy with three thouſand Land-Men, under the Command of his Son the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and the Earl of *Kent*, to raiſe the Siege by plundering and burning the adjoining Countries, which they did for thirty Miles together in *Normandy*: Though this did not draw off the Duke from *Callis*, till the King of *France*, as was thought, by the Advice of the Duke of *Orleans*, who envy'd him the Glory of gaining ſo important a Fortreſs, commanded him to withdraw, and come Home, which cauſed a Ceſſation of Arms between the Two Nations for a little Time.

Callis beſieged.

After the Departure of the Prince of *Wales* from the *Welſh*, that People being enraged by their Loſſes, became more Troubleſome and Miſchievous Neighbours to the bordering *Engliſh* than ever, of which when the King had News, he reſolved to undertake another Expedition againſt them to reduce them: But before he could get all Things ready, a ſtrong Conſpiracy of his Nobles to depoſe him was diſcovered, and ſo he was obliged to ſtay to ſecure himſelf in his Throne. The Conſpiracy was begun and carried on in this Manner. It ſeems, that King *Henry* having received a peremptory Denial from his Lords, that they would give him no Money at *London*, diſmiſs'd them with ſome angry Words, and ſharp Menaces, which meeting with Diſcontents in ſome of his Nobles, and more eſpecially in *Richard Scroop*, Archbiſhop of *York*, and the Earl of *Northumberland* ſo enrag'd them, that they formed a ſtrong Conſpiracy againſt him to depoſe him. Theſe two Peers having conſulted with and engaged ſeveral other great Men in their Deſign, *viz.* *Thomas Mowbrey* (*d*), Earl-Marſhal, the Lords, *Haſtings*, *Falconbridge*, *Burdolf*, and others, and appointed a Meeting of all the Forces they could get together upon *Yorkwolds*, compos'd certain Articles containing ſuch Things as the Nobles and Commons found themſelves aggrieved with, that by divulging them among the People, and ſhewing them their Friends, they might raiſe a Strength ſufficient for their Deſign. The Piety of the Archbiſhop, who had engaged in this Conſpiracy, drew ſuch great Multitudes of the Gentry and Commons to join in his Quarrel, that almoſt every one that could bear Arms in the Countries adjacent followed him. The Archbiſhop ſeeing this Succeſs, encouraged them to proceed in their good Enterprize, and immediately cauſed the Articles of their Grievances to be ſet upon the Doors of the Monaſtries, and in the Streets of *York*, that all Men might underſtand the Cauſe that moved them to take Arms againſt the King. The Articles were to this Effect.

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The Rebellion of Archbiſhop *Scroop*, and the Cauſe of it in ſeveral Articles.

ARTICLES *of the Wrongs and Injuries done by King* Henry *to the Royal Dignity, and People of* England.

Articles againſt King *Henry*.

Imprimis. 'THat King *Henry* at his coming 'into *England* out of his Exile 'had voluntarily ſworn, that he came only to 'Challenge and Recover his Own and Wife's Inheritance, and not to intermeddle with the 'King's Crown or Authority, but after finding 'himſelf ſtrong enough to fulfil his Ambitious 'Deſires, had wickedly broke his Oath, and 'without any Right or Reaſon cauſed himſelf 'to be made and proclaimed King.

Secondly, 'That as an Arch-Traitor he had 'not only impriſon'd his Soveraign Lord King '*Richard*, and by Threats and Terrors had forced him to reſign his Crown and Dignity upon Promiſes of Life, but had barbarouſly cauſed him to be Murthered in Priſon, that he 'might enjoy his Crown and Kingdom with 'leſs Trouble and Moleſtation.

Thirdly, 'That ever ſince the Death of King '*Richard*, he had unjuſtly kept the Kingdom, 'and the Crown from his Kinſman *Edward* '*Mortimer*, who was the Son and Heir apparent of *Philippa*, the Daughter and Heir of '*Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, Elder Brother to '*John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, the Father 'of the now Uſurping King.

Fourthly, 'That he had unjuſtly put to Death 'ſeveral of the Nobles of this Nation, for endeavouring to promote the Publick Good, and 'had contrary to the Law of the Land cauſed 'ſeveral Biſhops to be Arreſted, and Impriſoned.

(*a*) Son to that Duke of *Norfolk*, who was baniſh'd with this King, when he was Duke of *Hereford*.

Fifthly,

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Fifthly, 'That he had willingly ratified, allowed, and approved in his Parliament at *Winceſter* a moſt wicked Statute made againſt the Church of *Rome*, the Powers and Principality thereof given by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt to Bleſſed St. *Peter* and his Succeſſors the Biſhops of *Rome*, and ſo hath been the Cauſe of much Simony, Perjury, and other Diſorders among the Clergy, and Gentry of the Nation, who ſell their Vacant Benefices to unworthy and unfit Perſons, to the great Diſcouragement of Learning in the Univerſities, and Diligence in the Miniſtry.

Sixthly, 'That he hath uſurped a Tyrannical Government, and ſo grievouſly oppreſſed the Nation by his continual Exactions of needleſs Taxes and Subſidies, when there was no reaſonable Cauſe or Occaſion for them, that the People are miſerably impoveriſhed, and dare not complain, becauſe of his Menaces and Threats.

Seventhly, 'That no Juſtice could be expected from him, becauſe, that contrary to his Coronation Oath, he had hindred the Free Election of Parliaments by ſending his Letters into the Shires and Boroughs of the Kingdom, whereby he procured, that ſuch Perſons only ſhould be choſen Knights and Burgeſſes, as would not fail to ſerve his Turn in their Votes and Acts, as Occaſion was offered.

Eighthly, 'That whereas in Honour and Reſpect to his Affinity, he ought to have ranſomed and redeemed his Coſin the Earl of *March* from his loathſome Impriſonment, (and the more eſpecially, becauſe he was often ſollicited to it by the Lords of his Council) he not only deny'd to grant the ſame Requeſt, but falſely and untruly Publiſhed and Declared, That the Earl made himſelf a Priſoner to the *Welſh* voluntarily, that he might have a more colourable Pretence to join with Traytors and Rebels to conſpire and plot againſt him, and diſturb his Peace and Government.

Laſtly, 'That the Premiſſes being very deſtructive to the Nation, and calling for a ſpeedy Redreſs, they had taken Arms with no other Intention, than to exalt unto the Kingdom the true and lawful Heir, and to crown him with the Royal Diadem of *England*, to bring the *Welſh*, *Iriſh*, and other Enemies of the Kingdom to a perpetual Peace; and laſtly, to free the Nation from all thoſe Exactions, Extortions, and unjuſt Payments, which ruined the People: And therefore as they defied King *Henry*, as an Uſurping Tyrant, and pronounced him Perjured and Excommunicate; ſo they threatned the Curſe of God, and his Holy Church upon all thoſe that ſhould aſſiſt him againſt them, and not join with them againſt him.

Theſe Articles being ſeen and read, were very well approved by the Generality of People, and brought a mighty Concourſe to the Aſſiſtance of the Archbiſhop; inſomuch, that they had no reaſon in the leaſt to doubt of Succeſs. The King having Intelligence of theſe Things, gave over all Thoughts of his Expedition into *Wales*, and reſolved to turn his Forces againſt them: But *Ralph Nevill*, Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, and his Son *John*, Duke of *Lancaſter* (e) with ſeveral other great Perſons, who were at that Time marching towards *Scotland* to defend the Borders with a conſiderable Force, thought it neceſſary to ſtop the Growth of the Rebellion, by oppoſing it in the Beginning; and being not far from their Camp, preſented themſelves with all the Strength they could get to give them Battel. The Archbiſhop's Party was much the Stronger, being twenty thouſand Men, but yet were not forward to ſet upon them, which the Earl of *Weſtmoreland* perceiving, and not daring to aſſault them, he contrived to ſupplant them by this Stratagem. He ſent certain Meſſengers to the Archbiſhop to know the Cauſe, why a Perſon of his Character for Wiſdom and Piety, who ſhould by his Place endeavour all he could to promote Peace and Quietneſs in the Nation, ſhould appear in Arms, and diſturb the Government. The Archbiſhop reply'd, 'That 'he attempted nothing againſt the King's 'Peace; but all that he intended was to ad'vance the Good of the Commonwealth, by 'redreſſing the Abuſes and Corruptions of the 'Government, contained in certain Articles, 'which he gave them a Copy of, and deſired 'them to carry to the Earl to conſider upon, 'not doubting but he would agree with him, 'that his Purpoſe was Good and Profitable, as 'well for the King himſelf, as for the whole 'Realm. The Earl having received this Anſwer, and the Paper which they brought with them, from the Meſſenger's Hands, read the Articles contained in it; and immediately ſent the Biſhop Word again; 'That having well 'conſidered of the Articles ſent to him, he 'highly approve the Holy Intention and Pur'poſe of the Archbiſhop, and was ready to 'concur with him to his utmoſt in eſtabliſh'ing the ſame, deſiring to meet the Arch'biſhop in ſome convenient Place, and with an 'equal Number of Men, to confer farther a'bout the more effectual carrying on of their 'Deſign. The Prelate having received this Meſſage did not ſuſpect the Deceit lurking in it, but rejoyced much at the Earl's Propoſals, appointing a Place to meet him, as he deſired. The Earl-Marſhal was afraid of the Trick, but the Archbiſhop giving Credit to the Earl's Words, perſuaded him to attend him to the Conference, where the Earl of *Weſtmoreland* again ſolemnly declared, 'That he and his 'would do their Beſt, that a Reformation 'ſhould be made according to the forementioned Articles: And then deſiring that their Soldiers might be diſmiſſed to their Camps, they ſhook Hands, and ſat down to drink together, as perfect Friends; which when the Soldiers ſaw they departed with Joy, and left them; but one of the Troops wheeling about by the Earl of *Weſtmoreland*'s Order, came ſuddenly upon them as they were ſitting, and took the Archbiſhop, Earl-Marſhal, and ſeveral other Priſoners. This Perfidiouſneſs the Archbiſhop too late upbraided the Earl of *Weſtmoreland* with, and that with ſome Smartneſs; but the Earl pacified him by repeated Promiſes of his Safety, and of them that were with him. The Earl of *Weſtmoreland* ſoon after hearing, that the King himſelf was come to *Pomfraict*, went thither with his Priſoners, and preſented them to the King; but whether he forgot to tell the King of his Promiſe, or whether the King would not perform it, certain it is, that they were both Executed. The Arch-

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Earl of *Weſtmoreland* takes the Archbiſhop Priſoner by a Stratagem, and ends the Rebellion.

(e) *John* of *Lancaſter*, King *Henry*'s Third Son, he was not Duke of *Lancaſter*; but afterwards he was famous by the Stile of Duke of *Bedford*, and Regent of *France*.

biſhop

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Biſhop ſuffered with great Conſtancy, and was ſo much admired as well as pitied after his Death, that the People worſhipp'd him for a Martyr, till the King forbad them. From *Pomfraict* the King marched with his Army of 37000 Men to *York*, where he fined the Citizens at his Pleaſure for their Rebellion, and ſo furniſhed himſelf with Money and Proviſion for his further Progreſs in purſuit of the Earl of *Northumberland*: But that Earl, with the Lord *Burdolf* eſcaped into *Scotland*, and was received by *David*, Lord *Flemming*. The King in his way took the Lord *Haſtings* and *Falconbridge*, Sir *John Colvill*, and Sir *John Griffith*, and beheaded them at *Durham*. Then he aſſaulted *Berwick*, *Wark-worth*, *Alenwick*, and ſeveral other Caſtles which belonged to the Earl of *Northumberland*, and took them, and ſo put an end to the Rebellion at preſent.

King *Henry*'s Expedition againſt the *Welſh*.

While the King was thus employ'd againſt his own Subjects, the *Welſh* under *Owen Glendour* were very ſollicitous to ſtrengthen themſelves againſt King *Henry*'s Arms, whoſe Intentions (as they knew) were not laid aſide wholly, but deferred, and therefore they might expect him as ſoon as Things were quiet at Home. They thereupon ſent to the King of *France* for his Aſſiſtance, and obtained 12000 Men, which were ſent over in 140 Ships, under the Command of the Marſhal *Montmerancy*. In their Paſſage they loſt all their Horſes for want of freſh Water; and juſt after their Landing, the Lord *Barkley*, and Mr. *Henry Pay*, burnt and took near Thirty of their Ships: But theſe Loſſes they ſoon recovered upon the *Engliſh*; for joining with *Owen Glendour*, they beſieged *Carmarden*, *Worceſter*, and ſeveral other Places, from whence they took ſtore of Spoil and Plunder. King *Henry* hearing of theſe Troubles from the *Welſh*, haſted againſt them; but as if an ill Fate had purſued him, he loſt all his Carriages with a violent Tempeſt, in his Paſſage thither; and being arrived, could effect nothing againſt them; for the *Welſh* after their uſual manner retreating into their Mountains, the King for want of Money and Forrage was forced to return Home without any Action worthy of Mention, loſing ſome of his Carriages in his Retreat. The *French* alſo returned with little gain by their tedious Journey, having loſt more than they had gotten.

Reg. 7.

Several Accidents.

In the beginning of this Year the Lady *Philip*, King *Henry*'s younger Daughter, was married to *Erice*, King of *Denmark*, *Norway* and *Sweden*, and not long after proclaimed Queen of thoſe Countries on the Conception of our Lady, *December* 8. in the preſence of the Embaſſadors, who had celebrated the Marriage before. On the Tranſlation of St. *Martin*, the Town of *Royſton* was ſet on Fire, and almoſt burnt down to the Ground. The Earl of *Arundel* alſo about the ſame time married the King of *Portugal*'s natural Daughter, and the King and Queen were at the Marriage.

A. D. 1406.

Seventh Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

On the Firſt of *March* a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*. The main Deſign of their Meeting was to grant the King a Subſidy for his preſent Supply; but that he might more eaſily gain his Ends upon them, the King paſſed ſeveral Acts at their Requeſt, about the more regular and orderly Election of Knights of the Shires, and Burgeſſes for Parliament; againſt Bulls to be diſcharged of Tythes, Proviſions, Licenſes and Pardons for Benefices, held by Incumbents, purchaſed of the Pope, and brought into the Nation, to the great Prejudice of the Church, and Diſturbance of the Order of the Nation; as alſo for the Confirmation of the ancient Liberties, and Preſervation of the Peace, with ſeveral other Statutes; by which Readineſs and Facility he thought to oblige them to be more liberal to him in granting him Money: But when the King's Neceſſities and Wants came to be propounded, the Houſe was generally averſe to it, and deny'd to grant any Tax at preſent. The King had no way to force them to it, but by prolonging their Seſſion, which would not only be chargeable to the Nation, but prejudicial to all their private Intereſts, in neglecting their Summer-buſineſs; and therefore, when they had long waited for their Diſſolution with Impatience, and found the King's Deſign, they at length granted him a Fifteenth of the Commons; which was ſo much the more heavy, becauſe the length of the Seſſion had been very Expenſive: And the Clergy to eaſe the Seculars, who had been much impoveriſh'd with paying ſo many Tenths, impoſed a new Subſidy upon Stipendiary Prieſts, Mendicant-Fryars, and Chauntry-Prieſts, *viz.* three and four Pence a Head, which was paid by them with much Murmuring and Repining, becauſe of the Poverty of thoſe inferiour Prieſts and Monks and the Novelty of it. By this Parliament the Succeſſion was entailed a-new upon the Poſterity of King *Henry*, and a Pardon given to all thoſe Perſons that had been inſtrumental in ſuppreſſing the late Rebellion, and ſuch riotous Meetings as were Precedent, or Conſequential to it.

A. D. 1406. Reg. 7.

King *Henry* contrives to get the Earl of *Northumberland* from the *Scots*.

The King while the Parliament ſat, conſidering how Turbulent the Earl of *Northumberland* had been to his Government; that he had been the chief Cauſe and Inſtrument of Two Rebellions, and that he could never hope for any Security ſo long as he was alive; for though he was fled into *Scotland*, yet being ſo near his Friends in the *North*, and among his Enemies the *Scots*, who if not out of Love to the Earl, yet out of Hatred to himſelf and the *Engliſh*, would lay hold of any Opportunity to aſſault his Dominions, and diſturb his Peace; contrived to prevent the Earl's Deſigns, by getting him into his Hands, and to that End agreed with ſeveral of the *Scotch* Nobles to reſtore certain Great Men of their Kingdom, whom he kept Priſoners, if they would reſign the Earl of *Northumberland*, and Lord *Bardolf* into his Hands. The *Scots* readily aſſented to the King's Propoſals, thinking it unreaſonable to value the Safety of Two Rebels, before the Liberty of many of their very good Friends, and accordingly conſpired to take them and deliver them to him: But the Lord *Flemming*, who had entertain'd them, having Intelligence of the Deſign, and being loath to violate the Sacred Rules of Hoſpitality, gave them Notice of it, and adviſed them to provide for their Safety elſewhere, ſince he could not longer protect them; whereupon the Earl of *Northumberland* and Lord *Bardolf* fled into *Wales*. The *Scotch* Lords being thus diſappointed of their Aim, turned their Anger upon the Lord *Flemming*, and ſlew him, but with no leſs Trouble to the Nation than Cruelty in themſelves: For the Children and Relations of the ſaid Lord, being excited by the Barbarouſneſs of the Fact, reſolved to revenge it, and being in ſo juſt a Cauſe, obtained Aſſiſtance eaſily to effect it. This begat a Civil War in *Scotland*, and raiſed ſuch dangerous Quarrels in ſeveral parts of the Nation, that the King not thinking it ſafe to keep Prince *James* his Son and Heir at Home, ſent him under the Care of the Earl

of

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of *Orkney*, and a Biſhop, into *France* to compleat his Education, and learn that Language. In their Paſſage, as they ſailed by the *Engliſh* Coaſt, about *Clay* in *Norfolk*, they were taken by certain *Engliſh* Ships belonging to thoſe Parts, and ſent to the King at *Windſor*; who though they preſented to him the King of *Scots* Letters, containing a Requeſt of his Favour to his Son, if he ſhould land in any part of his Dominions, yet he impriſoned them all in the *Tower* of *London*; ſaying, *He would teach the Young Prince to ſpeak the* French *Tongue, and ſo the need go no further.* The Biſhop remained not long in Cuſtody, but either through Cunning or Connivance eſcaped; and though a Truce was made a little after between the two Kings of *England* and *Scotland*, yet the Prince was kept a Priſoner, either as a Pledge of his Father's Fidelity, or to make him expel the *Engliſh* Rebels out of his Dominions, whom he entertained to the King's great Diſpleaſure.

Divers Accidents.

In the End of this *Summer* the *Britains*, who ſerved the Queen, were baniſhed the Nation, and two of her Daughters ſent along with them by Order of the Parliament. The Lady *Philippa* alſo was ſent over into *Denmark* to her Husband, being attended by *Henry Bowet*, Biſhop of *Bath*, and the Lord *Richard*, Brother to the Duke of *York*, with a great Train, and was ſoon after her Arrival married to the ſaid King with great Magnificence. At the ſame time ſolemn Juſts were held at *London* between the Earl of *Kent*, Sir *John Cornwall*, and the Lord *Beaumont* and Three *Scots*, the Earl of *Marre*, and Two *Scottiſh* Knights; but the Honour of the Victory fell to the *Engliſh*. This Year alſo the Mayor of *London* cauſed all the Wears or Banks, as far as *Graveſend*, which had been made into the *Thames* to catch the Fiſh, to be beaten down and demoliſhed, becauſe they were found too deſtructive to the Fiſhery. The Earl of *Arundel*, and ſome other of the Nobility oppoſed the Mayor in it, but he prevailed through ſome Conceſſions given the City of *London* by their Charter. Sir *Robert Knolles* finiſhed *Rocheſter*-Bridge, and the Chappel adjoining to it. The Pope made *Thomas Langley*, Biſhop of *Durham*, in the Place of *Walter Skirlow*, lately deceaſed. The *French* alſo ſent a further Aid to the *Welſh* in thirty eight Ships, but loſt eight in their Paſſage, and the reſt hardly eſcaping the *Engliſh*, got aſhore in much Fear and Danger.

Reg. 8.

Earl of *Kent*'s Marriage.

The King, who greatly favoured *Edmund Holland*, Earl of *Kent*, and for that Reaſon had raiſed him to very great Honour and Offices about him, preferred him to the Lady *Lucy*, the Eldeſt Daughter, and one of the Heireſſes of *Barnabas*, Duke of *Milan*; which Match he had obtained for him by great Intereſt, and large Expences. She was married to him *January* the 24th, in the Church of St. *Mary Overies*, in *Southwark*, and the Duke on the Day of her Marriage paid him by the Hands of *Don Alfonſo de Cainuola* 100000 Ducats.

A. D. 1407.

Roger Walden's Death.

About this Time died *Roger Walden*, Doctor of Divinty, and ſo at length came to his Haven of Peace and Quiet, after a life of infinite Changes and Troubles; for of all Men living he was the greateſt Inſtance of the Mutability and Inconſtancy of Fortune. He was originally of mean Parentage, and born to a ſmall Eſtate; but being educated in Learning, and of a pregnant Wit, he raiſed himſelf by degrees to the higheſt Offices both in Church and State; for he was firſt made Lord High-Treaſurer, and a little after by the Depoſition of *Thomas Arundel*, he was made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſo continued during King *Richard*'s Reign. From theſe Pinacles of Grandeur he was caſt down by the coming of King *Henry* to the Throne, who reſtored *Thomas Arundel* to his See. Several Years he remained in a private Station, and at length was again raiſed to Epiſcopal Dignity, being made Biſhop of *London*: But, as though Fortune raiſed him only to ſhew her Power to caſt down, he was again removed from that See in leſs than the ſpace of a Year, and *Nicholas Hobwith* put in his Place; dying, if not in as poor, yet in almoſt as mean a Condition as he was Born: So uncertain is worldly Greatneſs. A. D. 1407. Reg. 8.

Duke of *Orleans* beſieges *Burges* and *Blay*.

The Duke of *Orleans* early in the Spring having gathered a mighty Army, beſieged the Towns of *Burges* and *Blay* in *Gaſcoigne*, not doubting, but that with his Army he might eaſily win the ſaid Towns: But, as if Providence had fought againſt him, and diſapprov'd the Action; there happened ſuch continual Tempeſts of Rain, mixt with Hail and Snow, every Day for ſix Weeks together, that he was not able to attempt any Thing; but loſt by the Violence of the Weather (as was reported) ſix thouſand of his Men; ſo that he was forced to break up the Siege and depart with Diſgrace. The *Engliſh* not inſenſible of this Danger, in the mean time annoy'd the *French* Coaſts; and with fifteen Ships under the Command of *Henry Pay*, Eſq; and ſome others belonging to the Cinque-Ports took a hundred and twenty Prizes on the *Britiſh* Coaſts, laden with Iron, Salt, Oyl, and *Rochel*-Wines; ſo that the *French* ſuſtained many Damages by Sea and Land.

Seditious Libels ſet up in the City.

Some Seeds of Rebellion began to ſpring this Year, tho' being nipped in the Bud, they came to nothing: For ſome Perſons deſirous to ſtir up the People to Sedition, ſet up Bills in ſeveral Places of the City of *London*, and upon the Doors of St. *Paul*'s Church; declaring, that King *Richard* was ſtill alive, and would ſhortly come with great Power and State to recover his Kingdom. But the Chief Actor in this Buſineſs was by the King's Vigilance ſoon found out, and puniſhed according to his Deſert, that the Terror of his Sufferings might make others to avoid the like falſe Attempts.

A Plague in *London*.

The City of *London* was ſo much infected this *Summer* with the Plague, that it is ſaid thirty thouſand died of it; and the Country was proportionably afflicted with it, for many whole families died of it. The King not daring to venture himſelf in the City, paſſed his Time in the Country, till the Infection ſhould ceaſe; where having kept his Court ſome time at his Caſtle of *Leeds* and *Kent*, he paſs'd into *Eſſex* to reſide a while at *Pleſhey*. He took Ship at *Queensburgh*, in the Iſle of *Sheepy*, to ſail to *Leigh* in *Eſſex*: But in his way certain *French* Pirates, who lay at the *Thames* Mouth, watching for Prey, fell in among his Ships, having Information of his croſſing, and took four Ships which were next to the King's, miſſing of the Ship he was in, which they intended to take; but carrying away Sir *Thomas Rampſtone* his Vice-chamberlain, with his Furniture and Apparel; the King himſelf eſcaping only through the Swiftneſs of his Ship. The Lord *Camois*, had undertaken with certain Men of War, to convey the King over ſafely; but either thro' the Sluggiſhneſs of his Ship or croſs Winds, not being at hand to guard the King from this Danger, was thought to have practiſed with the *French* to deliver the King into their Hands; and

The King near taken by ſome *French* Pirates.

A. D. 1407. Reg. 8.

and being Attach'd was impriſon'd, and oblig'd to undergo his Tryal, but was cleared by his Peers, and reſtored by the King to his Lands, Goods and Offices.

The King oppoſes the Pope's Proviſions.

Robert Halome, Chancellour of *Oxford* being at *Rome* with the Pope, obtained a Proviſion of him for the Arch-Biſhoprick of *York*, when it ſhould become Vacant by the Death of the preſent Biſhop. *Richard Scroope* being beheaded for his Rebellion, *Robert* poſſeſſed himſelf of the See: But the King was ſo offended with him for this Intruſion, that he was afraid to keep it; and therefore ſubmitted the Diſpoſal of it to the King's Pleaſure, who thereupon made *Henry Bowet*, from Biſhop of *Bath*, Arch-Biſhop, and put *Robert Halome* into the See of *Salisbury*, then vacant by the Tranſlation of *Henry Chicheley* to St. *Davids*. (*f*) The Prince of *Wales* much about the ſame Time won the Caſtle of *Aberuſwith* (*g*) in *Wales*, forcing the Beſieged to reſign it to him upon certain Conditions; but the Prince was no ſooner departed from thoſe Parts, but *Owen Glendour* by a ſubtle Stratagem got Poſſeſſion of it again; and putting out the Keepers, whom he charged with Treaſon for reſigning the Caſtle without his Conſent, put in others more faithful to defend it for his Uſe.

Sir *Robert Knollis*'s Death, and his Acts of Charity and Piety.

About the Feaſt of the Aſſumption of the Virgin, *Aug.* 15. deceaſed that moſt Warlike Knight, and Brave *Engliſh* Hero, Sir *Robert Knolles*, at his Manor of *Sconetborp* in *Norfolk*; and being carried up to *London*, was honourably Interred in the Church of the *White-Fryars* in *Fleet-Street*, by the Lady *Conſtance* his Wife; which Church he had a little before re-edified. He was of mean Parentage, but by his Courage and Valour raiſed himſelf, to be the Commander of Armies, and Governour of Provinces; in which Places he behaved himſelf ſo well, that he not only enriched himſelf but was a Terror to all the Enemies of the Nation, eſpecially the *French* and *Brittains*. In his old Age he reſigned his Government of the Province of *Aquitain*, to Sir *Thomas Belfort*, and gave himſelf to Acts of Piety and Charity; in which he was as eminent, as in Heroick Atchievements: For he built the large Bridge at *Rocheſter* over the *Medway*, with a Chappel at the Foot of it; in which is a Table of all the Benefactors to the Bridge, who have given Land or Money to the upholding of it. The Coping hath been added ſince by *John Warner*, a Merchant of *Rocheſter*, and the Iron Bars and Spikes by Arch-Biſhop *Warham*. He alſo founded a College of Secular Prieſts at *Pontefract* for ſix Prieſts, thirteen poor Men and Women, and endued it with a hundred and eighty Pounds a Year in Lands, with many other Acts of Charity, to his great Honour and the eternal Commendation of his Memory.

Reg. 9.

Sir *Thomas Rampſtone*, Conſtable of the *Tower* of *London*, paſſing from Court to the *Tower* by Water, was drown'd in ſhooting the Bridge. Sir *Richard Whittington* the Famous Benefactor to the City of *London*, was this Year made Mayor, and held that Place three Years. With the beginning of this Year a Parliament met at *Glouceſter*, but was removed in *November* to *Weſtminſter* for more Conveniency. In this Seſſion little was enacted of publick Advantage,

Eight Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

beſides the Confirmation of the Ancient Liberties, Laws and Cuſtoms of the Realm, but only ſome Irregularities about the Payment of Taxes by Strangers, ſealing Cloths, and the like were removed. In reſpect to the Church ſeveral Things of Importance were moved, and ſome enacted, *viz.* It was moved by Petition to the King, That foraſmuch, as divers Proviſors of Benefices in the Church of *England*, thro' Covetouſneſs have deviſed to deſtroy the Preſent Incumbents, by ſuing Proceſſes in the Court of *Rome*, and without any Citations given them within the Realm have deprived them of their Benefices; It would pleaſe the King to conſider the Miſchief of ſuch Proceedings, and to ordain, That all ſuch Perſons, as ſhall procure or ſue in the Court of *Rome* any Proceſs touching any Benefice or Collation in his Majeſty's Dominions, and obtain any Preſentation thereupon, ſhall not be admitted by any Ordinary into ſuch Benefices, but ſhall incur the Penalty of the Statute of Proviſors made 13 *Rich.* 2. with all their Counſellors and Fautors: To which the King anſwered, *That he would take effectual Care that the Statutes before-mentioned ſhould be obſerved.* Another Petition was alſo put up to the King, begging, 'That ſince many Benefices 'of the Realm were held and enjoy'd by Fo'reigners and others, who took no care of the 'People, he would be pleaſed to ſeize upon all 'Benefices, where the Perſons were not Reſi'dent, and take one half of the ſaid Benefices to 'his own Uſe. But to this the King anſwered, 'That he would cauſe the Ordinaries to do 'their Duties; which if they would not do, he 'would take care to prevent Pluralities. Theſe favourable Anſwers encouraged the Commons to paſs ſeveral Bills in reference to them, which the King enacted, *viz.* 'That no Monies ſhould 'be carried out of the Nation to the Court of '*Rome*; and that if any of the Pope's Collec'tors ſhould levy any Money within the Realm 'for the Firſt-Fruits of any Eccleſiaſtical Digni'ty, he ſhould incur the Penalty of the Statute 'of Proviſors: That the Elections and Preſen'tations to Benefices ſhould be free, and no 'Patrons ſhould be interrupted in their Right, 'either by the King or Pope: That all Statutes 'againſt Proviſors, and Tranſlations of Biſhop'ricks and Arch-Biſhopricks, ſhall be ſtrictly ob'ſerved and executed upon all Offenders againſt 'them, and that no Clergy-man ſhall ſue for 'any Benefice but in the King's Court. Theſe Acts were ſo pleaſing to the Parliament, that they granted the King a general Subſidy thro' the whole Nation, and ſo it was diſmiſs'd.

A. D. 1407. Reg. 9.

A. D. 1408.

An hard Winter.

A little before *Chriſtmas*, began a Froſt of that Violence and long Continuance, that the like was ſcarce ever heard of in *England*. It laſted fifteen Weeks; and being accompany'd with an abundance of Snow, it was ſo deſtructive to the Birds eſpecially, that almoſt all the ſmaller Birds died with Cold and Hunger.

The E. of *Northumberland* rebels a third time and is ſlain.

Early in this Spring the Earl of *Northumberland* and Lord *Bardolf*, who from their Eſcape out of *Scotland*, had ſpent a whole Year to gather an Army in *Wales*, *France* and *Flanders* to invade *England*, returned again into *Scotland*, and entered into *England*. The King, who had no Suſpicion of this Attempt, was at *London*, conſulting with his Nobles and Peers about the

(*f*) The Tranſlation of Dr. *Chicheley* from the Biſhoprick of *Salisbury* to St. *David's*, ſhews us, that there muſt be a vaſt Alteration in the Revenues of the See of St. *David's*, from what they were formerly: That of *Salisbury* being now valued in the King's Books at 1367*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* and that of St. *David's*, but at 422*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and yet as low as the Prieſts are now, the Value of it in the ſaid Books amounts to much more, than that of the other Three *Welſh* Biſhopricks put together.

(*g*) *Aberyſtwith* in *Cardiganſhire*.

Affairs

A. D. 1408. Reg. 9. Affairs of the Realm, and was in no Readineſs to make any Oppoſition; ſo that the Earl had time to gain ſeveral of his Caſtles with eaſe, before the King could get his Army together, though he endeavour'd it with all ſpeed. Theſe proſperous Beginnings encourag'd the Earl to go on, and invade *Yorkſhire*; where being at *Thresk*, he put out a Proclamation, aſſuring the People, 'That he came to relieve the *Engliſh* Nation 'from their many and unjuſt Oppreſſions; and 'requiring all Perſons that loved the Liberty 'of their Country to reſort to him immediately 'with their Weapons and Armour to aſſiſt him; by which fair Pretences great Numbers of People reſorted to him. The King being certified of theſe Things, haſted towards them with a great Army; but not being able to get there time enough to ſecure thoſe Countries from their Ravage and Spoil, Sir *Thomas Rockley* or *Rokesby*, High-Sheriff of the County, a Perſon of ſignal Courage and Loyalty, aſſembled the Forces of the County together, if not to fight them, yet to ſtop their Progreſs, which without any Signs of Oppoſition would prove of greater Damage. The Earl and his Party advanced forward, and the Sheriff as reſolutely marched againſt them, and meeting them at *Braham-moor* near *Haſelwood*, reſolved to give them Battel, though with a far leſs Number than the Earl had. The Rebels choſe their Ground, and were ready to receive them; which Advantage the Sheriff ſo little regarded, that he fell immediately upon them perhaps more boldly than wiſely; but Fortune ſeconds the Adventurous. The Earl and his Men encountred him with equal Reſolution and Bravery. However in the Iſſue he was forced to reſign the Victory to the Sheriff; many were ſlain on both ſides, but the Rebels loſt far the moſt. The Lord *Bardolf* was taken, and ſo much wounded, that he died ſoon after of his Wounds. The Earl of *Northumberland* was ſlain, but his Head being cut off was ſent up with the Lord *Bardolf*'s to *London*, and there ſet upon a Pole on the Bridge. His Death was much lamented by the People, by reaſon of his Valour and Honour. The Biſhop of *Bangor*, who had gone over to *Owen Glendour* was taken; but becauſe he was not in Arms, the King pardon'd him, more in reſpect to his Order than Merit. But the Abbot of *Hailes* found not that Mercy from the King; for being taken in Armour, he was hang'd. The King was on his March towards the Rebels, when the News of this Victory was brought to him; but judging it neceſſary to proceed in his Courſe to ſettle thoſe Countries, and purge 'em from the Dregs of Rebellion, he went to *York*, where he puniſh'd many that were accuſed for ſuccouring and aſſiſting the Earl of *Northumberland*, ſome with Death, others with great Fines, and ſo brought thoſe Parts in a ſmall time into good Order.

This *Summer* the *Engliſh* Seas being much peſtered with *French* Rovers, which did much Damage, both to the Coaſts and Merchants, the King ſent out a well-mann'd Fleet, under the Command of *Edmund Holland*, Earl of *Kent*, to ſcowr the Narrow-Seas of them. The Pirates having Intelligence of the King's Deſign, withdrew themſelves into their Ports, ſo that the Earl, when he came to Sea, though he ſought carefully for them, could find none of them; but at length getting Intelligence that they were gotten into *Britain*, he purſued 'em, reſolving to revenge on them the Injuries they had done to the *Engliſh*; and becauſe he could not bring them to a Sea-fight, he landed his Men, and beſieged the City of *Briak* which harbour'd them, and ſent them out. The Inhabitants ſtoutly defended themſelves, endeavouring to drive the *Engliſh* back, by caſting Arrows and Stones upon them, and were ſo lucky as to wound the Earl himſelf mortally on the Head, of which hurt he died within five Days. This might have proved Fortunate to the Beſieged, had their Enemies been Men of common Tempers; but the Loſs of their Captain ſo much enraged the Soldiers, that they became more deſperate in the Aſſualt, and within a few Days took the Town by force, and ſlew all that had made Reſiſtance, but ſtaid not to ſecure it, being ſatisfied with the Prey and Priſoners. The Counteſs of *Kent* had no Iſſue, and therefore the King deſired her in Marriage for his Baſtard-Brother the Earl of *Dorſet*, an old and decrepit Man; (*b*) but ſhe choſe rather to pleaſe her ſelf, and married a young Gentleman, *Henry Mortimer*, by whom ſhe had one Daughter, named *Ann*; afterwards married to Sir *John Awbemond*. A. D. 1408. Reg. 9.

Reg. 10. The Schiſm between the Popes, and the means to end it.

The Schiſm between the Popes, which had laſted ſeveral Years paſt, was now grown very wearisome to the whole Church, having coſt ſo many Lives to maintain it, and being ſuch an open Breach of Unity and Chriſtian Love, the Two main Pillars of the Church. The two laſt Antipopes, *Gregory* XII, and *Benedict* XIII, had been ſworn at their Election to call a Council, and ſubmit to the Deciſion of it, that by that moſt effectual way Peace might be reſtored to the Church; but their Behaviour afterwards in chooſing new Cardinals to ſtrengthen their Parties, was an evident Sign they intended to perpetuate the Schiſm, as much as in them lay, not valuing the Oath they had taken to the contrary. This Action offended the more moderate Cardinals, and gave diſtaſte to particular Churches, inſomuch, that they began to take others Methods to bring the Popes to Terms of Agreement.

A. D. 1409. In *France* the King having taken Advice of the Learned Men of his Univerſities of *Paris* (*i*) *Bolonia*, *Orleans*, *Tholouſe* and *Montpelier*, how he might avoid the Danger of Schiſm; determined to ſubmit to neither of theſe Schiſmatical Popes, until Peace were reſtored to Chriſt's Church. In *England* alſo the Doctors of both Univerſities met in a Council at *London*, with the reſt of the Clergy to debate, whether they ſhould withdraw from the Pope their uſual Payments of Monies, and their accuſtomed Obedience; conſidering, that contrary to his Word and Promiſe, confirmed by his Oath, he had hindred the Agreement and Concord of the Church: But they came to no Reſolution, becauſe the King was willing to try more gentle Methods firſt, eſpecially ſince the Council of *Piſa* was appointed to meet to determine the Controverſie the next *Summer*: And therefore the mean while, that he might diſpoſe Pope *Gregory* and his Cardinals to ſubmit to their Deciſion, he wrote a Letter to each of them, to this effect. 'To the Pope he repreſented

The Council of *Piſa* appointed.

(*b*) It could not be the Earl of *Dorſet*, for the King did not confer that Title till four Years afterwards on his younger Brother *Thomas Beaufort*, Hol. The Author muſt mean *John*, Earl of *Somerſet*, the eldeſt of Eſquire *Swinford*'s Sons, by the Duke of *Lancaſter*; and he being ſeveral Years Younger than the King, who was not now above one and forty Years of Age, deſerved not the Character of Old and Decrepid.

(*i*) *Bologna* is not one of the *French* King's Univerſities, and never belong'd to the Dominions of *France*.

A. D. 1409. Reg. 10.

'the Miſeries of Chriſtendom by this Schiſm, 'and how much Blood-ſhed it had been the 'Cauſe of; that 200000 Men had been ſlain in 'ſeveral parts of the Chriſtian World in this 'Anti-papal Quarrel; and lately in the Con-'tention for the Biſhoprick of *Leige* between 'the Two Competitors, ſet up by each Pope '30000 Men had been ſlain: And then added, 'That if his Holineſs would ſeriouſly conſi-'der theſe Things, he could not but be much 'troubled at it, and for Conſcience ſake ra-'ther relinquiſh his Papal Authority and Grau-'dure, than be a further Cauſe of ſuch deteſta-'ble Murders; imitating the Example of the 'True Mother, who pleading her Cauſe be-'fore *Solomon*, choſe rather to part with her 'own Child, than ſee it cut aſunder: And 'though by his late Creation of Nine Cardi-'nals he had given ſome Suſpicion, that he in-'tended not the End of the Schiſm; yet he 'hoped, that he abhorred to be guilty of ſo 'great Inconſtancy. To the Cardinals he gives 'only an exhortation to behave themſelves 'with that Candour and Impartiality at the 'Council of *Piſa*, that God may be pleaſed, 'and the Pope himſelf obliged to thank them. Theſe Letters to the Pope and Cardinals the King ſent to *Rome* by Sir *John Colvil*, Knight, and Mr. *Nicholas Rixton*, Clerk. Soon after their Departure the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſummon'd the Clergy of his Province to a Convocation in St. *Paul*'s Church, to chooſe ſufficient Perſons to go to the General Council appointed to be held at *Piſa*; and they unanimouſly fixed upon *Robert Halome*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, *Henry Chicheley*, Biſhop of St. *Davids*, and *Thomas Chillingden*, Prior of *Chriſt-Church* in *Canterbury*.

John Wickliff's Books condemned at *Oxford*.

This *Summer*, notwithſtanding the Burning of *William Sawter*, and other Severities uſed againſt the *Lollards* in this King's Reign; it was found, that ſeveral Learned Men of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and in other parts of the Nation were inclinable to the Doctrines of *John Wickliff*, and did publickly in their Sermons and other Diſcourſes, deliver Opinions and Concluſions tending that way. The Biſhop and chief of the Clergy were much troubled at it; and the Lord Chancellor, by his ſpecial Mandate, ordered a Convocation of the Heads and Body of the Univerſity, to meet and examine the Doctrines of *Wickliff*; who accordingly on *June* 26. aſſembling in great Multitudes, *viz.* both Regents and Non-regents, reprov'd and condemned with one Conſent the Books of *John Wickliff*, D. D. Entitled, *De Sermone in monte*, *Triologorum de Simoniâ*, *De perfectione Statuum*, *De ordine Chriſtianò*, *& de gradibus Cleri Eccleſiæ*. As alſo *his Treatiſe of Logick or Sophiſtry*: Prohibiting under the Penalty of the Great Curſe and Deprivation of all Scholaſtick Degrees, that none from thence-forward ſhould affirm, teach, or preach by any manner of means or ways any of the Opinions or Doctrines contained and ſet forth in the ſame Heretical Books.

Several Accidents.

About the ſame time was a famous Play acted at *Skinner's Well*, near *Clerkenwell*, *London*, repreſenting the chief Matter of the World from the Creation: It laſted Eight Days, and moſt part of the Nobility and Gentry of *England* were preſent at it. From hence they went to Royal Juſts in *Smithfield*, between the Marſhal of *Henault* and certain *Hanovers*, Challengers; and the Earl of *Somerſet*, and an equal Number of *Engliſhmen* Defendants. The Victory was on the *Engliſhmen*'s ſide; for the Earl overcame, and all the *Engliſh* but one. Owen *Glendour* alſo the famous *Welſh* Rebel died. He had behaved himſelf with Valour enough; but not being able to effect what he had promiſed his Country-men, *viz.* an abſolute Soverainty among themſelves, and a Freedom from the *Engliſh* Yoke; but inſtead of theſe having engaged them upon inſupportable Expences, and an endleſs War, they deſerted him; and he being forſaken, partly through fear of being delivered up to King *Henry*, and partly thro' diſcontent and trouble of Mind, fled into the Mountains and Deſerts; where being deſtitute of all Comfort and Succour, he ended his miſerable Life. The Counſel of *Piſa* after a long Deliberation about the State of the Church thro' the Schiſm of the Antipopes, at laſt determined againſt both, and created *Alexander* V. Pope in their Room, and ſo put an end to the Schiſm which had vexed the Chriſtian Churches ſo long.

A. D. 1409. Reg. 10.

Reg. 11.

A. D. 1410.

The King made *Thomas Beaufort*, Earl of *Surrey* (*k*) Lord-Chancellor, and the Lord *Scroop*, Treaſurer; and after *Chriſtmas* met his Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, Jan. 28. In this Parliament it was enacted. 'That Sheriffs making 'falſe Returns of Knights of Shires elected for 'Parliament, ſhall forfeit a hundred Pound to 'the King: That Records ſhall not be amend-'ed or corrupted after Judgment enrolled, and 'that Jurors ſhall be returned into *Weſtminſter-'Hall* by the Sheriffs. But that which was moſt amazing in this Parliament was a Petition of the Commons delivered to the King, purporting, *That the Temporal Poſſeſſions, Lands and Revenues of the Clergy were lewdly ſpent, conſumed and waſted by the Biſhops, Abbots and Priors of the Realm, which if they were well managed, would maintain* 150 *Earls*, 1500 *Knights*, 6200 *Eſquires*, *and* 100 *Hoſpitals more than are now at preſent*; *by which means the Safety of the Nations would be better provided for, the Poor better maintained, and the Clergy would be more Humble and Pious*; *and therefore they humbly beſought him to take them into his own Hands, and order them accordingly.* In their Bill they alledged, *That the Temporalities of the ſaid Biſhops and Religious Perſons amounted to above* 322000 *Marks*; *which at the Allowance of* 3000 *Marks to an Earl, a* 100 *Marks to each Knight*, 40 *Marks to an Eſquire, and an* 100 *Marks to each Alms-houſe yearly, would be ſufficient for the ſaid Number.* But it is ſaid, that the King was diſpleaſed at this Motion, which having before been made, he commanded them for the future never to meddle with any ſuch Matters. The Commons alſo petitioned, That the Statute which paſt in the Second Year of the King againſt the *Lollards* might be revoked or qualified with ſome Reſtrictions and Mitigations: But the King ſo much favoured the Clergy, that he plainly

Ninth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

(*k*) This was *Thomas Beaufort*, younger Son of *John* of *Gaunt*, and not *Suinford*, whom *Walſingham* erroneouſly ſtil'd Earl of *Surrey*, and the Modern Hiſtorians have erred, copying after him. *Thomas Beaufort* was created Earl of *Dorſet* two Years after; and this Remark may alſo correct an Error in *Holinſhead*, who ſays, that *Thomas Beaufort*, (*Camb. Brit. Tit. Surrey.*) the Chancellor died this Year 1411. *pag.* 536. And the very next Page he relates, That *Thomas Beaufort*, the King's Brother was created Earl of *Dorſet*, Anno 1412. Now there was no other *Thomas Beaufort*, beſides he who was the Son of that *Suinford*, that we read of in Hiſtory, and he had the Fortune to be Duke of *Exeter*, Protector of the Realm, and to be a chief Man in the Government to his Death, which happened in the Year 1446. *Holinſhead*, pag. 1079.

told

A. D. 1410. Reg. 11.

told them, 'That he was ſo far from diſan-'nulling or mitigating the ſaid Act, that he 'would have it made more vigorous and ſharp 'for the Puniſhment of ſuch erroneous Perſons. Then they further deſired, 'That Clerks con-'victed ſhould not be delivered to the Bi-'ſhop's Priſon, becauſe they eſcaped the Pu-'niſhment of their Crimes by that means: But they could not obtain their Requeſts. Theſe Denials ſo ſharpened the Commons againſt the King, that when he deſired that he might have annually a Fifteenth of the Laity, and a Tenth of the Clergy, though the Parliament did not ſit, they would not agree to it; nor had he gained a preſent Supply, were it not, that he tired them with a long Seſſion, keeping them till *Mid-May*, and forcing them to purchaſe their Diſmiſſion with the Gift of a Fifteenth of the Commons, though with much Diſcontent.

The Martyrdom of *John Bodby*.

In the Time of this Parliament was one *John Bodby*, a Taylor, of the Dioceſſe of *Worceſter*, convicted before *Thomas*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* of Hereſie, and obſtinately perſiſting in the ſame, becauſe he had been convened before his Dioceſan, and being admoniſh'd to leave his Erroneous Opinions, neither did, nor as yet would forſake them, and therefore was carried to *Smithfield*, and there burnt in a Pipe or Tun to Aſhes. *Henry*, the Prince of *Wales*, was preſent at this Execution, and much compaſſionating his Sufferings, was very deſirous to have ſaved him, offering him a Pardon if he would recant his Errors before the Fire was kindled; but he refuſing, was tied to the Stake, and the Fire made about him. As ſoon as he felt the Flames he cried out moſt hedeouſly; which when the Prince heard, he cauſed the Fire to be put out, and then exhorted him again to renounce his Errors, and he ſhould be ſaved; and ſince the Fire had made him Impotent, he promiſed him Three Pence a Day out of the King's Treaſury, as long as he lived; but the Holy Man recovering his Spirits, deny'd the Prince's Offers; and being put into the Fire again, was burnt to Aſhes: With miraculous Conſtancy, ſealing the Doctrines he had reſolutely maintained with his Death.

The Duke of *Burgundy's* Deſign to take *Callis*, defeated.

The Duke of *Burgundy* intending to make a ſecond and more effectual Attempt to take *Callis* for his Maſter the *French* King, (*l*) had brought down to St. *Omers* many Engines and Proviſions for that End. The *Engliſh* Garriſon at *Callis* were ſo much the more fearful of this Siege, becauſe the Duke was enraged for his laſt ill Succeſs againſt it; and had now reſolved, either to take it, or utterly demoliſh it, for which Purpoſe he had brought thither many ſtrange Engines newly invented and laid them up in the *Abby* there, till all things were ready for the Siege. The *Callaſians* had a watchful Eye upon the Duke's Motions; and their Fears ſuggeſted Methods to avoid the Danger, and diſappoint his cruel Purpoſe: For hiring a young Man, who was both ſubtle and deſperate, with a large Sum of Money to enter the Town of St. *Omers* and ſet it on fire; he did it ſo privately, that he eſcaped himſelf unſuſpected, and burnt down, not only the *Abby* wherein the Duke's Proviſion and Ammunition lay, but the greateſt part of the Town periſhed in the Flames, and ſo the Duke's Charge, as well as Aim was loſt, and the *Calliſians* preſerv'd.

Thomas Beaufort, Earl of *Surrey* died. The Citizens fell under the King's Diſpleaſure for quarrelling with the Prince's Servants, attending their Maſter at a Feaſt in *Eaſtcheap*, and the Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen were ſent for; but it appearing, that the Mayor had done his Duty in ſuppreſſing the Diſorder, and puniſhing the Offenders, the King pardon'd them, and ſo diſmiſſed them. This Year alſo he laid the Foundation of a College at *Battle-field* in *Shropſhire*, where he overcame the Lord *Henry Peircy*, ſurnamed *Hotſpur*, and his Uncle, in grateful thanks to God for that Victory, it being by far the ſtrongeſt Rebellion that was raiſed againſt him all his Reign; and through the Courage and Conduct of the Leaders moſt likely to ſucceed, which was the Motive to the King of building this College of Praiſe to God.

A. D. 1410. Reg. 11. Divers Accidents.

Reg. 12. The *Scots* much endamaged by the *Engliſh* Vice-Admiral.

Robert Humphreville, Knight, Vice-Admiral of *England* being imploy'd againſt the *Scots* with Ten able Ships of War, much infeſted the Coaſts of that Nation; and entring the *Forth*, or *Frith* of *Edenburgh* he lay there fourteen Days, and landing every Day on one ſide of the River or other, took great Spoils, and many Priſoners; notwithſtanding the Duke of *Albany*, and Earl *Dowglas* lay with a conſiderable Body of Men upon the Shore to prevent their Incurſions. At his Departure he burnt the *Galliot* of *Scotland*, a Veſſel of great Account with them, and many other Veſſels, and brought away with him fourteen good Ships laden with Prizes of Cloath, both Woollen and Linnen, Pitch, Tar, Woad, Flower, Rye, and Wheat Meal, with which he ſo well furniſh'd our Markets at home with Plenty, that Corn grew much cheaper, and the Poor much loved and admired him, giving him the Name of *Robert Mend-market*, in token of the Good he had done them, and with a Deſire that it ſhould be an eternal Honour to his Name, That whereas others made it their Buſineſs to raiſe Markets, he had in Charity to them beat them down. And thus he was called *Mend-market* in both Kingdoms; for in *Scotland* he had got himſelf that Name, by falling upon the Town of *Peebles* on the Market-day, and ſelling the Cloaths he had taken from the Traders at cheap Rates by their Bows for a Meaſure to the Country People, and then burning the Town. Shortly after his Return from Sea, he made an Inroad into *Scotland* by Land, with his Nephew *Gilbert Humfreville*, Earl of *Angus*, and burnt *Jedworth*, with the greateſt part of *Tividale*. This Year died 14000 of the Bloody-flux at *Burdeaux*, and proportionable Number in the Provinces of *Gaſcoigne* and *Guienne*, whereby the Country was ſo much diſpeopled, that there wanted Men to dreſs there Vines, and preſs their Grapes.

A. D. 1411. The King ſends his Ships to drive the Pirates out of the Narrow Seas.

A little after *Chriſtmas* the King ſent out *John Pendergrace*, Knight, and *William Long* to clear the Channel of the *French* Rovers and Pirates, who much moleſted the *Engliſh* Coaſts and Merchants, which they did with ſo great Care and Diligence, that in a little time no Pirate dared to appear, nor any Merchant feared any Danger. But this Succeſs which brought ſo much Safety and Gain to others, proved a Misfortune to themſelves; for their Enemies envying the Honour and Favour which they had deſervedly merited, accuſed them as the

(*l*) He is improperly called his Maſter, it ſhould rather have been his Ally. The *French* King, *Charles* the Sixth was this Duke's Nephew, himſelf was Soveriagn of great part of the Low-Countries, by marrying the Daughter of the Earl of *Flanders* and *Heynault*.

A. D. 1411. Reg. 12.

only Pirates; and that though they had driven away the little Thieves from our Shores, 'twas but to take all the Prey for themſelves, and do more Miſchief, becauſe they were more powerful: What Grounds they had to raiſe this Calumny upon them doth not appear; but 'tis certain, that they moved the King to ſo great Diſpleaſure againſt them, that they dared not when called home, appear in the King's Preſence, but *Pendergrace* fled to Sanctuary in St. *Peter's* Church at *Weſtminſter*, and was forced to lodge with a Guard about him in the Porch, Night and Day, becauſe no Man durſt receive him into his Houſe, for fear of the King's Anger, and his Enemies threatned his Life. *William Long* kept out at Sea; and though the Lord Admiral was ſent out to bring him in, yet he could not catch him, and he would not be induced to reſign himſelf, till the Admiral in the King's Name had promiſed him that no harm ſhould come to him for what he had done: Upon which aſſurance he delivered himſelf to the Admiral, who brought him to the King; but the Admiral's Faith proved no Advantage to him, for he was impriſoned in the Tower, and there for ſome time kept cloſe Priſoner.

1412. Divers Accidents.

This Year the *Guild-Hall* in the City of *London*, which was but a mean Cottage before, was made a ſtately Building by the Mayor and Aldermen at the Charge of the City. And the Company of Grocers laid the Foundation of their Hall upon a peice of Ground, which they purchaſed for three hundred and twenty Marks in *Cunihope-Lane*. Alſo *Rice ap Dee* an Eſquire of *Wales*, who had joined with *Owen Glendour* in Rebellion againſt the King, was brought up to *London*, and there drawn, hang'd and quartered for his Crime.

The cruel War between the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Burgundy* in *France*.

This Summer broke out the furious Factions of the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Burgundy* in *France*, by which the whole Kingdom was involved in the Troubles of a Civil-War: The Occaſion is ſaid to be this. The Duke of *Orleans*, a Prince not only of great Courage, but of an equal Ambition, ſeeing the preſent King his Brother to be a Perſon unfit for Government, becauſe of the Fits of Frenzy to which he was Subject, and often fell into, was deſirous to have gotten the Throne for himſelf; and having contrived with the Queen to remove the *Dauphin*, and convey him into *Germany* to her Brother the Duke of *Bavaria*, intended to perſwade the Pope, who in the Schiſm ſat at *Avignion*, *Benedict* XIII, to depoſe the preſent King, as Pope *Zachary* did King *Chilperick*. The Duke of *Burgundy*, the King's Uncle, who had married his Daughter to the *Dauphin*, was not inſenſible of the Duke of *Orleans*'s ambitious Aims; and as he kept the *Dauphin* out of the Snares, ſo he laboured by all means to countermine his other Practices; but fearing leaſt at length through his great Intereſts and Policy he might prevail, he hired certain Perſons to murder him, which was ſoon after done in *Paris*, near the *Barbet-Gate*. This Cruelty being committed in the Night, the Actors were not known, but the Duke of *Burgundy* was vehemently ſuſpected, and when after his Burial inquiry was made about the Murderers, the Duke fled, and confirmed all the Suſpicions concerning him. He remained ſome Months about *Antwerp*; yet being again reconciled to the King, and invited to the Court, he became as much in Favour as ever: But ſtill retaining his Enmity to the Duke of *Orleans*'s Family, he much diſcountenanced all his Friends, and put ſome of them out of their Places, and others to Death. *Charles*, Duke of *Orleans*, Son of the murdered Duke *Lewis*, being daily burdened with the Miſeries and Complaints of his Party, began to harbour angry and malicious Reſentments againſt the Duke; and as it often happens, that new Diſcontents revive the Memory of old Injuries, he became very hot and zealous to revenge the Death of his Father upon the Duke of *Burgundy*, which would ſeem to all the World a juſt and reaſonable Cauſe of making War upon him, ſince he had not only eſcaped Juſtice, but as if it had been a meritorious Act, was in as great Favour as ever. Before he would appear in Arms he conſulted with his Friends, and great Relations, the Dukes of *Berry*, *Burbon* and *Alenzon*, Kings of *Navarre* and *Arragon*, and the Earls of *Albert*, *Richemont*, *Armeniack*, and divers other Nobles and great Perſons, who approving his Deſign, and promiſing him their Aſſiſtance, encouraged him to go on in the Attempt. The Duke of *Burgundy* ſaw the Storm growing over his Head, and though he had the King and Dauphin on his ſide, yet he deſpaired of being able to withſtand the contrary Faction, and therefore begged the Aſſiſtance of King *Henry*. There had been a Motion a little before made in the Court of *France*, for a Marriage between the Prince of *Wales* and the *French* King's Daughter (*m*), which was an Encouragement to the Duke to addreſs himſelf to King *Henry*, hoping by the Promiſes of the Marriage and other large Proffers to engage him to his Aſſiſtance; and for that End he ſent an Embaſſy into *England*. King *Henry* received the Embaſſadours honourably, but told them, 'That 'the Duke of *Orleans* did only proſecute a juſt 'Revenge for his Father's Blood, and therefore 'was not to be fought with but appeaſed, and 'therefore he thought it reaſonable, that he 'ſhould be tendered all ſuitable Satisfaction, 'which yet if he refuſed to accept, then he 'would lend him all convenient Aſſiſtance; and ſo diſmiſſed them to their Maſter with hopes of Aid, but with an Obligation to try all Methods of making a peaceable Concluſion of the Quarrel.

A. D. 1412. Reg. 12.

King *Henry* engaged in aſſiſting the Duke of *Burgundy*.

Reg. 13.

King *Henry* after their Departure conſidering, that this Civil Diſſention in *France* might prove of good Advantage to him; and tho' it would not look well in him to encourage a Murderer openly, yet it would be impolitick to neglect his own Intereſts; ſent into *France* twelve hundred Archers and Spearmen, under the Command of the Earl of *Arundel*, *Gilbert Humfrevile*, Earl of *Angus*, and Sir *Robert Humfrevile* his Uncle, Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, Lord *Cobham*, Sir *John Grey*, and *William Porter* to join with the Duke of *Burgundy*, if they ſaw occaſion. They took Ship at *Dover*, and landed at *Sluis*, from whence by eaſie and careleſs marches they came to *Arras*, where the Duke of *Burgundy* lay with fifteen thouſand *Flemmings* and *Picards*. The coming of the *Engliſh* was as welcome as unexpected; and the Duke having by many Kindneſſes and Courtſhips oblig'd them to join with him, marched with them to *Paris*, where they arrived *October* the 23*d*, in the Evening. The Duke of *Orleans* with the main Body of his Army lay at St. *Dennis*, and with a ſmall part of it kept the Town of St. *Clou*, which held Communication with the Grand

The *Engliſh* aſſiſt the Duke of *Burgundy*, and take St. *Clou*.

(*m*) Other Authors ſay, the Propoſal was for the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Daughter.

Army

A. D. 1412. Reg 13.

Army by a Bridge over the *Saine*. The *Engliſh* ſoon after their Arrival, not willing to lie ſtill, undertook the Seige of St. *Clou*, and on *November* the 9th, by a ſharp Fight won it, ſlaying and drowning nine hundred Men of their Enemies, which were ſet to keep the Bridge, and taking 400 Priſoners, beſides 1200 Horſes, and great Spoil, which they found in the Town. The Duke of *Burgundy* partly to encourage the *Engliſh*, but chiefly to gratifie his revengeful Temper, purchaſed the Captives of the *Engliſh*, and among them Sir *Manſerd de Bo.* a valiant Captain: The *Engliſh* glad of the Money ſold all their Priſoners, not ſuſpecting the Duke's Deſign; but when they ſaw, that contrary to the Law of Arms which ſecures the Lives of Priſoners, and permits their Ranſome, he put many of the Chief to Death, they were much troubled, and repented of the Deed in ſelling them; and though they could not then help it, yet afterward they took this occaſion to ſhew their Reſentments of it to the Duke, and how ungenerous and unmanlike an Action it was: Within a few Days the Armies of the two Dukes had a Skirmiſh, and the *Engliſh* having again the upper-hand got a great many Priſoners, which the Duke of *Burgundy*, not having Money or Will to redeem, endeavoured to perſwade the *Engliſh* to put them to Death, as Enemies to their Country: But the Earl of *Angus* and the *Engliſh* Men boldly replied. *That they would not be guilty of ſuch a breach of the Law of Arms, as he had been, and would rather die themſelves, than any of their Priſoners ſhould, but they would keep them for Ranſome*, and ſo they were ſecured from the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Cruelty. After this Engagement the Duke of *Orleans*'s Party finding themſelves too weak for the *Burgundians*, withdrew themſelves into the mountainous Parts of the Country, and dar'd not for the preſent appear openly againſt the Enemy; whereupon the Duke of *Burgundy* ſuppoſing himſelf able to keep them down, and to have no further need of the *Engliſh*, ſent them home with large Rewards, and equal Thanks for their help

The Duke of *Burgundy*'s Cruelty,

Tenth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

While theſe Things were tranſacting in *France*, King *Henry* aſſembled his Parliament on *All-Saints-Day* at *Weſtminſter:* In it the two Principal Matters that were enacted, were, 1. About the Coin of the Nation, which being much embaſed by foreign Money, or other baſe Pieces was grown ſcrupulous and not current; whereupon a Law was made to forbid a certain bad Coin, called then, *Gally-half-pence*, which were ſtill uſed, notwithſtanding they had been prohibited in a former Act in the Eleventh Year of this King, and all foreign Money, as well of *Scotland* as of other Nations. 2. About Riots, and other ſeditious Aſſemblies. It ſeems, that King *Richard*'s Ghoſt haunted this King to his dying Day. The People were never throughly ſatisfied, but Tumults threatned his Peace very often: Wherefore it was enacted, *That all Juſtices of Peace ſhould have a very ſtrict Eye upon his Subjects, to prevent all riotous Meetings, and Sheriffs be as watchful to ſuppreſs them; which if they neglected, they ſhould each of them forfeit a Hundred Pound to the King for every Neglect, or Offence in this Kind.* There was no Tax given this Parliament; but the King ſo well managed the Buſineſs of the Coin, which needed Reformation, and was encouraged by Act of Parliament, that he raiſed as good a Fund by it; for partly by ſeizing the Forfeited Money, and partly by coining new Nobles, which he made a Groat lighter than formerly they had been, he much enriched his own Treaſury; and ſo as he had no Tax, ſo he wanted none. Soon after the riſing of this Parliament, the King made his Sons, the Lord *Thomas* of *Lancaſter*, who was Lord Steward of *England*, and Earl of *Aumerl*, Duke of *Clarence*, *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, and *Humphrey*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, and his Brother *Thomas Beaufort*, Earl of *Dorſet*.

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Some new Creations of Noble Men.

John, Duke of *Burgundy* being now free from the Oppoſition of the Party of the Duke of *Orleans*, governed all at Court at his Pleaſure; and having poſſeſſed the King, that it was not his own Cauſe, but the Crown, that was in Diſpute, for all that he had done to the Duke of *Orleans* was only to ſecure the Kingdom againſt his ambitious Aims, was allowed to proſecute the Duke of *Orleans* and his Complices with the utmoſt Malice and Rigour, than which nothing was more agreeable to his Temper, as it was for his Intereſts, and he did not ſpare to act what he judged would be grateful to either. The Party of the Duke of *Orleans* being thus heavily oppreſſed, had no other Refuge left for their Relief but the King of *England*, who tho' he had been engaged for the Duke of *Burgundy*, yet his Army being ſent Home, and that not very fairly, though with a *French* Civility, they hoped, that as he was free from all Obligations to aſſiſt the Duke of *Burgundy*, ſo by fair and advantageous Propoſals they might win him over to them, and by that means reſcue themſelves from their Enemy's Hands. With this Confidence they diſpatched over into *England*, *Albert Aubemont*, a Man of great Wit, Learning and Courage, and ſome other Perſons as their lawful Procurators, who might in the Name of all the Confederates, of whom the Chief were, *John*, Duke of *Berry*, *Charles*, Duke of *Orleans*, *Valois*, Earl of *Blois*, *Beaumont*, Lord of *Coucy* and *Ach*, *John*, Duke of *Bourbon*, *John*, Duke of *Alenzon*, *Bernard*, Earl of *Arminiack*, and others, tender theſe following Articles and Covenants, *viz.* 'That if the King of *England*, 'as Lord of *Guien* would defend and ſuccour 'them againſt all Men, which as their Sove'raign *(n)* Lord he ought to do, eſpecially, 'until they had executed Juſtice upon the 'Duke of *Burgundy* for the Death of the Duke 'of *Orleans*, recovered the Goods which the 'ſaid Duke and his Fautors had taken from 'them, had due Satisfaction for all Damages 'done by them to their Friends, Vaſſals or 'Subjects, and a firm Peace, ſo far as was 'poſſible, were concluded and eſtabliſhed be'tween both the Realms of *England* and *France*, 'then they promiſed, covenanted and agreed, 'That they would ſerve the King of *Eng'land*, his Heirs and Succeſſors, with their 'Bodies, Lands and Finances, Caſtles, Towns, 'Treaſures and Goods, in all Juſt Cauſes and 'Actions, without Impeachment to their Al'legiance, which they knew he deſired not; 'That he ſhould and might beſtow their Sons 'and Daughters, Nephews and Neices, and 'all other their Kindred in Marriage as he 'pleaſed; That their Friends, Allies and Well'wiſhers, which were the greateſt part of the

The Duke of *Orleans* and his Party ſolicite the King's Aid.

(n) The Duke of *Berry* and *Orleans*, and the Count *D' Armagnac*, had by other Articles engaged to hold the Counties, *Ponthieu*, *Angoleſme*, *Perigort*, and ſome other Places by Homage and Fealty of King *Richard*, and to have them for Life only.

Nobles

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'Nobles of *France*, Church-men, and chief Citizens ſhould be always at his Service; That they would put him in Poſſeſſion of the Dukedom of *Guien*, which they were ready to proteſt, did now as truly belong to the King of *England*, with all its Liberties and Franchiſes, as had done to any of his Majeſty's Predeceſſors; and would recogniſe their Lands in that Dutchy to hold of him, and do all the uſual Homages and Services to him for them: That as much as in them lay, they would deliver to him all the Towns and Caſtles which were in their Hands, and did anciently belong to the Kings of *England*, and aſſiſt him to recover the reſt out of the Hands of their Enemies, only deſiring, that the Duke of *Berry* might hold the County of *Pontheiu* during his Life, and the Duke of *Orleans* the County of *Angoleſm* for Life, and County of *Perigort* for ever, and the Earl of *Arminiack* four Caſtles upon ſuch Conditions and Sureties, as ſhould be agreed on between them.

Kings *Henry*'s Anſwer to the Duke of *Orleans*'s Meſſengers.

King *Henry* having received theſe Propoſals gave the Meſſengers a kind and civil Entertainment; and conſulting with his Privy-Council about their Meſſage, who unanimouſly reſolved, that it would be both for his Honour and Profit to aſſiſt theſe Lords, and ſo to uphold the Faction, which otherwiſe would ſoon be ſubdued, he gave them this Anſwer; 'That 'being their natural Soveraign he was ſenſible of his Obligation to protect and defend 'them his Vaſſals and Subjects; and to this 'he was the more inclined, not only becauſe 'he had found the Duke of *Burgundy* a falſe 'and deceitful Man, who was forward to entice Men by fair Promiſes to his Friendſhip, 'but never performed more than was to ſerve 'his own turn; but chiefly becauſe it was 'the Office of a King to help ſuch as cried 'unto him for Juſtice, which they could not 'otherwiſe have, as he looked upon this Occaſion chiefly to be; for he evidently ſaw, 'that the ſhameful Murder of the Duke of *Orleans* (which he could never think on without the deepeſt Horror and Deteſtation) 'could never be revenged, but by ſuch Methods as they now were taking: And therefore they might aſſure the Lords, that he 'would not be defective in the Duty of a 'Prince, but would ſend them ſpeedily ſuch 'a Force, as ſhould be able to defend them 'againſt all Men, and ſo ſent them Home with Satisfaction to their Maſters.

Theſe Things were not ſo ſecretly acted between the King of *England*, and the Duke of *Orleans*'s Party, but that it was known in the *French* Court; and to prevent any Aſſiſtance that might come to the Lords that way, the Earl of St. *Paul* was ſent down into *Picardy* with fifteen hundred Horſe-Men, and a great Number of Foot to prevent the landing of the *Engliſh*; or if that could not be, to detain them in raiſing the Siege of *Guiſnes*, which they ſat down before, and the Duke of *Burgundy* in the mean time purſued the Party of the Duke of *Orleans*, called *Arminiack*; and having won many Towns, at laſt drove them into *Bourges* in *Berry*, and there cloſely beſieged them. In the City were the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bourbon*, the Earl of *Auxerre*, Archbiſhop of *Sens* and *Burges*, Biſhops of *Paris* and *Chartres*, with other great Men, and fifteen hundred Soldiers well armed, and four hundred Archers: Among the Beſiegers were the King himſelf, the *Dauphin*, Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Barr*, with many other Nobles: The Duke of *Berry* was very deſirous of a Peace, becauſe his Country was waſted, and the Beſieged declared, 'That they had no Quarrel with the King or 'Dauphin, but were Enemies only to the Duke 'of *Burgundy*'s Ambition and Cruelty; and 'therefore in their Sallies cried out, *God ſave 'the King*: The Dauphin, who was next Heir to the Crown, knowing his Father was unable through his Frenzical Diſeaſe to judge of the Miſeries of his Country, was much diſturbed at Affairs, and told the Duke of *Burgundy*, 'Things ſhould not be long ſo; The Nation 'ſhould not be Sacrificed to his Paſſion or 'Humour: And therefore reſolved immediately to make Peace. Theſe Words no ſooner droped from the *Dauphin*, but they were eagerly catched up by Two conſiderable Men in the *French* King's Camp, viz. *Philip de Lignac*, Lord great Maſter of *Rhodes*, and the Marſhal of the Duke of *Savoy*, who was ſent by his Maſter with ſome others to labour a Peace between both Parties. Theſe Men knew very well from the Duke of *Berry*, how well the Beſieged were diſpoſed to Peace, and immediately upon the *Dauphin*'s Words began to negotiate a Treaty between them, which was ſoon brought about; and though the Duke of *Burgundy* much feared, that *what was a Peace to others, would be a War to him*, yet he appeared as forward as any to make up the Breach, which in a little time was concluded, and was called from the Place, *The Peace of Bourges*. It was ſealed *July* the 15th, and the King entred the City the ſame Day. While theſe Things paſſed at *Bourges*, the *Engliſh* under the Command of the Duke of *Clarence*, *Edward* Duke of *York*, and *Thomas* Earl of *Dorſet*, which were ſent by King *Henry* to aſſiſt the Duke of *Orleans*, being eight thouſand Knights and Men of Arms, and a thouſand Archers, arrived in *Normandy*. The Earl of St. *Paul* was not preſent to oppoſe their landing, being beaten from *Guiſnes*, and withdrawn to St. *Quintins*. The Duke of *Orleans* had promiſed to meet them at their Arrival, but neglecting it, they fell to plundring the Country for their Suſtenance and Pay, till the Duke of *Orleans* came down and made an Agreement with them, and ſo they withdrew into *Aquitain*; the Duke of *Clarence* taking of him his Brother *John*, Duke of *Angoleſm* as a Pledge for the 209000 *Francks*, which were further to be paid to the King towards the Charges of this Expedition.

The Siege of *Bourges*.

A Peace concluded between the Factions of *Burgundy* and *Orleans*.

But as War was the Diſturbance of the *French* Court, ſo Peace ſeems a little to have corrupted the *Engliſh*; for Prince *Henry* being eaſed from the Employment of the *Welſh* Wars, and being a Perſon of an active and briſk Spirit, who could do nothing moderately, fell as eagerly upon the Sports and Pleaſures, which uſually debauch the Minds of Youth in times of Eaſe and Leiſure, as he had been bold and adventurous in warlike Attempts. He kept a Court different from his Father, being of Man's Years, and able to move in a Sphere of ſuch Greatneſs, as might become the Heir of a Crown, in which Station he maintained a Princely Port and Magnificence; but being a little over-indulgent turned them into vicious Exceſſes: So that his Court was counted a Paradiſe for Voluptuaries, where was an uncontroulable Enjoyment of all carnal Pleaſures; and *Venus* and *Ceres* had routed out *Mars* and *Bellona*. His Palace was like a Camp, for multitudes of Perſons that flocked thither, either to

Prince *Henry*'s looſeneſs.

pleaſe

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pleaſe the Prince's Genius, or gratifie their own, and as if he had put off the Nature of a Hero, which he once ſeemed to affect, he like a ſecond *Sardanapalus* delighted in the Company of effeminate Perſons; and pleaſed himſelf more in Dancings and Muſick, Revellings, and mad Maskings, than he had ever done in the Manlike Feats of Arms. This Change in a Prince of ſuch promiſing Hopes was very amazing to the Conſiderate, who ſilently lamented the Eclipſe of ſuch Virtues, as ſhined ſo bright lately in him, and did not ſpare to ſay, *That they muſt expect no great Happineſs under ſuch a corrupted Prince.* But though the Prince's irregular Behaviour was manifeſt enough to others, yet it ſeems either not known to the King himſelf, or elſe to be winked at by him: For though he affronted his Chief Juſtice on the Bench, by ſtriking him on the Face, becauſe he had condemned One of his Companions for breaking the Peace, and abuſing a grave Citizen, for which the Judge committed him to Priſon; yet he ſo pleaſed his Father by his Submiſſion to the Law, that he rejoyced equally that he had an Impartial Judge, and an Obedient Son: So that he looked upon this Action, rather as a youthful Prank, or an effect of his Paſſion, than as prejudicial to himſelf or Realm; till ſome, who were about him, and being the Prince's Enemies, by their frequent Diſcourſes of the Prince and his courſe of Life, buzzed clear different Thoughts concerning him into the King's Head: For having a Deſire to ingratiate themſelves into the King's Favour, by miſrepreſenting the Prince's Behaviour, they not only complained to the King of his Lewdneſs and Exceſſes, but inſinuated into him, that though he drew ſuch a Multitude about him under a ſhew of Sports and Paſtimes, yet he carried on a ſecret Deſign of depoſing his Father, and extorting his Scepter out of his Hand. Theſe Suggeſtions eaſily found Entertainment in the King's Breaſt, to whom Jealouſie was now become natural, being frequently frighted with Fears of loſing his Crown, and he did not conceal his Reſentments; for he did not only ſhew an averſion to the Prince in his Carriage, but removed him from being Preſident of his Council, and put his Brother *John* into his Place. The Prince not having received the Cauſe of this Change from his Father's Mouth, ſeemed to bear it with an even Mind, as being always contented to ſubmit to his Royal Pleaſure, and went on without any Concern in his uſual Sports and Paſtimes, as not conſcious of any real Guilt, though he was ſenſible enough what he was accuſed of; but in the mean time he expoſtulated by Letter with his Accuſers, convincing them how ſlanderous their Accuſations of him were, and how vaſt a wrong he had ſuffered by their injurious Abuſes of him to his Father, whoſe Favour as he valued more than his Kingdom, ſo he could never enjoy an Happineſs in the midſt of the moſt flouriſhing State without it. This way of clearing himſelf, though it rectified the Opinions of the Generality, yet ſo long as his Accuſers had his Father's Ear, did him no Service, as to Recovery of his Father's Favour; and therefore to do that, he made uſe of an unuſual Stratagem, which was this: Having provided himſelf with a rich Sattin Suit of Cloaths, which he cauſed to be made full of Eylet-holes of black Silk, the Needle hanging at every Hole, he put it on, and on his Arm he wore an Hound's Collar ſet full of SS of Gold, with Tyrets of the ſame Mettal: Being thus apparelled, he with a mighty train of Nobles and Gentry went to his Father's Palace at *Weſtminſter*; where having entred the Hall, and given a ſtrict Command to all that attended him, not to go further than the Fire-place, he deſired to be admitted into his Father's Preſence, which was without delay granted him; and though the King at that time was Ill, he cauſed himſelf to be ſet in his Chair, and carried into the Preſence-Chamber to receive him. When the Prince was come before his Father, he was commanded to declare the Cauſe of his coming, and eſpecially in that ſtrange Garb. Then the Prince kneeling down ſaid, 'Moſt dread Sovereign, and dear Father, I am at this time 'come into your Preſence to declare my ſelf 'your Dutiful Subject and Son, in all things 'obedient to your Commands; which though 'I have ever been careful in my Behaviour never to render ſuſpected, yet ſince by the falſe 'Suggeſtions of bad Men and crafty Flatterers, your Majeſty hath been induced to ſuſpect my Affections toward you, and to fear, 'that my Heart is not rightly diſpoſed towards your Highneſs, I am come to rectifie 'your Miſapprehenſions concerning me, and 'give you a convincing Proof of my Loyalty 'to you. My natural Relation to your Highneſs obliges me ſo ſtrictly to take care of 'your Happineſs and Safety, that if I knew 'any one Perſon in your Kingdom, whoſe Obedience were juſtly ſuſpected, and of whom 'you deſervedly ſtood in fear I ſhould uſe 'my utmoſt Endeavours to have him puniſhed, and as much as is poſſible remove thoſe 'Fears and Jealouſies from your Mind, which 'render your Life very uncomfortable and uneaſie: Now then, ſince I have been ſo unfortunate, as through my imprudent Carriage, 'though not deſignedly, yet fooliſhly and ungratefully to raiſe ſome Suſpicions in your 'Mind, that you are in eminent danger of your 'Life and Crown from me and my Practices, 'I here tender my Life as forfeited to your 'Majeſty for giving you Cauſe to ſuſpect me 'of Diſloyalty, and do beſeech you to take 'ſuch Revenge of my Perſon, as may remove 'all Jealouſie of me from your Heart, and reſtore you again to the Quiet and Eaſe of an 'undiſturbed Mind. I have this Day by the 'Chriſtian Preparation of an humble Confeſſion, and receiving the Sacrament, fitted my 'ſelf to ſuffer Death, and be made a juſt Sacrifice to your Wrath; and I humbly beg of 'your Majeſty, that you would make this Dagger (which I now give you) an Inſtrument 'of eaſing my Grief and your Fears, by thruſting it into my Heart; for it is as little Comfort to me to enjoy Life, while I remain under your Diſpleaſure, and am the Cauſe of 'your Fears and Troubles, as it can be to you 'to have ſuch an undutiful Son, as you are 'jealous of. I am, ever was, and will be your 'dutiful Servant and Vaſſal, and deſire not 'Life longer than I am thought ſo by your 'Majeſty; and if you can't entertain ſuch 'Thoughts concerning me as I deſerve, I deſire you to rid me of that Life which muſt 'ever be a burthen to me, while I remain in 'thoſe unhappy Circumſtances: And if you ſhall 'vouchſafe to do it, I do here in the Preſence 'of your Nobility, fully and freely forgive 'you, and will in the Preſence of God and 'all his Angels, at the laſt Judgment acquit 'you

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Prince *Henry* accuſed of Diſloyalty to his Father, and his Stratagem to clear himſelf.

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'you of the Guilt of my Blood. The King hearing theſe Words was much moved with Affection towards his Son; and was ſo fully convinced of the Prince's Loyalty, that he blamed his own Credulity, not his Behaviour, confeſſing, that he had indeed entertained Suſpicions of him, but (as he now ſaw) without Cauſe, and therefore promiſed him upon his Honour never to harbour any Jealouſies for the future concerning him. The Prince having thus eſcaped the Danger he was in, deſired that his Accuſers might be obliged to anſwer their falſe Calumnies againſt him, and be puniſhed for their Faults, though not ſo fully as their Crime deſerved: But the King replied, 'That he muſt ſtay till the Parliament met, and then they ſhould be judged 'by their Peers: Which as it ſatisfied the Prince, ſo it ſerved to put off the Diſcovery of them, for being delay'd it was forgotten.

King *Henry*'s Acts of Piety, and Expedition to the Holy-Land.

King *Henry* being perfectly reconciled to his Son, lived in great Satisfaction and Eaſe of Mind, having Peace both at Home and Abroad, and ſpent his Time in Acts of Charity and Piety, and in providing for the Safety and Welfare of his People. He built a College at *Fodringhey* in *Northamptonſhire*, which his Son *Henry* afterwards endowed with certain Lands which he took from the Fryar's Aliens: And becauſe the Nation was much annoyed with Pirates, he ſent Sir *John Pendergrace* with thirty Ships to ſcowr the Seas, who by his Courage and Diligence did great Service to the Commons, not only by cauſing a free Commerce, but by taking many Prizes of Wine and Corn, by the Sale of which he brought great Plenty into the Nation. But the greateſt piece of Piety of thoſe Days was accounted to reſcue *Jeruſalem* out of the Hands of the Infidels; who being Enemies to Chriſt, contemptuouſly treated the Sepulchre of our Saviour, and grievouſly abuſed the Chriſtians and Churches of that Holy City. It much troubled the King, that the Chriſtian Princes, whoſe Arms might have better been employed againſt the *Turks* and *Infidels*, were at War among themſelves; and becauſe it was foretold him, that he ſhould die at *Jeruſalem*, he hoped that he might be an Inſtrument of freeing it from the Oppreſſion of the *Turks*, and was very deſirous to try his Fate againſt them, and for this end he called a great Council at *London* to get all things ready for that Expedition, and by it it was ordered, that ſeveral Ships and Gallies ſhould be built, and other neceſſary Things got ready.

Reg. 14.

The *Engliſh* in *France* plunder the Frontiers.

The *Engliſh* Forces which remained ſtill in *Aquitain* after the Agreement made between the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Orleans*, ſpent their Time in ſpoiling and plundering the Frontiers of the *French* Dominions, from whence they took much Prey and Priſoners, which they carried into *Burdeaux*. The *French* being angry at theſe Depredations and Inroads of the *Engliſh*, ſent the Lord *Helie*, one of the Marſhals of *France* with an Army of four thouſand Men to beſiege one of the Fortreſſes of *Guien*, which Sir *John Blunt* being Governour of, kept with three hundred Men only, who behaved themſelves with ſuch Bravery and Courage, that they drove them from the Town, took twelve Noble Men, one hundred and twenty Gentlemen, and ſeveral other Priſoners. The Marſhal himſelf was taken and ſent over into *England* to the King, who impriſoned him at *Wisbich*; but he eſcaped from thence a little after, and got into *France*, where he ſerved the Duke of *Orleans* at the Battel of *Agincourt*, and was ſlain there.

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The King kept his *Chriſtmas* this Year at *Eltham*, being very ſick of a kind of Apoplectick Diſtemper, in which by Fits he was thought to be dead; but it pleaſed God that he a little recovered, and paſſed the latter part of the *Chriſtmas* in ſome Pleaſure till *Candlemas*, when, according to his Summons, the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*. The Deſign of this Seſſion ſeems to have been no other, but to furniſh him with Money for his Voyage into the Holy Land, which he intended to begin at the Riſe of the Spring, all things being ready for it. But God prevented his Deſign by a Relaſpe into his former Diſtemper: For being worſhipping at St. *Edward's-Shrine* to take his leave in order to his Journey, he was ſo violently ſeized with another Fit of his Apoplexy, that all the Standers by thought he would have died preſently; but being removed into a Chamber belonging to the Houſe of the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, and laid in a Pallat before the Fire, by the Warmth of that, and the Application of proper Remedies, he at length recovered his Senſes and Speech again. After he had lain ſome time he enquired where he was, becauſe he perceived himſelf to be in a ſtrange Place, and was told he was in a Chamber of the Abbot's of *Weſtminſter*. He then asked them whether the Chamber had any particular Name, and they ſaid, *It was called the* Jeruſalem; whereupon he ſaid, 'That then he 'ſhould die there, becauſe he was long ſince 'told that he ſhould die in *Jeruſalem*, and accordingly he made ſuitable Preparations for his Death. And firſt calling for the Prince, he had ſeveral Diſcourſes with him, as his Sickneſs would give him leave. He ſaid to him, 'That he had great Fears, that after his 'Death his Brother the Duke of *Clarence* would 'contend with him for the Crown, becauſe 'he is a Man of an ambitious Spirit, and daring Courage, and would reach at the higheſt Dignity, by which the Nation would 'fall into great Miſeries, and when I think of 'this I repent me, that I ever meddled with 'the Kingdom. The Prince anſwered to theſe Words, 'That it was his earneſt Prayers to 'God, that his Majeſty might long continue 'with them to rule them both; but if God 'hath ſo ordered, that he ſhould ſucceed him 'in the Government of this Realm, he would 'honour and love his Brethren above all Men, 'ſo long as they continued true and faithful 'Subjects; but if any of them ſhould conſpire 'or rebel againſt him, he would execute Juſtice upon them with as much Severity, 'as upon any of his other Subjects. The King hearing this Anſwer rejoyced greatly at his Son's Reſolution and Courage, and not doubting, but that it would eſtabliſh him in his Throne, he proceeded to give him certain Admonitions to be obſerved by him in his Regal Dignity, and ſaid, 'My Son, when 'it ſhall pleaſe God to call me out of this 'World to go the way of all Fleſh, to thee, 'as my Son and Heir, I ſhall leave my Crown 'and Realm, and I adviſe thee not to take 'it as an Honour to puff up thy Mind with 'Pride, but as a Burthen and Charge to pro'vide for the Good and Safety of all Perſons

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'in the Realm: For as the Heart in the midſt 'of the Body adminiſters Heat and Nouriſh-'ment to the whole, ſo muſt a King in his 'Realm provide for the Good and Safety of 'all. Let it then be thy continual Care to 'adminiſter all Things well for the Encourage-'ment of Virtue and Diligence, and the Pu-'niſhment of Vice and Sin, and then thy Peo-'ple will be obedient to thee, and ready at 'all times to aſſiſt thee: Go before thy Peo-'ple in true Piety and Devotion, and what 'thou wouldeſt have thy Subjects be, be thou 'firſt thy ſelf, for thy Example will make thy 'Subjects count it an Honour to be Good. 'Fear God, and dread him above all Things. 'Be zealous for his Worſhip, and diſcounte-'nance all Atheiſm and Profaneneſs. Aſcribe 'all thy fortunate Actions to him, and let 'him have the Praiſe of whatever Good be-'falls thee, as Victory over thy Enemies, the 'Fidelity of thy Friends, Obedience of thy 'Subject, Greatneſs of thy Power, Riches and 'Honour, and Number of thy Children. Think 'not thy own Deſert, but God's Goodneſs 'the Cauſe of all theſe Things to thee. But 'above all things, adminiſter Juſtice equally 'and impartially; for the Wealth of thy Body 'and Soul, and of thy Kingdom depends upon 'the due Execution of it. Defer not to do 'Juſtice till to Morrow, if thou canſt do it 'to Day, leaſt God for thy unjuſt Delays do 'Juſtice on thee in the mean time, and take 'thine Authority from thee. Puniſh Bribery 'ſeverely, relieve the Oppreſſed, zealouſly vin-'dicate the Wronged, protect the Religious, 'and love the Virtuous: So ſhalt thou obtain 'the Favour of God, and Love of thy Sub-'jects, and have a flouriſhing and proſperous 'Reign here upon Earth, and an everlaſting 'Reward in Heaven. The King having given his Son this Advice, diſmiſſed him with his Bleſſing; and not long after finding himſelf to grow every Moment almoſt Weaker, he cau-ſed the Crown to be ſet upon his Pillow, at his Bed's Head, that when he died, his Son the Prince might have it, as his right Heir. His Fits at length followed him very cloſe; and that ſo ſeverely, that he was often thought to be dead, and in one of them the Prince came and took the Crown from his Pillow to ſecure it: But he recovered again, and as he was accuſtomed in every Interval to look for his Crown, ſo he again called for it, and asked who had got it? When the Prince was ſaid to have taken it, he com-manded him to come before him, and with ſome Smartneſs ſaid to him, 'Son, why doſt 'thou thus miſuſe me? To whom the Prince replied with an undaunted Boldneſs; 'Sir, 'to me, and all Men preſent, you ſeemed dead 'in this World; wherefore I, as your next 'Heir apparent, took it as my own, and 'not as yours; but ſince I claim no Right to 'it, but from and after your Deceaſe, there-'fore I reſtore it to you again, and God 'Almighty give you many Days to enjoy it. Then the King replied, 'Well fare you with 'it, my Son: And ſighing added, 'What Right 'I had to it God knoweth. 'Well, *ſaid the* '*Prince*, if you die King, I will inherit the 'Crown, and truſt I ſhall keep it with the 'Sword againſt all my Enemies, as you have 'done. Then ſaid the King, *I commit all to God, and adviſe you to do well:* And ſo turn-ing to the Wall, he ſhortly after gave up the Ghoſt on St. *Cuthbert's* Day, *March* the 20th, in the Forty-ſix Year of his Age, when he had reigned Thirteen Years Five Months and One and Twenty Days; and being carried by Water to *Feverſham*, his Corps was magnificent-ly Entombed at *Canterbury*.

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He was a Perſon of a middle Stature, but well Proportioned and Compact, and had much greater Endowments of Mind than Body; for he was very Wiſe and Politick, exceeding Bold and Couragious, and yet withal very Merciful and Pitiful, chooſing rather by ſaving the Lives of his Enemies to make them his Friends, than by deſtroying them, to rid him-ſelf of his Fears. He was forced to execute ſeveral Perſons, and that of Note, for their rebellious Attempts againſt him; but his Mer-cy to the Earl of *Northumberland* is a ſufficient Demonſtration, that not Cruelty, but Ne-ceſſity obliged him to puniſh his mutinous Sub-jects; and if they would have ever amended, he would have forgiven them. He indeed was never loved, though he was really a very good *Prince*; *becauſe the Occaſions of State* requi-red great Taxes, and People never love to buy even their own Happineſs dear: Beſides, the badneſs of his Title to the Crown was never forgotten; and though *Mortimer* was not much regarded, yet all his Kindneſs could never patch up that Breach, ſo much as to make him be loved, as he really deſerved. In fine, in him we have an evident Proof of the People's Inconſtancy, whoſe Affections are fierce, but never laſting. He came in with their Applauſe, becauſe he ſaved them from the Miſeries of the former Reign; but he could never keep their Love, becauſe his Trou-bles created them much Charge, though they were no other than the neceſſary Conſequen-ces of yielding to their Deſires; yet Fortune ſo attended all his Undertakings, that he died a Victor over all his Enemies Abroad and at Home, and laid the Foundation of his Son's Greatneſs, in whoſe Reign the *Engliſh* Power was got to its higheſt Pitch and Greatneſs.

He left a numerous Iſſue, *viz.* four Sons and two Daughters, but all by his firſt Wife the Lady *Mary*, the Daughter and Co-heir of *Humphrey Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford*, who died before her Husband came to the Crown; for he had no Iſſue by his ſecond Wife, *Joanna de Navar*, the Widow of *John de Mountfort*, Duke of *Brittain*.

His eldeſt Son *Henry*, whom in his Life-time he made Prince of *Wales* and Earl of *Cheſter*, was appointed his Succeſſor in the Throne, and accordingly reigned after him, and proved the Glory of our *Engliſh* Kings, as in his Life will appear.

His ſecond Son *Thomas Plantagenet*, he made and left him Duke of *Clarence*. He married *Margaret*, the Daughter of *Thomas Holland*, Earl of *Kent*, and Widow of *John Beaufort*, Earl of *Pomfraict*. He was ſlain at *Bongy-Bridge* in *France* by the Duke of *Orleans*, and died with-out Children (*o*).

His third Son *John* he made Duke of *Bed-ford*, Earl of *Richmond*, and Lord of *Kendal*. He had two Wives, *viz.* *Ann*, the Daughter of *John*, Duke of *Burgundy*, and *Joqueline*, the Daughter of *Peter*, Earl of St. *Paul*, who out-lived him, and was afterwards married to *Richard Woodvile*, Earl of *Rivers*, by whom ſhe had one Daughter *Elizabeth* married af-terwards to King *Edward* the Fourth, but he

(*o*) He had a natural Son, called *John*, the Baſtard of *Clarence*.

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had no Iſſue by either of them. He ſhewed great Valour in the *French* Wars, and dying at *Paris* was buried at *Roan.*

His fourth Son *Humphrey*, he created Duke of *Glouceſter.* He was in very great Honour in his Nephew *Henry* the Sixth's Days, ſtiling himſelf, *Humphrey*, by the Grace of God, Son, Brother and Uncle to Kings, Duke of *Glouceſter*, *Hennalt*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, and Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord of *Freezeland*, Great Chamberlain of *England*, Protector of the Realm, and Defender of the Church of *England.* He had two Wives, but was unhappy in both of them, the one being divorced for a Pre-contract, and the other being Infamous for Sorcery and Poiſoning, but was ſo far fortunate as to have no Iſſue by them. He was found murdered in his Bed at St. *Edmunds-Bury* in *Suffolk*, and was buried at St. *Albans* in *Hertfordſhire* (*p*).

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His two Daughters, *Blanch* and *Philippa*, he married to Foreign Princes in his Life-time, *viz. Blanch* to the Duke of *Bavaria*, and *Philippa* to the King of *Denmark*, but both died without Iſſue.

(*p*) Neither the Duke of *Bedford*, nor the Duke of *Glouceſter* were made Dukes by their Father, but by their Brother *Henry* the Fifth, in the Parliament at *Leiceſter*, Anno 1414. *Godw. Hen.* 5. p. 41.

The End of King HENRY *the Fourth's Reign.*

THE

Remarkable OCCURRENCES,

IN THE

Reign of Henry *the Fourth,*

Are interwoven by

The Author in the Thread of the Hiſtory: *So there is nothing to be added to it in this Place, but ſome Account of the* Illuſtrious Men, *and the* Men *of* Learning *of his Time.*

THE moſt Famous Warriors were Prince *Henry*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, *Henry*, Lord *Piercy* ſurnamed *Hotſpur*, his Son the Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, the Earl of *Worceſter*, the Earl of *Salisbury* a Favourer of *Wickliffe*'s Doctrine, Sir *Thomas Rokesby* of *Yorkſhire*, Sir *Robert Umfrevile* Vice-Admiral, and Sir *John Pendergrace*.

Among the Men of Learning, the Chief, and he to whom the *Engliſh*-Tongue was more oblig'd than to all the Writers before him is, *Jeoffery Chaucer*, a Man of Quality, Wit and Learning. He married *Alice*, Daughter to by whom he had *Thomas Chaucer*, Eſq; Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in the Second Year of King *Henry* the Fifth. The Daughter of this *Thomas* married the Duke of *Suffolk*, and by this Match as well as her Father's Deſcent, the Family of *Chaucer* became ally'd to the Greateſt Houſes in *England*. He was the Father of the *Engliſh* Poeſie. And the next is *John Gower*, of the Family of the *Gowers* of *Sittenham* in *Yorkſhire*. He was *Chaucer*'s Friend and Companion, and joined with him in his Endeavours to refine our Language, and give a Turn and Harmony to the *Engliſh* Verſe, which were unknown to their Fore-fathers. The Learned before their Time uſed to write always in *Latin* or *French*; but they had made the *Engliſh* Tongue ſo Muſical, and it was of its ſelf ſo Significant, that it became common afterwards, and moſt Authors communicated their Thoughts in their Native Language, which wanted nothing of the Force, and as theſe Two Great Poets had Poliſh'd it, little of the Grace of the beſt of the Modern Languages. Beſides theſe there flouriſhed in other Profeſſions.

Hugh Legate of *Hertfordſhire*, he wrote Reflections on *Boetius*'s Treatiſe *de Conſolatione*.
Roger Allington, Chancellor of *Oxford*, a violent Enemy of the *Wickliviſts*.
Nicholas Gorham, a Logician, the *French* King's Confeſſor.
Dr. *Walter Diſſe*, Confeſſor to the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and to his Dutcheſs *Conſtance*.
Thomas of *Malden*.
John Eclo of *Herefordſhire*, a Franciſcan Fryer.
Dr. *Nicholas Halkingham* of *Norfolk*, an Excellent Divine and Philoſopher, Provincial of the Gray-Fryers.
Laurence Holbeck, who wrote a *Hebrew* Dictionary.
John Colton, Archbiſhop of *Armagh*.
John of *Marrie* in *Yorkſhire*, a *Carmelite* of *Doncaſter*.
Richard Chefer of *Norfolk*, a Divine and an *Auguſtine*-Fryer.
John Lathbury, a Monk of *Reading*.
Nicholas Pontz.
Dr. *Richard Scroop*, Archbiſhop of *York*. He wrote a Libel againſt King *Henry*, and was beheaded for Treaſon.
John Wrotham, Warden of the *Carmelites* in *Callis*.
John Colebie, a Monk of *Norwich*.
William Scroop, a zealous *Wickliviſt*, he died in Priſon. He was a Man of ſingular Piety and Learning.
Reginald Langham, a Monk of *Norwich*.
Actonus Dominicanus.
Thomas Palmer, Warden of the Black-Fryers in *London*.
Boſton of *Burry*, who wrote a Catalogue of all the Writers of the Church.
Thomas Peverell, Biſhop of *Worceſter*.
William Holm, a Monk and a Phyſician.
John Botterel, a Logician.
Dr. *Nicholas Baiard*, Profeſſor of Divinity at *Oxford*.
John Price, of *Lilleſhull* in the Weſt of *England*.
William Norton, a Franciſcan Fryer of *Coventry*.
Nicholas Riſton, who lamenting the Schiſm in the Church, occaſion'd by the Antipopes, wrote a Treatiſe on that Subject, called, *De tollendo Schiſmate*.
John Walter, an Excellent Mathematician. He was bred at *Winchester*-School.
Thomas of *New-market*, Biſhop of *Carliſle*.
William Augur, a Franciſcan Fryer of *Bridgewater*.
Peter Ruſſell, Provincial of the Gray-Fryers.
John Langton, a Carmelite-Fryer.
Robert Wantham, a Monk of *Cernly* in *Dorſetſhire*. He wrote a Book in Verſe of the Original and Signification of Words.
Richard Falſhamb, a Monk of *Norwich*.
William Norton, a Fryer of *Coventry*.
Hugh Sueth, a Black-Fryer, and a great Preacher.
Robert Wimbledin, a Famous Preacher.

In this King's Reign, the *French* Hiſtorian, *John Froiſſard* lived, and we have given him a Place here, becauſe he reſided ſometime in *England*, and is very Particular in ſome Parts of our *Engliſh* Hiſtory.

THE LIFE and REIGN OF HENRY V.

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Henry the Fifth's Parentage and Succeſſion.

HENRY, ſurnamed of *Monmouth*, the Chief Town of the Shire of the ſame Name in *Wales*, and ſtanding on the Banks of the River *Wye*, becauſe he was born there, when his Father was Duke of *Hereford*, and reſided in thoſe Parts, entred upon the Throne of *England* after his Father King *Henry* the Fourth's Death, as his lawful Heir, and ſo by the Ancient Cuſtom of the Nation, his Succeſſor to his Crown and Dignity, the ſame Day that he died, *viz. March* 20. and was the next Day proclaim'd King by the Name of *Henry* V. He had given evident Proofs of his Love and Reſpect to Virtue and Learning, while he was at *Oxford*, under the Tuition of his Uncle, Cardinal *Beaufort*, then Chancellor of that Univerſity, in ſhewing a particular Favour to thoſe that appear'd moſt Eminent for both, of whom he afterwards made *Thomas Rudburn*, Biſhop of St. *Davids*, and *John Carpenter*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and of his unparallel'd Courage and Conduct in the Battel of *Shrewsbury*, and in the War which he maintain'd againſt *Owen Glendour* the Famous *Welſh* Rebel, whom he ſo often routed that he durſt not ſhew himſelf againſt him, but lurking in Mountains and Woods periſh'd with Hunger, for which he was receiv'd into the Regal Authority with an univerſal Joy and Deſire, and like the *Roman* Emperor *Titus*, as the Delight of all Mankind. The Liberties which a little before his Father's Death, in times of Peace, he had allow'd himſelf, had brought no ſmall Blemiſh upon his former good Inclinations and brave Actions, the Extravagancies of himſelf and Companions being an Indication to ſome, that he was wholly degenerated into Lewdneſs and Effeminacy; but as if all Men had foreſeen, what after indeed came to paſs, that the Change of his Condition would work as great an Alteration in the Manners of ſo Noble and Generous a Mind, and being become their King would be a New Man, they welcom'd him to the Throne with full Conſent and Liking, interpreting his former Looſeneſs, as nothing elſe but ſuch a peice of Experience as *Solomon* thought fit to make of the Pleaſures of the World, which he indulged himſelf in for a ſmall time, that he might with the greater Averſion ſubſcribe them with this Motto, *Vanity and Vexation of Spirit*, as he did indeed, and much ſooner than that wiſer Man.

The Nation's Submiſſion to King *Henry* and his Coronation.

The Nation being thus furniſh'd with a King of ſuch mighty Hopes, and though they had loſt a good Father, yet believing themſelves happier under his braver Son, began to give him more than uſual Teſtimonies of their hearty Submiſſion and Reſpect to him within three Days after he was made King; for the Nobles and Commons by an unpreſidented Zeal came to pay him their Homage and ſwear Allegiance to him, which was before neither required nor payed till after the Coronation. The King gave them his hearty Thanks for their Good-will towards him, and exhorted them to continue their forward Endeavours for the Publick Proſperity, but would by no means accept of their Tenders till he was crown'd, and had taken upon himſelf as ſerious Obligations to be a good King, as he could lawfully deſire ſhould be laid upon them to be Loyal Subjects: Saying, *That he earneſtly prayed that God would not ſuffer him to be Crowned, or admit him to the Government of the Nation, but as he ſhould rule well for his Glory, and the Good and Proſperity of his Subjects; which if God did foreſee that he ſhould not do, he deſired he would rather take him to his Mercy, than permit him to live and reign.* This generous and virtuous Anſwer much raiſed their Admiration of their New King, and was a greater Obligation of their Love and Loyalty, than the moſt ſolemn Oaths could be, while they ſaw him more æmulous to be a good King, than to have them good Subjects: And that he might give his People all the Aſſurances of his real Intentions of ruling well he haſten'd his Coronation, which was celebrated with all the uſual Solemnities upon *Apr.* 9. by *Thomas Arundel*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and immediately after it he began ſuch a Reformation both of himſelf and Court, as would be the ſureſt Foundation of an happy Reign; for firſt ſummoning his old Companions and Servants together, who had been both his Aſſociates and the Promoters of his former irregular Courſes, he gave them ſuch Rewards as was due for their former Services: Telling them, *That if they would reform their Manners, as he had begun, and was reſolved to hold on, they might continue in their Places, and ſhould upon that Account be the more in his Favour, but if any of them would ſtill perſiſt in their Evil Actions, he forbad them his Court, and charged them upon pain of Death not to come within Ten Miles of any Place were he reſided.* (a) Having thus freed himſelf of his Vices, he provided himſelf of all things that might become a Virtuous King and Good Governour. He choſe himſelf a Council of all the Graveſt and Wiſeſt Men of his Nobility, and made ſuch Lawyers his Judges, as were as Eminent for their Integrity, as Knowledge. He ſent out his Injunctions

His Council and civil Officers.

(a) He renounced their Company, gave them liberal Gifts and diſmiſs'd them. *Godwin's* Life of *Hen.* 5. p. 1.

E. Luttrell delin.
P. Vanderbanck Sculp.
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ons to the Clergy, commanding them as they tender'd his Diſpleaſure, not only to preach the Word of God diligently and ſincerely to the People, but to be Examples of Piety and Holineſs themſelves, and into ſuch Preferments as were in his Diſpoſal at that Time, he put ſuch Perſons as were recommended to him by their Merit. The inferiour Magiſtrates he ſelected with great Care, as being the main Inſtruments of a Regular Government; employing ſuch only as he knew to be Men of Loyal Principles, competent Knowledge in the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Realm, and of great Probity and Sobriety, who might be a Curb and Reſtraint to the People in the Commiſſion of thoſe Crimes which were too much practiſed in thoſe Times, and threatned God's Judgments upon the Nation, *viz.* Common Swearing, Whoredom, Drunkenneſs and Perjury, which he was reſolved, as much as in him lay to root out, but was ſenſible, that nothing but good Magiſtrates could do it; for the beſt Laws will never be well executed, when the Officers, whoſe Place it is to ſee it done, are themſelves the notorious Violaters of them.

His Piety to King *Richard's* Body, and Charity to his Soul.

The King having thus provided for the Happineſs of the Nation, began to ſhew his Diſpoſition to Piety by a ſignal Act of Charity, as it was eſteemed in thoſe Days to the Body of King *Richard*, to which it is ſaid, he looked upon himſelf to be obliged upon this Account. His Father King *Henry* the Fourth, being in his Sickneſs touched in Conſcience for the Sins he had been guilty of in depoſing King *Richard* and conſenting to his Death, had ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to the Pope to be pardoned for them, and in order to Abſolution had been enjoyn'd this Penance. *That ſince he had deprived King* Richard *of his bodily Life and earthly Honour, he ſhould by the continual Prayers of the Church cauſe his Soul to live for ever in heavenly Glory.* This eaſie Purchaſe of Pardon for two ſuch great Sins his Father would certainly have made, had he not been prevented by Death; but leaving it unperform'd, this King made all poſſible haſte to execute it, ſuppoſing, that his Father's Soul could not be at reſt 'till the Penance enjoyn'd was finiſh'd. Wherefore ſoon after *Eaſter* he cauſed the Body of King *Richard* to be removed from its more ignoble Interment in the Church of the Fryer's Preachers at *Langley* in *Hertfordſhire*, and being brought up to *London*, buried it by his Beloved Queen *Anne*, in the *Abby*-Church of *Weſtminſter* with very great Solemnity and Expence, where he founded a frequent Memorial for him, providing that every Week a *Dirige* ſhould be ſung for his Soul, and the next Day a *Requiem*; which being ended, he order'd Eleven Shillings to be given to the Poor in Pence, and further appointed, that upon his Anniverſary after the Maſs of *Requiem* twenty Pounds ſhould be diſtributed to the Poor in Pence, for which, and the Maintenance of Four Wax Tapers to burn upon his Tomb, Day and Night, he gave a certain Portion of Land to perpetuate them for ever: And that the Guilt of theſe his Father's Sins might not cleave to him, he is ſaid to have undergone a ſtrict Penance himſelf, and founded Three Religious Houſes, *viz.* 1. Of *Ciſtertian* Monks at *Shene* 2 Of Nuns of St. *Bridget*, which he called *Sion*; and, 3. An Houſe of Obſervants, which he called *Bethlehem*, both at *Richmond*.

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First Parliament, and the Acts of it, with the Acts of the Coetemporary Convocation.

Three Weeks after *Eaſter* (*b*), the King aſſembled his Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and ſeveral good Laws of common Concern were then made, *viz.* concerning the Elections of Burgeſſes and Knights for the Parliament. Againſt ſuch as forged or publiſhed falſe Deeds. Againſt *Iriſh* Beggars. About the Meaſures, that the King's Purveyors ſhould buy Corn by, with other Things of leſs Importance. But the Convocation of the Clergy, which according to the uſual Cuſtom of thoſe Times always ſat with the Parliament, being conven'd in St. *Paul's* Church was more Active. The Archbiſhop, *Thomas Arundel*, being ſenſible how zealous the King was for the Church, thought *this* the fitteſt Opportunity to root out thoſe Heretical Doctrines which had been indeed often attempted, but to ſo little purpoſe, that they ſtill ſpread and got Ground, becauſe that his Youth and Natural Courage concurring with his Religious Inclination would more earneſtly engage *him in a Work by which* he might merit at once both the Favour of God and his People. Wherefore the Archbiſhop having, by Twelve Inquiſitors ſent out the Year before, made a full Collection of the Principal Doctrines and Opinions maintain'd by the *Lollards*, which he reduced into (*c*) two hundred forty-ſix Heads; and having diſcover'd who where the Chief Maintainers and Upholders of them, and by which means the ſaid Opinions had been lately ſo much propagated in many parts of the Nation, and more eſpecially in the Dioceſſes of *London*, *Rocheſter* and *Hereford*, repreſented the ſame to the Convocation, and deſiring their ſerious Conſultation by what Methods the ſaid Doctrines and their Fauters might be ſuppreſſed; he put them upon many Debates about it, and at length drew them to theſe Reſolutions and Decrees, viz. 'That it would not be poſſible to extir-'pate the Doctrines of *Wickliff*, unleſs certain 'Great Men, who were the profeſſed Abettors 'and Maintainers of them were remov'd out of 'the Way. That Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, Lord *Cobham*, being the Chief of them, and the Perſon who had ſent ſeveral Preachers into the Dioceſſes of *London*, *Rocheſter* and *Hereford* to propagate the ſaid Heretical Doctrines, ſhould be firſt dealt withal, and accordingly it was concluded: That without delay Proceſs ſhould be iſſued out againſt him as a moſt pernicious Heretick. But becauſe the ſaid Lord was in Favour with the King for his Conduct and Valour, it was adviſed, That the King himſelf ſhould be acquainted with their Deſigns, and the juſt Occaſion of it, that having obtain'd his Leave their Proceedings might be more Succeſsful and Inoffenſive. This Counſel was approv'd, and order'd to be follow'd, and then the Convocation after it had ordain'd St. *George's* Day to be celebrated and kept as of the manner of keeping ſuch a Feaſt. See Mr. *Fox's Acts and Monuments*, pag. 513. *Duplex Feſtum Majus*, i. e. A greater double Feaſt broke up. The Archbiſhop endeavour'd to have raiſed St. *Dunſtan's* Day to an equal Holineſs, but could not obtain it.

Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, Lord *Cobham's* Accuſation of Hereſy, Impriſonment, Examination and Condemnation, with his Eſcape into *Wales*.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who had appear'd particularly Zealous in the Convocation againſt the Hereticks of thoſe Times, did not abate his Heat when it was ended, but immediately went to the King with heavy Complaints againſt the Lord *Cobham*, as an Arch-Heretick and Enemy of the Church, and deſir'd his Per-

(*b*) On the fifteenth of *May*, 1413.

(*c*) Theſe two hundred forty-ſix Articles were drawn up by Inquiſitors at *Oxford*, to be Exhibited againſt Sir *John Oldcaſtle*. Bates's *Hiſt. of Lord* Cobham's *Tryal*. p. 13.

miſſion

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mission to proceed against him according to the late Decree made by his Clergy, and according to the Laws of the Land against Hereticks. The King observing the Archbishop's Fury, and being cooler himself reply'd, 'That tho' he had 'a particular Desire to uphold and maintain the 'Church both in its Doctrine and Order, and 'was sensible that Unity was the Life of Chri-'stianity, because it keeps up that Love which 'is the fulfilling of the Law; yet he thought 'that the most prudent Course to reduce the 'Erroneous, was by mild Perswasions and con-'vincing Arguments; for if the Truth were on 'their Side, it would prevail by its one Strength 'in the End, which if it could be done, it would 'be much better than to make use of those En-'gines, which have been for the most part used 'to subdue and destroy the Truth, and seldom 'do any Service to the Church further than to 'work dissembled Union and Conversion: And therefore advised the Archbishop to use all gentle Methods to reform and reduce him, promising, that he would himself treat with the Lord *Cobham* about his Opinions, and if he could not reclaim him, would leave him to the *Church* and Law. The Archbishop departed with this Answer, and the King sent soon after for the Lord *Cobham*, and having related to him the Charge of Heresy, which the Archbishop had brought against him, admonish'd him forthwith to renounce his Opinions and submit himself to the Church and Obedience of the Archbishop. The Lord *Cobham* thank'd him for his Kindness and Favour, but return'd him an Answer. 'That 'by the Law of God he owed Obedience to no 'Person on Earth but himself, who was his na-'tural Prince, and God's Vice-gerent, and to 'his lawful Commands he would readily sub-'mit at all Times, but as for the Pope and his 'Hierarchy he owed them neither Sute nor Ser-'vice, and therefore would pay them none, be-'cause he knew him to be the Antichrist, and 'Them the Abomination standing in the Holy 'Place, by the Description given them in Scrip-'ture. This resolute Reply something offended the King, so that he dismiss'd him without any further Discourse or Perswasion, and the Lord *Cobham* departed to his Castle of *Cooling* in *Kent*, which having obtained by the Marriage of an Heiress of the Lord *Cobham*'s, he became a Baron, and had upon that Account his usual Residence there. The Archbishop having waited some time for the Effect of the King's Promise, went again to Court to receive the Account of it, and finding the King displeased at the ill Success of his treating with the Lord *Cobham*, had full Authority given him to cite, examine and punish him according to the Canons of the Church, which he did not defer to put immediately in Execution: For having assembl'd a Council of his Clergy, and fram'd divers Articles of Heresy against him, he sent his Somner to cite him to answer personally before him to such Accusations as should be proved against him. The Somner not daring to deliver his Summons to the Lord, because he was reputed a Person of great Fierceness and Courage, returned again without doing his Message, and the Archbishop was forced to hire (*d*) one *Butler* to set up a Peremptory Citation upon the Doors of *Rochester* Church, (*e*) strictly charging him to appear before him, on *September* the 11th following at *Leeds*. The Lord *Cobham* was not at all careful to obey his Summons; but fearing least the Archbishop should engage the King against him, and draw him to join his Power to gratifie their Malice and Fury, which otherwise he valued not, he drew up the Sum of his Faith in Writing under several Heads, according to the Sense of the Apostle's Creed, and presented 'em to the King, hoping by satisfying him in the Orthodox Declaration of his Opinion to obtain his Protection and Favour: But contrary to his Expectation he found him so much prepossessed by the Archbishop, that he would not look upon it, but deliver'd it to the Archbishop, and his other Accusers, causing him to be again cited to answer his Charge before them; and because he would not swear to submit himself in all things to the Church, the King order'd him to be Arrested in his Presence, and commanded that he should be kept a close Prisoner in the *Tower* of *London*, till he should acquit himself of the Crimes laid against him, or be otherwise released by order of Law. The Lord *Cobham* used all means to deliver himself, alledging, that the Archbishop was his avow'd Enemy, and therefore in Reason and Equity ought not to be his Judge, that he had appeal'd to the Pope for Justice, and shew'd his Appeal ready drawn up with all due Reverence to the King: But this incensing the King much more, he protested, That he was willing to undergo any Punishment that could by the Law of God be inflicted on him, but could not be contented to have his cruel Enemies his Judges; yet if the King saw fit he would justifie himself by Combat, either personally against any Man living, Christian or Heathen, the King and his Council only excepted, or with an hundred Knights or Esquires on each side, that his Faith is Sound and Orthodox. But all these Offers nothing avail'd, the King would have him appear before the Archbishop at a Day and Place then appointed, and so he was kept in Prison in the mean time. The Day being come for the Lord *Cobham*'s Answer, which was *September* the 23d, Sir *Rob. Morley*, Lieutenant of the *Tower* brought him to St. *Paul*'s Church, were the Archbishop with *Richard Clifford*, Bishop of *London*, and *Henry Bullingbrook*, Bishop of *Winchester*, sat in a Consistory in the Chapter-House to examine him, and there left him to them: But little was done at this Time, because he deliver'd in to them a short Paper of his Opinion about the Holy Sacrament, Images, Penance and Pilgrimages, which tho' not Satisfactory to them, yet he would then give no other Answer upon those Points, and so he had further Time given him for a more distinct Answer, which was till *September* the 25th. On that Day he was examined again in the Hall of the *Black-Fryars* within *Ludgate*; and because he asserted, That in the Sacrament of the Altar there was, after Consecration both the Body of Christ and Bread, after the same manner as in the Person of Christ the Divinity was united with the Humanity. That the Pope and his Prelates are Antichrist, and not the true Church of God. That Saints are not to be Worshipped, nor to be sought to by Pilgrimages. That Images cannot be an Object of Worship; and would not be induced to alter or change his Opinion in these Points, he was condemn'd as an obstinate Heretick by the Archbishop, who having Excommunicated him, deliver'd him over to the Secular Power to be

(*d*) *John Butler*, Door-keeper of the King's Chamber.

(*e*) *Butler* went to him and Summon'd him personally to appear before the Archbishop. Sir *John* answered, *He owed the Priests no Submission, and would not seem to approve of their Practices by obeying his Summons.* The Archbishop afterwards proceeded another way, by affixing the Citation on several Church Doors. *Ibid.*

put

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put to Death, and he was again remanded to the *Tower* only to wait for his Fatal Day; but he fortunately escaped by the Assistance of his Friends, or Negligence of his Keepers, getting out of his Prison by Stealth, and flying into *Wales*, where he remained from the Feast of St. *Simon* and *Jude* almost four Years.

Norwich burnt.

About this Time a very terrible Fire happen'd in the City of *Norwich*, which burnt down a great part of that City, and the House of the Fryars-Preachers, with others, two Fryars being consumed in the Flames.

A. D. 1414.

A pretended Conspiracy against King *Henry*, by the Lord *Cobham* and the *Lollards*.

The King kept his *Christmas* at his Mannor of *Eltham* in *Kent*, about seven Miles distant from *London*; and while he was in the midst of his Plenty and Delights on *Twelfth Day*, an information was brought him of a Conspiracy laid by Sir *John Oldcastle*, Lord *Cobham*, and his Party, who assembling in St. *Giles*'s-Fields to the Number of 20 or 25000 Men, intending to surprize his Person and kill him with his Brothers, that they might secure the open Profession of their Religion, which he was so Zealous to destroy. The King, tho' if he had allowed himself time to consider might easily have seen the Forgery; because if the Lord *Cobham* had been indeed resolved to revenge himself upon the King and Clergy for the late Wrongs done to him (which it was evident his Conscience would not suffer him to do) yet he being an Expert Commander would not have chosen St. *Giles*'s-Fields for a Rendezvous for his Army, which was then a Thicket overgrown with Trees and Bushes, and so most unfit for that Business; but being amused with the sudden News believed the Truth of it; and having sent an Order to the Mayor of *London* Sir *William Cromer* to keep the City-Gates close shut, and let no Persons go out but such as he was well assured of their Loyalty to him, and to seize all suspected Persons, which the Mayor carefully did, and apprehended Seven Persons in one *Burgal* a Carpenter's House in *Bishops-gate-street*, who being sent to the King at *Eltham*, either by Perswasion or through Fear confessed that they had conspired with Sir *John Oldcastle* to fight against him and his Lords in St. *Giles*'s-Fields in *Holborn*: Then the King went himself at Midnight, with a considerable Force which he had gathered out of *Westminster* and the adjoyning Parts, into St. *Giles*'s-Fields, and there finding a certain Number of Men met, *viz.* about 80, he fell upon them, and having slain some of them without Resistance he took about 60 Prisoners, of whom the Chief were Sir *Roger Acton*, Kt. a Person of no great account for Wealth or Power, one *(f) John Beverly* a Preacher, *John Brown* an Esquire, and one *Murby* a rich Maltster. This Meeting seems to have been nothing else but a Religious Assembly for the Worship of God; which because the *Lollards* could no where safely enjoy for fear of their Adversaries, who were grown very Watchful and Insulting by reason of the King's Favour, they were forced like the first Christians in Persecution to celebrate in the Night in Woods and Thickets; but the Clergy having got Information of their Intendment improv'd it into a Plot, which was easily made credible, because the Party was numerous about *London*, and met in great Numbers, and that many times armed, not to create any Disturbance, but to defend themselves against the Injuries of the Papists: In which Posture the King taking them looked upon them as a rebellious Assembly, and because some of them confessed they came to meet the Lord *Cobham* (tho' 'tis certain he was not there) he dealt with the Chief of them as Rebels; for being tried at *Westminster* and condemn'd for High Treason thirty of them were hang'd, and seven burnt and hang'd in St. *Giles*'s-Fields, *January* 12. following: *John Beverly* the Priest, *Burgal* the Carpenter, and two others were hang'd, *Jan.* 19. and Sir *Roger Acton* was hang'd, *Feb.* 10. and buried under the Gallows he was executed on: And so this imaginary Plot was suppressed.

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Archbishop *Arundel*'s Death, and the Election of his Successor.

Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, a strenuous Champion for the Papal Church, and a bitter Enemy of the supposed Hereticks died *Feb.* 20. It is said, that as he was pronouncing the Sentence of Excommunication and Condemnation upon the Lord *Cobham*, he was stricken with a soreness in his Throat and at the Roots of his Tongue, which notwithstanding all Medicines that could be used so inflamed those Parts that he could swallow neither Meat nor Drink, and so he was starved to Death. This lamentable End was then thought a just Judgment upon him, not only for his Severity to the *Lollards*, many of whom, being generally accounted a well-meaning and good People, he condemn'd, and caused to be burnt for Heresie; but because he had made a Canon the Year before in a Synod held at *Rochester* against the Lord *Cobham*, forbidding the Translation of the Scripture into the *English* Tongue, and the Preaching the Gospel by the *Lollards*. He sat eighteen Years in that See, and was succeeded by *Henry Chicheley*, Bishop of St. *Davids*, whom the Monks of *Canterbury* had elected into his room, but he would not accept it till he had the Pope's Consent and Confirmation. He was as zealous a Persecutor of the *Lollards* as his Predecessor, and sat 25 Years in that See.

King *Henry* restores *Henry Percy* to the Earldom of *Northumberland*, and the Lands thereunto belonging.

King *Henry* having an Account of the miserable Imprisonment of *Henry Percy* the Son of the late Lord *Percy*, surnam'd *Hotspur*, and Heir of the Earldom of *Northumberland* much pity'd his Condition and resolv'd to redeem him: And tho' by the Treason and Rebellion of his Father and Grandfather, his Honour and Estate was justly forfeited to the Crown; yet because he was an Infant and was no ways accessary to his Ancestor's Crimes, the King in Mercy purposed to restore him to his Birth-right, tho' in Justice he might have kept him out of it. This young Nobleman had been very unjustly dealt with by the *Scots*: For whereas his Grandfather had carried him to them when he fled thither after the Rebellion of Archbishop *Scroop*, and entrusted him with them to secure him, and educate him, they made him a Prisoner by way of Reprisal, because their young King *James* had been many Years kept a Prisoner in *England*, and would not release him till the King was restored. But King *Henry* found out another Exchange for him, *viz.* by returning the Duke of *Albany*'s Son *(g)* who was taken by the *English* at *Haledown*-fight, and so he obtained him and restored him to his Honour, Dignity and Estate, tho' they had been given some time before to *John*, Duke of *Bedford* the King's Brother, by which Act of Mercy he gain'd much Love and Respect from his Nobility, and an equal Admiration from all his People.

Reg. 2.

Second Parliament its Acts and Taxes.

On the last Day of *April* the Parliament by the King's Summons and Order met at *Leicester*

(f) Sir *John Beverly*.
(g) The Earl of *Fife*.

and

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and ſettled many Things of great Concern to the Nation, and for the Honour of the King, tho' it prov'd very ſevere and fatal to the *Lollards*, as will appear in the brief Account of the chief Acts of it. The firſt Act of this Parliament was a very Pious own for the due Management of Hoſpitals, ordering, That the Biſhops of the Dioceſe ſhould by the King's Commiſſion inquire into the Revenues and other Endowments belonging to ſuch Houſes as have been erected and endowed for the Relief of the Poor, and correct and reform what they find amiſs according to the Laws of the Church. Other Acts alſo of great Uſe were made for the keeping of Servants and Labourers within their own Counties. That Juſtices of *Quorum* be reſident in the Counties where they are appointed to ſerve by the King's Commiſſion, and that the Quarter-Seſſions for the Peace be kept in the ſame Week quarterly throughout *England*. That it ſhall be High-Treaſon to rob or ſlay any Perſons, either in the Ports or paſſing upon the Seas, having the King's Letters of Truce and ſafe Conduct, by which Act alſo Conſervators of Truce in every Port both of *England* and *Wales* were appointed. That Juſtices of the Peace and Sheriffs ſhould be diligent to ſuppreſs all unlawful Routs and Riotous Aſſemblies under the Penalty of an hundred Pound Forfeiture for every Omiſſion. But thoſe Matters which were carried on and manag'd with the greateſt Heat and Zeal were, 1. The Act againſt the *Lollards*, and 2. The Petition about the Revenues of Religious Perſons. The firſt of theſe was procured chiefly by the Clergy, who taking advantage of the King's Diſpleaſure againſt the *Lollards* for their ſuppoſed Rebellion lately raiſed againſt him, willingly cauſed it to be Enacted. 'That 'whereas divers of his Majeſty's Leige People 'as well by thoſe of the Sect of Hereſie, called '*Lollards*, as by others of their Confæderation, 'Excitation and Abetment have been made 'to annul and ſubvert the Chriſtian Faith and 'Law of God within the Realm of *England*, 'and deſtroy the King himſelf, the Eſtates of 'the Realm both Spiritual and Temporal, and 'alſo all manner of Policy and the Laws of the 'Land: Therefore our Lord the King to the 'Honour of God, in Conſervation and Fortifi'cation of the Chriſtian Faith, and alſo in Sal'vation of his Royal Eſtate, and of the Eſtate 'of all his Realm, willing to provide a more 'open and due Puniſhment againſt the Malice 'of ſuch Hereticks and *Lollards* than hath been 'had or uſed in that Caſe heretofore; ſo that 'for the fear of the ſame Laws and Puniſh'ments; ſuch Hereſies and *Lollardies* may the ra'ther ceaſe in time to come; hath by the Ad'vice and Aſſent, and at the Prayers of the 'Commons Ordain'd and Eſtabliſh'd, That the 'Chancellor, Treaſurer, Judges of both Benches, 'Juſtices of the Peace, Sheriffs, and other Offi'cers that have, or hereafter ſhall have Go'vernment of our People, do made Oath in ta'king their Offices to extend their whole Pain 'and Diligence to put out, ceaſe and deſtroy 'all manner of Errors and Hereſies, com'monly call'd *Lollardies* within all Places where'in they exerciſe their Offices with all their 'Power, and aſſiſt, favour and maintain the 'Ordinaries and their Commiſſaries in doing 'the ſame as oft as they ſhall be thereunto re'quired, their reaſonable Coſts and Charges 'being paid by them. This Act as it ſhews how ill an Opinion the King had of the *Lollards* whom he knew only by the Miſrepreſentations of their inveterate Enemies, ſo it raiſed a very ſharp Perſecution againſt them, in which many were burnt, many for fear fled into foreign Parts to ſecure their Lives, and others through a more unmanly Cowardize denied and abjured the Truth: This with other Acts of Parliament being paſſed, the Houſes came to raiſe the King ſome Money, which being the firſt he had ever had, they were willing to do the more largely, and for that End put up a freſh Petition to the King (as they had before done to his Father) to this Effect, 'That foraſmuch as the 'Temporal Revenues which had been devoutly 'given to Religious Perſons, but were diſor'derly conſumed and ſpent as well to the diſ'honour of God and Religion as the Prejudice 'of the Religious Perſons themſelves, might be 'much better imployed for the ſafety and ſe'curing the Realm and relief of the Poor (as 'by a particular Computation in the ſame man'ner as it was given in to the King's Father they 'made it appear) they beſought the King to 'take the ſaid Revenues into his Hands, and to 'employ them for his own and the Nations Ad'vantage. This Petition though put up and promoted by ſuch Perſons as bore ſome Affection to the *Lollards*, and hated the Clergy for the Cruelty they had uſed ſo lately againſt the Lord *Cobham*; yet being done by ſome or moſt of the ſame Perſons who had concurred in the Act made this Seſſion againſt them, was not ſuſpected of Revenge by the King, but as if it had proceeded from the good Affection they bore to him, and the preſent Neceſſities of the Nation, he began to liſten to it and ſhew a Compliance with that ſtrong Party in both Houſes which appear'd Zealous for it, inſomuch that (as *Hall* ſaith) the fat Abbots began to ſweat, the Proud Priors to frown, the Poor Fryars to curſe, and the ſilly Nuns to weep, leaſt their *Babel* ſhould now utterly be demoliſh'd: But their Sins were not yet full. The Clergy laid their Heads together, and entred into deep Conſultations how to ſave themſelves: The Houſes of the Fryars Aliens which were 110, they were contented to part with to ſecure the Reſt, and accordingly they were given to the King with all their Rents and Revenues; but leaſt this ſmall Morſel ſhould ſharpen his Appetite to a greater Prey, it was contrived, that *Henry Chicheley*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, a Perſon of great Eloquence and Policy ſhould ſet on Foot the King's Title to the Crown of *France*, and by all the Cogent Flowers of Rhetorick endeavour to infiame the King's Youthful affections with Deſires of attaining that Kingdom, as well to immortalize his Courage as recover his Right, which he did in a full Parliament in this Method and to this Effect. 'That King *Henry* be'ing a Prince ſo well qualified both for his Pie'ty, Courage, and wiſe Conduct to govern not 'only one part of a ſmall Iſland but the whole 'World, if an univerſal Monarchy can be ever 'ſettled upon one Perſon, it would be a great 'ſhame if the *Engliſh* ſhould ſuffer his Power and 'Rule to be confin'd within narrower *Limits* than 'Nature and Providence had given him; eſpe'cially ſince nothing can be ſuppoſed to oblige 'him to it, whoſe Courage was always forward 'to attempt any juſt Enterprize, but their 'backwardneſs to aſſiſt him with Men and Mo'ney for that End: That though indeed King '*Henry*, ruled only *England* and *Ireland* at pre'ſent, yet the Dutchies of *Normandy* and *Aqui'tain*, and the Countries of *Anjou*, *Gaſcoigne*, 'and *Maine* in *France* did by Ancient Inheri'tance belong to the Crown of *England*, and 'the whole Kingdom of *France* was really and 'truly

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The Commons urge the King to ſeize the Temporalities of the Monks.

Archbiſhop *Chicheley's* Speech, encouraging King *Henry* to a War with *France*.

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truly his, as Heir to King *Edward* the Third his Great-Grandfather, whoſe Mother Queen *Iſabel* after the Death of her Three Brothers, *Lewis Hutyn*, *Philip* the *Long*, and *Charles* the *Fair*, who all died without Iſſue, was the only lawful Heir of the Kingdom of *France*, and left her Title to her Son *Edward*, from whom King *Henry* is lineally deſcended: That tho' *Philip de Valois* had poſſeſſed himſelf of that Kingdom, upon a pretended fundamental Law, call'd the *Salick-Law*, by which it was enacted, That in *terram Salicam mulieres ne ſuccedant*, Let not Women ſucceed in the Government of the *Salick*-Land; yet it is evident from the Original Conſtitution of the ſaid Law by *Charles* the *Great*, and the common Cuſtom of *France* it ſelf in reference to the Succeſſion of the Crown, that the ſaid Law hath been unjuſtly made uſe of, and pleaded to bar the Kings of *England* from their Inheritance; for as to the making of it our Hiſtories ſhew, that it was fram'd by *Charles* the *Great* when he conquer'd the Parts of *Germany* between the Rivers *Elb* and *Sala*, where having obſerv'd the Women to be very Lewd and Voluptuous, and conſequently unfit to govern, he made the Law, That in theſe Countries no Woman ſhould rule; which could in no wiſe include *France*, as is pretended it doth but falſly, as the Courſe of Succeſſion to the Crown of *France* doth prove. For *Pepin*, King of *France*, who depoſed *Chilperick*, claim'd the Kingdom as his Right by Inheritance, becauſe he was deſcended of the Lady *Blithilda*, Daughter of King *Clothair*; and *Hugh Capet* who held the Crown in Prejudice of *Charles*, Duke of *Lorrain*, the only Heir-male of *Charles* the *Great*, made his Claim good by proving his Deſcent from the Emperour *Lewis* the Son of *Charles* the *Great* by the Lady *Lingard*, which Pleas could have no tolerable Grounds, nor would they have been admitted, had the *Salick*-Law as is pretended been in Force from the Time of their firſt King *Pharamond*. But that which renders this Argument moſt plain is the Caſe of St. *Lewis*, who being diſſatisfied in Conſcience about his Right to the Crown, becauſe the Succeſſion was a little confuſed and intricate, and being ready to reſign what he feared he had no good Title to, he was ſhew'd, that he was lineally deſcended of the Lady *Ermengard*, Daughter and Heir to *Charles*, Duke of *Lorrain*, the ſole Heir-male of *Charles* the *Great*, and was ſatisfied in the Juſtice of his Title, which he could not have been if the *Salick*-Law had been known and in force at that time in *France*; and ſince the Title of the ſucceeding Kings to this Day is deriv'd from the ſaid *Lewis* of whom they all come, the Kings of *England* will have at leaſt as good a Title as any of them could challenge, and ſo conſequently is the lawful Heir of *France* as being from the Elder Family tho' by a Female Branch, and the *Salick*-Law is but a Trick ſet on Foot to debar the Kings of *England* of their Right: That if the *Salick*-Law were indeed of that Antiquity and Uſe in *France* as is pretended, yet it ought not to be obſerved in any Chriſtian Commonwealth, becauſe it is directly contrary to a Law of God (which no humane Law or Cuſtom may contradict) and that allows the Woman to inherit her Father's Poſſeſſions in caſe of a Defect in the Male-Line, as is evident from the Caſe of the Daughters of *Zelophehad*, upon which God commanded, That if a Man died without Heirs-male his Daughters ſhall inherit, and by this Law the Daughter of *Shejhan*, 1 *Chron.* 2. 34. obtained her Father's Inheritance, and held it to the Captivity. Wherefore it was not without good Reaſon that *Ottoman* the great *French* Lawyer call'd the *Salick*-Law an unjuſt Ordinance: That God himſelf had ſeem'd to declare in favour of the *Engliſh* Title to the Crown of *France* by the great Succeſs he had given to *Edward* the Third and his Son the *Black-Prince* in endeavouring to recover their undoubted Right to it by Arms, who were ſo Victorious, that they in a few Years conquer'd the greateſt part of *France*, took King *John* Priſoner, and braved his Succeſſor *Charles* the Fifth at the Gates of *Paris* without Reſiſtance; and though God for the Juſt Puniſhment of our Sins took away both thoſe Victorious Princes (who if they had lived, doubtleſs had long ſince decided this Quarrel, and ſubjected the whole Realm of *France* to the *Engliſh* Crown) and ſo given *France* a Breathing time, yet their Title ſtill remained; and though it was not claim'd by King *Henry* the Fourth by reaſon of his Troubles at Home, yet his Father having left him a quiet Poſſeſſion of his Crown had as it were prepared all things for his Son to recover it. Wherefore he concluded with an earneſt Exhortation to the King not to ſit down in Sluggiſhneſs and Eaſe, but to atchieve the Conqueſt of ſo Noble a Nation, whereby he would not only recover his Right and enlarge his Dominions, but get himſelf immortal Honour, aſſuring him, That the Clergy would aſſiſt him with ſuch a Supply of Money for that End as no King before him had ever received, and did not doubt but the Laity would willingly contribute their Proportion. This Oration of the Archbiſhop, tho' unexpected by the King and Parliament, yet being well ſtudied and ordered by him had the deſir'd Effect, for the whole Houſe were convinced thereby of King *Henry*'s juſt Title to the Crown of *France*, and immediately reſolv'd to give him their utmoſt Aſſiſtance to the Recovery of it, and the King himſelf inflam'd with the Deſires of Victory, could think upon nothing elſe but Armies and Laurels. The Bill againſt the Clergy was wholly laid aſide, and a Subſidy of 300000 Marks given him from the Laity to carry on a vigorous War againſt the King of *France*; and ſo the Parliament broke up and this Seſſion was ended.

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King *Henry*'s Embaſſy to the King of *France*, to require his Kingdom.

While this Parliament was ſitting, and the intended Recovery of *France* was debated hotly among them, there came over Embaſſadours from *France*, being ſent to the King by the two great Factions of the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Orleans*, and ſollicited him earneſtly, but ſeverally, to aſſiſt them againſt their Adverſaries, promiſing him (as was ſaid) more than was in their Power to perform: The King gave them no other Anſwer at preſent but this. *That he would ſhortly ſend over his Embaſſadours into* France *and ſignifie his Reſolutions to both of them, becauſe he waited to ſee what would be the Reſult of the preſent Debates, and accordingly would manage his Affairs and purſue his Advantage.* As ſoon therefore as the Parliament was broke up, and his Expedition into *France* reſolv'd on, and all eager Preparations for it determin'd, he ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy into *France* by the Duke of *Exeter*, the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, the Lord *Gray*, the Lord High Admiral, and the Biſhop of *Norwich* with 500 Horſe to King *Charles* the Sixth, to require of him in a peaceable manner (for the avoiding the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood) to ſurrender the Kingdom of *France* and all the Appen-

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'Appertenances to him as the lawful and undoubted Heir of it, which if he would do quietly, King *Henry* would then take the Lady *Katherine* his Daughter to Wife, and endow her with all the Dutchies belonging to the Crown of *France*; but if King *Charles* refuſed to grant his juſt Demands, he would enter *France* with Fire and Sword to recover his Right from him or loſe his Life. The *French* King hearing their Demands entertain'd them with Contempt, telling them in Scorn, *That their Buſineſs required Deliberation*, deſir'd time, and ſent them away without an Anſwer. The *Dauphin* was not content with ſuch Modeſt Reflections, but knowing ſomething of King *Henry*'s effeminate courſe of Life while he was Prince, ſent him a Tun of *Tennis-Balls*, ſcornfully intimating, That he was fitter for a Game at *Tennis* than a Warlike Expedition, and knew better how to bandy a Ball than ſhoot a Bullet, and that they muſt be as ſoft as himſelf who valued the Menaces of ſo unwarlike a Prince. King *Henry* not a little enraged at theſe Returns of his Embaſſy, ſaid, 'That as light as they made of his Demands, he'd make the *French* know that he deſerv'd the Reſpect of a Prince from them, and tho' they had ſent him *Tennis-Balls*, he would ſend among them ſuch Balls as the ſtrongeſt Walls of *France* ſhould not be able to withſtand: And ſo with all the Zeal and Haſte imaginable prepared for his Expedition into *France*; for having gathered up the 300000 Marks granted him the laſt Parliament, he raiſed a very puiſſant Army, and hired a great Number of Ships out of *Zealand*, *Holland* and *Freizland* to join with his own Fleet to carry over his Army: He alſo call'd a great Council at *London* about *Michaelmas*, in which he cauſed it to be ordain'd, that no *French* Men nor other Strangers ſhould be promoted in the Church without his Licenſe for the future, and all ſuch as did enjoy any Preferments already, ſhould find Sureties not to diſcloſe the Secrets of the Realm, nor aſſiſt the King's Enemies with Money, which Edict was at the ſame time confirm'd by a Canon of the Convocation ſitting in St. *Paul*'s to elect certain Perſons to be ſent to the General Council appointed to meet at *Conſtans* in *Germany* by the Emperor *Sigiſmund* to heal the Schiſm then in the Church (*b*).

The *French* prepare to defend their Coaſts againſt King *Henry*, and excite the *Scots* againſt him.

The Preparations made in *England* againſt the *French* were not unknown to them, and the *Dauphin* who then had the Government of the Realm under his Father, call'd a Council of the Dukes of *Alenzon* and *Berry*, with other great Lords to conſult about the propereſt Methods of oppoſing the King of *England*, and by their Advice an Army was raiſed to lie on the Coaſts, and the *Maritime* Garriſons ſtrongly fortified againſt any Invaſion. But the main Thing they depended upon was the Aſſiſtance of the King of *Scots*, who by their Inſtigation and Help was drawn to invade the *Engliſh* Borders with ſuch a powerful Army as would, they hoped, hinder their Expedition into *France*. And indeed the *Scots* appear'd at firſt ſo Formidable, that it begat a Diſpute in the King Council, whether *Scotland* or *France* ſhould be firſt ſubdu'd. The Earl of *Weſtmorland*, who then was made Lord Warden of the Marches of *Scotland*, moved the King to go firſt againſt *Scotland*, alledging, that it would facilitate his Conqueſt over *France* to ſubdue that Nation firſt according to the old Proverb, *Whoſo will* France *win, muſt with* Scotland *firſt begin*. But the King's Uncle *Thomas Beaufort*, Duke of *Exeter*, a wiſe and learned Man, affirmed and urged the contrary, That it would be the moſt certain way to ſubdue *Scotland* to conquer *France* firſt, becauſe it was by the Policy and Money of the *French* that the *Scots* were able ſo well to defend and maintain themſelves. Take away *France* and the *Scots* will fall of courſe. Beſides the preſent Factions of *Burgundy* and *Orleans* would be ſo great an Advantage to the King in gaining that Nation, that it would be very impolitick to omit this Juncture to invade *France*. Theſe and other Arguments of like Nature were ſo prevalent with the whole Aſſembly that it was reſolv'd, that the King ſhould go on with the War againſt *France*, and that Sir *Robert Umfrevile* with a ſmall Body of Men, and with the Forces of the Bordering Counties ſhould be ſent to defend the Nation from the Incurſions of the *Scots*. This Valiant Commander ſoon after his arrival, *viz.* upon St. *Mary Magdalen*'s Day, *July* 22. came to an Engagement with them, and was ſo fortunate that he routed their whole Army, and took 360 of them Priſoners with great Spoil, and got ſafe into *Roxborough-Caſtle*, of which he was Governour. The News of this Succeſs againſt the *Scots* much amaz'd the *French*, and taught them how little the Aid of the *Scots* was to be truſted to: Whereupon they altered their Methods, and ſent over an Embaſſy to King *Henry* by the Earl of *Vendoſme*, *William*, Arch-Biſhop of *Bourges*, the Biſhop of *Liſeux*, the Lords *Ipre* and *Braquemont*, the King's Secretary, and many others, who being accompany'd with 350 Horſe-Men as Attendants arrived at *Callis* a little after *Chriſtmas*, and landed within a few Days at *Dover*.

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The *Scots* beaten at *Getering*.

A. D. 1415.

King *Henry* being very earneſt and diligent to make all poſſible Preparations for his deſigned Expedition into *France*, took his Journey early this Spring to ſee in what Condition and Readineſs his Fleet and Tranſport Ships were which lay at *Southampton*, and give ſuch neceſſary Orders as were requir'd for his Proceedings; but in his Paſſage News was brought him, that a Pompous Embaſſy from the *French* King was landed at *Dover* and haſtening towards him, which cauſed the King to deſiſt from his Journey a while and retreat to *Wincheſter* to receive them and give them a ſpeedy Audience, tho' without a prophetick Foreſight it was eaſie to gueſs at their Buſineſs, that they now were afraid of him they ſo lately ſcorn'd and derided. As ſoon as they arriv'd they were admitted to the King, and the Archbiſhop of *Bourges* in an Eloquent Speech having ſhew'd the Barbarous Cruelties of War and the Advantages of Peace, eſpecially between ſuch two neighbouring Nations as *England* and *France*, diſſwaded the King from his intended Deſign, and promiſed him from his Maſter many profitable Conditions if he would diſmiſs his Army, *viz.* That his Maſter the *French* King would give him in Marriage the Lady *Katharine*, and for her Dowry ſeveral Countries in *France*, with a large Sum of Money. (*i*) The King gave them no Anſwer to their Propoſals preſently; but having for ſeveral Days feaſted them Royally at his own Table, he at length order'd the Archbiſhop of

An Embaſſy from *France* to King *Henry* to put off the War.

(*b*) The Clergy choſe the Biſhop of *Bath* and the Biſhop of *Hereford*, the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, the Prior of *Worceſter*, and *Robert Hilam*, Biſhop of *Salisbury* afterwards Cardinal. The King appointed the Biſhop of St. *Davids*, the Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Fitzhugh*, Sir *Walter Hungerford*, Sir *Richard Rochfort* and *John Honyngham* to be his *Commiſſioners*.

(*i*) 85000 *Crowns*.

Canterbury

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Canterbury to anſwer their Propoſals in this Manner. 'That the Dutchies of *Aquitain* and '*Anjou*, with ſeveral Seigniories and Dominions, did of right belong to his Maſter the King 'of *England*, as they had formerly done to his 'Royal Progenitors; and though he was fully 'intended to recover them by force, as he did 'not doubt but he ſhould be able to do thro' 'the Divine Aſſiſtance, which he could not 'doubt of in ſo juſt a Cauſe; yet for Peace ſake, 'and to avoid the Loſs of ſo many Lives as 'would probably periſh in the Quarrel, he was 'contented to diſmiſs his Army and give over 'his intended Expedition, if their Maſter would 'reſtore them to him by a Marriage with the 'Lady *Katharine*, if not he would enter *France* 'with all his Force, and deſtroying the People 'and Towns with Blood, Fire and Sword, ne'ver deſiſt till he had recover'd them, which 'were his Ancient Right and Patrimony. The King himſelf was preſent, and as ſoon as the Archbiſhop had ended his Speech aſſented to it, and (*k*) promiſed upon the Word of a Prince, that he would perform it to the uttermoſt. The Archbiſhop of *Bourges* an high and lofty Prelate heard all this with Impatience, and as ſoon as the King had done ſpeaking, without Conſideration, what or to whom he ſpake, burſt out in his Paſſion and reply'd. 'That his Ma'jeſty the moſt Chriſtian King, who was the 'moſt Renowned, Mighty and Excellent Prince 'of *Europe* without Competition both in Blood, 'Power and Preheminence, did not offer thoſe 'Things which he had propounded out of fear 'of King *Henry* or his Nation, but merely 'out of a Compaſſion to avoid the Effuſion of 'Chriſtian Blood, and ſince his Propoſals tho' 'very Advantageous were diſpiſed, God and his 'good Subjects would ſoon put an End to the 'Quarrel, which was ſupported with ſo much 'Equity and Right, and then deſir'd his Paſs'port to depart. King *Henry* with a Princely Gravity and Mildneſs told the Angry Prelate, 'That he valu'd not his Bravadoes, and as he 'was ſatisfied in his Right, which they them'ſelves could not be ignorant of, ſo he doubted 'not but through God's help he ſhould find 'means to recover it; if his Maſter had many 'Subjects to aſſiſt him, he doubted not but to 'find their Equals in Number and Courage a'mong his own, by whoſe help he would make 'the higeſt Crown in *France* to ſtoop, and prou'deſt Mitre to kneel; and giving him his Letters of ſafe Conduct, bid him go tell his Maſter, 'That within three Months he would enter '*France* as into his lawful Patrimony, and by 'God's Aſſiſtance take that by dint of Sword 'which he unjuſtly detain'd from him: And ſo ſent him away (*l*).

Reg. 3. King *Henry*'s Expedition into *France*.

The War with *France* being now unmovably determin'd, King *Henry* who was already in great forwardneſs for it, doubled his Diligence to have all Things ready within the Three Months, appointed to the *French* Embaſſadors, and accordingly gave out ſtrict Orders to his Captains and Commanders to meet him every ways equipp'd at *Southampton* on *June* 24. and ſo paſs immediately into *France* (*m*). In the *mean time* he let all Things in order againſt his Departure out of the Realm, that his Abſence might *not create* any Diſturbance among his Subjects, and for that End he appointed his Mother in Law, *Joan de Navar*, (*n*) a Woman of great Prudence and Judgment in National Affairs, to be Regent in his Abſence with the Advice of his Privy-Council; The Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, the Lords *Scroop* and *Greyſtock*, and Sir *Robert Umfreville*, with ſome other Valiant Captains he appointed to keep the Frontiers of the Nation againſt the *Scots* who had engag'd in the *French* Aſſiſtance, and would certainly be very troubleſome as ſoon as *they* heard he was gone, and therefore he ſent them with a ſufficient Strength to prevent their Incurſions. On *June* 18. the King left *London*, and began his Journey to *Southampton* were his Army was to meet him on the 24th, and accordingly did; all Things being ready, and all Perſons cheerfully attending the King's Motions and Deſires, with all ſpeed poſſible to paſs into *France*. But before they could take Ship a ſudden Accident put a ſtop to all for a while. The *French* King who could not fairly oppoſe *Henry*'s Courage, brib'd ſome of his Favourites to take away his Life by baſe Treachery, but the Conſpiracy and its Actors were fortunately diſcovered to him before the time for its Execution was come, by this Means and on this Occaſion. *Richard*, Earl of *Cambridge*, Brother to the Duke of *York*, *Henry*, Lord *Scroop*, the High Treaſurer, and Sir *Thomas Gray*, (*o*) a Privy-Counſellor, three Perſons moſt in Favour with the King, and almoſt conſtantly in his Company, having received of the King of *France* a Million of Gold, had promiſed him to kill King *Henry* in his Voyage to *France*, or if they could not do that, to deliver him into his Power, and that they might make their treacherous Deſign to look the more plauſibly, they diſcover'd it to the Earl of *March*, *Edmund Mortimer*, pretending that it was out of a real deſire of reſtoring him to his Right that they had taken up ſuch deſperate Reſolutions; and tho' they expected not his Concurrence, yet they muſt exact an Oath of Secrecy from him for their own Security, in a Matter of ſo great Danger to themſelves, as well as of Importance to him. The Earl of *March* either not very deſirous of the Crown when ſo worthy a Prince himſelf and ſo great a Friend to him was in Poſſeſſion, or elſe ſuſpecting that this Conſpiracy aroſe from other Cauſes than what was pretended, refuſed at firſt to ſwear to them, but when they were very importunate with him to do it before they parted, he at length conſented upon Condition they would allow him an Hour to conſider of it (*p*) which they granted. The Earl of *March* having thus got his Liberty to

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A Plot againſt the King's Life diſcover'd, and the Conſpirators Executed.

(*k*) This Speech was made by the Biſhop of *Winchester*; and when he had done, to ſhew it was the King's Sentiments, he bad the *French* Embaſſadors ſee 'twas all written down on a Paper and Sealed with his Majeſty's Seal. *Godwin*, pag 60.

(*l*) This Arrogant Prelate upbraided King *Henry* in his Speech with the Badneſs of his Title even to the Crown of *England* and he ſaid, *The Crown you wear appertains to the true Heirs of the Deceaſed* Richard, *and while they are alive 'tis with them and not you that our Royal Maſter ſhould have made a Treaty.*

(*m*) From *Southampton* he ſent *Antelope* his Purſuivant at Arms with a Letter to the *French* King, dated at that Place on the Sea, to ſhew he muſt expect no more Meſſages from him: *In it he demanded the Reſtoration of the Provinces in* France *belonging to the Crown of* England, *and offered ſtill to marry his Daughter, otherwiſe he would recover them by Arms.* The *French* King anſwered, *If that was his Mind, he would be prepared to receive him, and as to the Marriage he thought it a ſtrange way of Courtſhip to addreſs his Miſtreſs covered with the Blood of her Father's Subjects.*

(*n*) *Joan* of *Navar* was made Queen Regent, and *John* Duke of *Bedford*, Protector and Lord Lieutenant of *England*.

(*o*) Of *Northumberland*.

(*p*) He deſir'd time to conſider of it, and they gave him till the next Morning. *Godwin*. pag. 65.

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conſult what he had beſt to do, went to the King and diſcover'd the whole Plot as they had related to him, adviſing him to provide for his own Safety. The King, though much ſurprized at the Baſeneſs of his Friends, yet did not ſo much diſtruſt the Diſcovery as to neglect himſelf, but cauſing them to be apprehended, brought them to an Examination before himſelf, and Nobles preſent with him. They denied not the Accuſation which was taken ſo lately from their own Mouths, but confeſſed themſelves guilty of the whole Plot. (*q*) The King much amazed at their deteſtable Treaſon, told them, 'That he could not but 'with horrour *think upon this* their *Execrable* 'Fact, which not only tended to the Deſtructi- 'on of his own Perſon, and the Nobles his fol- 'lowers, but to the Ruin of the whole Nation, 'of which they were ſo unnatural Sons as to 'betray it to their Enemies by this Treaſon: 'That as to himſelf he deſired no Revenge; 'but as he was the Supreme Governour of the 'Nation he took himſelf oblig'd to inflict the 'Puniſhment upon them which they had de- 'ſerved, for the ſafety of his Dear Friends and 'the Preſervation of the whole Nation: And thereupon wiſhing them an hearty Repentance for their Offences and Mercy from God, he commanded that they ſhould be Executed, which being accordingly perform'd, the Earl's Head was permitted to be buried with his Body, but the Lord *Scroop*'s Head was ſent to *York*, and Sir *Thomas Gray*'s to *New-caſtle* to be Spectacles of Terrour to all Beholders (*r*).

King *Henry* proceeds in his Expedition, and lands in *France*.

The King having thus puniſhed thoſe Conſpirators promiſed himſelf Security, and began to put forward his Expedition, but leaſt any Remnants of this Treaſon ſhould prove afterwards fatal to him, or prejudicial to his Proceedings, he called his Nobles to him, and having repreſented to them the Glory of this Atchievement againſt *France*, and how much he depended upon their Fidelity and Courage, told them, 'That 'the Treaſon, which by God's Mercy he had ſo 'lately eſcaped, would make him value their 'Loyalty to him the more if they perſiſted in 'their Duty, and he would not be forgetful to 'reward it, and in Confidence of their Firm- 'neſs to him he was reſolv'd to proceed in his 'Deſign. The Nobles hearing theſe Words which ſavoured of a little Diſtruſt, fell down on their Knees, and promiſed faithfully to ſerve and obey him, and rather die than ſuffer him to fall into the Hands of his Enemies: With this Encouragement the King put an end to thoſe Delays which had given the *French* hopes that their Plot againſt his Life had been Succeſsful, and went on board with his Nobles and Soldiers, *Auguſt* 11. to ſail into *France*. His whole Army was but 6000 Spears and 24000 Foot, beſides Gunners, Engineers, Artificers and Labourers, and his Navy conſiſted of 1000, (or as others ſay 1500) Ships, with which he landed ſafe on *Auguſt* 15. at *Caux*, a Town ſituate at the Mouth of the *Seine* in *Normandy*; for his Arrival ſtruck the Inhabitants with ſuch Terrour that they made no Reſiſtance. The King at his firſt landing fell down on his Knees, and with much Devotion beſought God to favour his Cauſe according to the Juſtice of it, and give him Succeſs againſt his Enemies as the Equity of his Enterprize deſerved it, and that he might preſerve a due Order in his Army he put out a Proclamation, forbidding his Soldiers upon pain of Death to take any thing out of any Church or Monaſtry, to abuſe any Prieſt, Women or unarmed Perſons, or raiſe any Quarrels with any Man to the diſquieting either of the Country or Army. Theſe things being done, the King ſenſible that Delays would bring Inconveniencies, proceeded to put all things in order for Action, and to encourage his Captains and Leaders he conferred the Order of Knighthood upon ſeveral of them, and diſpoſed of the Banners and Standards to ſuch Men as he knew to be of greateſt Strength and Courage. The next Day he ſent forth his Spies to take a view of *Harfleur*, an important Haven in *Normandy*, which would be a commodious Paſſage for the *Engliſh* into *France* upon all Occaſions if it could be gained; and having received the Account of it ſet forward with his whole Army towards it, being three Leagues diſtant from *Caux*, and ſat down before it *Auguſt* 17. The Town was well fortified, and a ſtrong Garriſon put into it to defend it; for beſides the Inhabitants the *French* King had placed in it 400 Men of Arms under the Command of the Lord *de Toutevil*, chief Captain of the Town, the Lords *Blanvile*, *Haquevile*, and others very expert Warriours who made a very brave and gallant Reſiſtance, being as deſirous of an Ominous Beginning in preſerving, as the *Engliſh* were in conquering the Town. The Siege was carried on by the Care and Conduct of *Humfry*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, (*s*) who by Mines, battering the Walls with his Engines and Ordinance, and by continual Aſſualts ſought to reduce it ſoon into his Power; but the Inhabitants and Garriſon by ſtopping the Courſe of the River which ſo ſwell'd that it became dangerous to the King's Camp, and by Countermining ſecured themſelves for a while; that though they loſt many, and their Town was much endamaged yet they kept themſelves out of their Enemies Hands. The King of *France* thinking to relieve them ſent a Force down to *Caudebeck-Caſtle*, which was but a little diſtance from *Harfluer*, but it proved no help either to that Town or the Country about, for the *Engliſh* ſpoil'd the Villages, forrag'd the Countries, and brought much Prey to *Harfluer*, and the Town being reduced to very great Streigths capitulated with the King of *England*, that if it were not relieved by the *Dauphin* or King within a certain time limited they would reſign the Keys into his Hands, thirty of the Chief Perſons being delivered to the King's Mercy, and the reſt to be ſuffered to go whether they pleaſed, yet without Arms or Goods, and twelve Perſons were delivered to the *Engliſh* as Hoſtages for the Performance of this Agreement. The Beſieged immediately diſpatched their Meſſengers to the *Dauphin* to come down to their Relief, but he returned them Anſwer, *That he was not able to give them any Succour:* Whereupon, at the Time appointed Sir *Lionel Braquemont*, Governour of the Town came, and on his Knees delivered up the Keys to the King, and yielded up himſelf with other Lords and chief Perſons to the Number of thirty to the King's Mercy, *September* the 22d, and ſo all the reſt as

Harfluer beſieged, and ſurrendred to King *Henry*.

(*q*) Before the King diſcovered that he knew of the Conſpiracy he ask'd the Conſpirators themſelves, *what thoſe deſerv'd that could be guilty of ſuch a Treaſon. They merited*, ſaid the Traytors, *to expire in horrid Torments to deter others from the like Crimes.* Then the King examin'd them, and they confeſſed their conſpiring to deſtroy him.

(*r*) The Earl of *Cambridge* and Sir *Tho. Gray* were beheaded, and the Lord *Scroop* was hang'd, drawn and quarter'd.

(*s*) The King manag'd the Siege in Perſon: He had his head Quarters at *Graville*, and next him the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Glouceſter*. Godw. p. 68.

well

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well Soldiers as Inhabitants were ſuffered to depart unarm'd. (*t*) The King having return'd God Thanks in St. *Martin*'s Church made his Uncle *Thomas Beaufort*, Earl of *Dorſet*, Governour of the Town, and gave the Prey to the Soldiers whom he left in Garriſon, and Peopl'd it with *Engliſh*, whom he invited thither by giving all ſuch Families as would go over their Dwellings and their Childrens after them for nothing, which ſo many accepted, that the Town was well Peopl'd with *Engliſh* in a ſhort Space.

King *Henry*'s Army being ſickly, he leaves *Harfleur* and went to Winter in *Callis*.

King *Henry* having obtain'd his wiſhed-for Succeſs in taking *Harfleur* would have purſu'd his Victory and proceeded to take other Towns which would not have dared to ſtand out, but that he was ſenſible of the Condition of his Army, which by lying ſo long in the Field was grown very ſickly, and many died of the Bloody flux, of whom ſome were Perſons of Note, as *Michael de la Pool*, Earl of *Suffolk*, the Biſhop of *Norwich*, Lords *Beaumont*, *Molins* and *Barnell*, and others, and of the Common Soldiers above 2000. The Duke of *Clarence*, Earls of *Marſhal* and *Arundel* were ſo dangerouſly ill of the ſame Diſtemper that he was forced to let them return into *England* to recover their Health, and many that remained were infected and Weak. This State of the Army with the Conſideration that the *Winter* was coming on, made him take up Reſolutions of paſſing immediately to *Callis* without further Action to recruit and reſt his Army in the *Winter* there; but becauſe the *Dauphin* was hovering about with ſome ſmall Forces, he thought it convenient to offer him ſome Propoſitions of Agreement, or to decide the Quarrel with him by ſingle Combat, (*u*) offering to ſtay eight Days for him about *Harfleur*, which if he refuſed, it would be a means to prevent his Attempt upon them in their Paſſage, but the *Dauphin* giving him no anſwer either way, the King began his March without delay to *Callis*, leaſt the Bridges ſhould be broken down, and ſo they muſt encounter many Difficulties to get thither, but could not be time enough to avoid it; for the *French* King having Intelligence of his Succeſs before *Harfleur*, and his Deſign to Winter his Army at *Callis*, gathered a conſiderable Body of Men and ſent them down under the Command of the *Dauphin* and Duke of *Aquitain* to obſtruct their Paſſage, who broke down the Bridges, deſtroying the Forrage in the Field, and carried all the Proviſions into the Walled Towns whether the People betook themſelves alſo for ſafety. King *Henry* either not knowing what was done by the *French*, or elſe ſeeing it neceſſary to perſiſt in his Deſign, kept on his March intending to paſs the *Some* at *Blandretaquef*, the Ford which King *Edward* the Third had waded over with his Army to the Battel of *Criſſy*, but found it ſtaked and made impaſſable; whereupon he march'd up the River further and reſolved to aſcend up to the very Fountains of it if they could not get over before.

Engliſh paſs the *Some*.

The uſual Bridges and Paſſages over it he tried, but found them either deſtroy'd or ſo ſtrongly guarded that he dare not force his Way with ſo weak an Army: For theſe Reaſons he paſſed by *Port-Remy*, *Amiens*, *Corby* and *Bowes*, but at length through the Negligence of the Garriſon at St. *Quintins* he found a ſafe Paſſage near *Perons*. In this tedious Journey they encounter'd many Difficulties, partly thro' want of Victuals, and partly from the Aſſaults of the Enemies from their Garriſons; for tho' the King's great Juſtice in reſtraining his Army from *Pillaging*, and in hanging one that had ſtoln a Pix out of a Church, procured him great Love from the People of the Country through which his Army paſſed, and made them venture to ſell 'em Proviſions contrary to their own King's Prohibition; yet the ſmall Supply that came that Way was not ſufficient for ſo great a Number to ſubſiſt upon. The Garriſons alſo at *Ew* and *Corbay* aſſaulted them Weak and Weary, and tho' the former was repulſed back with the Loſs of a valiant Captain, (*x*) *Lancelot Peirce*, yet the other came upon them with ſo much Advantage, that they won the Standard of that part of the King's Forces which was commanded by the Earl of *Stafford*, (*y*) but were ſo bravely oppoſed, that the Standard was again recovered by a valiant Gentleman *John Bromley*, of *Bromley* in the County of *Stafford*, Eſquire, and the *French* driven into the Town. The Earl of *Stafford* like a Worthy Commander, ſenſible of the Brave Action in regaining his Standard, whoſe Loſs would have been ſo great a Diſgrace to him, gave the Valiant Gentleman for a Reward forty Pound a Year out of his Mannors and Lands in *Staffordſhire*, and by a Deed ſettled it upon him for Life.

King of *France* reſolves to fight King *Henry* and his Army, and ſend him a Defiance.

King *Henry* having thus gotten over the *Some* was reſolved to keep on his direct way to *Callis*, not attempting any thing by Arms, unleſs where it ſhould be neceſſary for their Defence, becauſe his Army was much leſſened by Sickneſs ſince he left *Harfleur*, and the Remainder was haraſſed and weakened by their long Marches and ſcanty Proviſions, and ſo he went on ſoftly and warily. But the King of *France* being very angry that the *Engliſh* had gotten over thoſe Difficulties which he thought inſuperable, and were in a fair way to get ſafe to their intended Reſt, called a great Council of his Nobility at *Roan*, of whom the *Dauphin* and Duke of *Brittain* were Chief, to conſult how to proceed further againſt the *Engliſh*, and it being at length determined to engage them to a pitch'd Battel, *Mountjoy*, King at Arms, was ſent to King *Henry* to defie him, and demand Battel on the *Thurſday* following, and for that End an Army under the Conſtable, the Lord *de Albret*, and the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon* was ſent down to block up their Way. King *Henry* receiv'd the Herald very kindly, but not being willing to hazzard his Army which was unfit to fight, return'd this Anſwer, 'That 'he would keep his direct Road to *Callis* with-'out any Diſturbance to any Man, and if they 'ſhould hinder his Paſſage it ſhould be at their 'Peril, he and his Army would endeavour to 'make their Way, and leave the Iſſue to God. It is ſaid by ſome, that King *Henry* was ſo fearful of an Overthrow, when he ſaw the *French* on all ſides ſwarming about him, that he offer'd to reſign *Harfleur*, and reſtore all Damages done to it, if they would ſuffer him to paſs undiſturbed to *Callis*, but the *French* ſure of Victory

(*t*) He made all the Soldiers Priſoners of War, but ſuffered them to depart on their Paroles to render themſelves at *Callis* in the Winter, and pay their Ranſom which they did.

(*u*) He ſent him this Challenge on the 16th of *September* while he lay before *Harfleur*, which City was not taken till a Week afterwards.

(*x*) This *Lancelot Peirce* challeng'd any *Engliſh* Man to fight him. His Challenge was immediately accepted, and the *Engliſh* Man killed him; but before he died he gave his Adverſary a Wound that ſent him out of the World ſoon after him.

(*y*) Sir *Hugh Stafford*, Lord *Bourchier*.

rejected

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rejected his Propoſals, as the *French* Hiſtorians relate, but ours deny the Story, as unbecoming *Henry*'s great Spirit. After this Anſwer King *Henry* kept on his Way to a Village called *Forcevile*, and ſo by *Cheve*, *Bonyers*, and *Bangy* to *Agincourt*, *October* the 22d, in the County of St. *Paul*, where he had a certain Information that the *French* Army, which was ſix or ten times bigger than the *Engliſh*, the former being 60000 or more, and the latter but 15000 (*z*), and thoſe half ſtarved and tired with Travel, and many of them Sick and Diſeaſed, was ranged in order of Battel ready to fall on him if he lay ſtill, or block up all Ways if he preſſed forward. King *Henry* ſeeing the Battel unavoidable made the beſt Preparation ſo ſhort a time would give him leave, and knowing that the Strength of the *French* conſiſted in their Horſe, he ordered his Men to get every one a ſharp Stake ſhod at both ends with Iron, which being fixed in the Ground leaning forward might keep of the Horſe from ruſhing in upon his Foot (*a*). The Night before the Battel was to begin, King *Henry* having engaged them to ſtand up manfully in their own Defence and rather die than yield, they ſpent in Prayer and Confeſſion, but the *French* as ſecure of the Victory, paſſed it in Jollity and Mirth, Drinking and Gaming, in talking of the Victory they ſhould have, and parting the Priſoners. The next Day which was St. *Criſpine*'s Feaſt, *October* the 25th, the Battel began about Ten a Clock. King *Henry* being ſenſible of the Advantage which the *French* had of him by their Multitude, pitch'd with the Town on his Back, and a River on the one ſide, and thick Hedges on the other of his Army that the *French* might not ſurround them, the Stakes being fixed on the Front of the Army to keep of the Horſe. The Vanguard he put under the Command of the Duke of *York* who deſired that Service; the main Body was led by the King himſelf, and the Rere-Guard by the Duke of *Exeter*. The *French* Army was led by the Flower of the Nobility of the Nation. The Vanguard was led by the Lord *Albret*, Conſtable of *France*, the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*, the Earls of *Ew* and *Richmond*, the Marſhal *Bouciqualt*, the Lord *Dampier*, Admiral of *France*, with other Captains. The main Body by the Dukes of *Barr* and *Alenzon*, the Earls of *Nevers*, *Vaudemont*, *Blamont*, *Salinges* and *Grant-pree*, and the Rereward by the Earls of *Marle*, *Damp-martin*, *Falconbrig* and Lord *Louray*. The Earl of *Vandoſme* commanded one of the Wings, and Sir *Guichard Dolphin* the other. The Signal for the Battel being ſounded, the *French* ruſhed forward upon the *Engliſh* with their Horſe (*b*), and the *Engliſh* as they drew towards them overſhadowed them with Clouds of Arrows, which by their fall wounded their Men and diſorder'd their Horſe, who in their Confuſion not obſerving the Stakes fell upon them and were peirced with them to Death. The Dukes of *Brabant* and *Alenzon* broke in upon the *Engliſh* with a ſmall Party but were ſlain, the Duke of *Alenzon* and two of his Servants being ſlain by King *Henry*'s own Hand (*c*). The Battel was hot and furious, and laſted three Hours, but at length the Victory fell to the *Engliſh*, who by their Courage had ſlain, taken or put to flight the whole *French* Army. In the Flight the Rere-guard of the *French*, which got off almoſt entire, ſet upon the King's Camp which was but ſlenderly guarded and pillaged it, taking the King's Crown, and a rich Sword ſet with Diamonds, and other precious Stones, which they carried in Triumph as if the Victory had been their. King *Henry* hearing a great cry in the Camp ſuppoſed that the *French* had been gotten together in a Body again, and ſeeing the King of *Sicil* (*d*) come in with ſome freſh Troops began to fear the Loſs of his new-gotten Victory, and immediately gave order to ſlay all the Priſoners except ſome of the greateſt Quality, leaſt they joined with the Enemy ſhould prove their Deſtruction, which was accordingly done, but this fear ſoon vaniſhed, for the King of *Sicil* drew off and would not fight after he ſaw the *French* Army routed, and ſo the King cauſed a Retreat to be ſounded about four a Clock in the Afternoon, and the Soldiers having plundered the Slain and Wounded retreated with the King to the Village they lay in the Night before, and refreſhed themſelves well with the Proviſions of the *French* Camp. The King himſelf ſenſible of the greatneſs of the Victory, which nothing but the Divine Power joining with ſuch ſmall Forces could have effected, called his Army together, and cauſed his Prelates and Chaplains in the moſt ſolemn Manner to give Thanks to God for it, ſinging this *Pſalm*, *When* Iſrael *came out of* Egypt, and making every one to kneel on the Earth when they came to theſe Words, *Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy Name, give the Praiſe*, and then adding *Te Deum* and other Anthems, gave moſt devout Thanks and Praiſe to God. This Victory was obtain'd with little or no Loſs to the *Engliſh*, for they loſt only the Duke of *York*, Earl of *Suffolk*, with two or three Gentlemen more, and 26 Soldiers, or as the *French* Hiſtorians themſelves relate, (*e*) 3 or 400. But the *French* loſt 10000, among whom were the Lord *Albert*, the Conſtable, the Dukes of *Barr*, *Brabant* and *Alenzon*, the Marſhal, Admiral, and Maſter of the Horſe, with 11 Counts and 18 great Lords, beſides a great Number of Eſquires and Gentlemen, and 1500 Priſoners; (*f*) among whom were the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*, the Earls of *Ew* and *Richmond*, Count *de Vendoſme*, Son of the late Duke of *Bretagne* by

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The Battel of *Agincourt*, with the Succeſs and Conſequents of it.

A Party of *French* plunder the *Engliſh* Camp.

The Slain on both ſides.

(*z*) *Harding*, an *Engliſh* Hiſtorian who was preſent at the *Battel* ſays, King *Henry*'s Army conſiſted of no more than 9000 Men. *Walſingham* reports, that they were but 8000. And the *French* Hiſtorians do not pretend that they were above 25000. Whereas the ſame Authors, as well *Engliſh* as *French* agree, that the Conſtable's Army conſiſted of 150, or at leaſt 140000 Men. *Enguerant Monſtrelet* affirms, the Horſe were 150000.

(*a*) King *Henry* ſent out Captain *David Gam*, Commander of a Company of *Welſh* Men to view the Enemy, who when he returned ſaid. May it it pleaſe you my Leige, *There are enough to be killed, enough to be taken Priſoners, and enough to run away.* Dr. *Parnel*'s Chron.

(*b*) Sir *Toomas Erpingham* and the *Engliſh* Archers began the Charge.

(*c*) He was going to ſurrender himſelf Priſoner to King *Henry*, but before the King could take his Gage, he was killed by his Guards. *Monſtrelet*

(*d*) The Succours were brought by the Duke of *Bretagne* and the Mareſchal *Louvigry*. *Fenin*.

(*e*) The *French* Hiſtorians, *Monſtrelet* and *de Fenin* ſay the contrary, the former, that the *Engliſh* loſt 1700 Men, the latter 4 or 500, which is moſt likely. *Caxton* affirms, there were but 26 *Engliſh* Soldiers killed, and *Walſingham* ſays not many more, *viz.* the Duke of *York*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, four Knights, one Eſquire, and twenty eight common Soldiers. Of the *French*, *Le Fevre*, who was in the Battel, writes, that 10000 were killed, of which 100 were Princes and 7000 Nobles.

(*f*) The Priſoners according to *Juvenal des Urſins* were 14000, and all Authors agree, that they were as many as the Number of the *Engliſh* Army.

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the Q. Regent of *England*, (*g*) and many other Perſons of Quality. The next Day after the Victory the *French* King ſent *Mountjoy* with four Heralds more to deſire leave to bury the Dead and to have the Number of the Priſoners, which the King readily granted. But the *French* themſelves had made them a miſerable Spectacle, by ſtripping them of all their Cloaths, which the *Engliſh* had not meddled with, (for they took only Money and rich Things) and leaving them all Naked. This odious Spectacle ſo moved the Earl of *Charilois*, Son to the Duke of *Burgundy*, that he buried 5800 in one piece of Ground at his own Charge, becauſe their Friends not knowing them neglected their Burial. The Biſhop of *Eſquines* a little after made the Ground into a Church-Yard in reſpect to the Bodies of ſo many Perſons laid there.

King *Henry* goes to *Callis*, and Duke of *Burgundy* puniſheth the *French* who plunder'd the *Engliſh* Camp.

The Fight being thus fortunately ended in favour of the *Engliſh*, King *Henry* having ordered the Slain to be decently buried went to ſee the Damage of his Camp, which tho' being conſiderable yet not to be recover'd, he reſolv'd to proceed with all Expedition in his Journey to *Callis* without any further Care about it. But the Duke of *Burgundy* would not ſo paſs it over, and conſidering that the Party who had plundered the *Engliſh* Camp, had cowardly deſerted the Army in danger, and by pillaging the *Engliſh* for their own Private Gain had been the Cauſe that their Braver Brethren who were taken Captive in the Fight had been kill'd in cool Blood, he determin'd to puniſh the chief Commanders of them very ſeverely; but his Son the Earl of *Charilois* being made their Friend by the Rich Preſent of King *Henry*'s Sword, ſo effectually interceded with his Father they they were all ſpared. King *Henry* after two Days march arrived at *Callis*, carrying with him the Bodies of the Duke of *York* and Earl of *Suffolk* to be interred in *England*, and immediately diſpatched a Meſſenger over into *England* to the Queen Regent with the News of this Signal Victory, which filled the Nation with an univerſal Joy; for the *Te Deum* was not only ſung in all Churches of the Nation, but a mighty Proceſſion of the Queen, Nobility and Clergy, Mayor, Aldermen and Companies of *London* was celebrated with extraordinary Solemnity and Devotion from St. *Pauls* to *Weſtminſter*, where they all made a great Oblation at St. *Edward's Shrine*, and then returned in Triumph. The King himſelf remain'd at *Callis* a while intending to have purſued this Victory cloſely had the Seaſon permitted him, but it proving very wet and unfit for Warlike Enterprizes, he thought it convenient to look after his Affairs in *England*, and taking Ship *November* the 16th, he arrived at *Dover*, *November* the 23d, having had a very troubleſome and dangerous Paſſage. He brought with him his Chief *French* Priſoners, and was received with Proceſſions and Triumphal Joy by his Nobles and other Subjects; and being by them conducted towards *London*, was met by the Mayor, Aldermen and Clergy of that City with like Proceſſions, (*h*) and Atteſtations of Joy at St. *Thomas* of *Waterings*: But the King himſelf ſeem'd very little taken with theſe outward Ceremonies, and forbad that any Songs or Ballads ſhould be made of this Victory, becauſe it was ſolely from God, and he would have him have all the Honour of it. The Citizens made the King a Preſent of 1000 *l.* in Gold in two Baſons of equal Value, which the King receiv'd of them with a cheerful Reſentment of their Love and Reſpect to him, and ſo retreated to his Palace at *Weſtminſter*, where he made it his firſt Care to bury the Bodies of the Duke of *York* at *Fodringhey* in *Northamptonſhire*, and of the Earl of *Suffolk* at *Ewhelm* in *Oxfordſhire*; (*i*) their Exequies being devoutly perform'd by the Archbiſhops and moſt of the Biſhops in St. *Paul's* Church by the King's Order. But the good Fortune of this Battel was not more joyfully received by the *Engliſh* Court and People than the bad Fate of it was lamented by the *French*, for the King and his Court were under heavy Perplexities, and the *Dauphin* of *Viennois* the Heir of the Crown took it ſo grievouſly, that he ſoon after died of mere Sorrow. Great Care was alſo taken to chooſe new Officers into the Places of ſuch as were either ſlain, or had behaved themſelves ſo, as by their Cowardize to be unworthy of future Employment. All which ſhewed under what Fears and Diſtractions the *French* were in after this Victory; which though they thought to recover by freſh Forces and Officers, yet it was ſuch a Terror to them that they never dar'd to attempt any thing conſiderable after.

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A. D. 1416.

The King being in *England*, the Earl of *Dorſet*, Governour of *Harfleur* having a ſtrong Body of Men under his Command, *viz.* 3000 *Engliſh* Men made an Inroad into *Normandy* almoſt as far as *Roan* where the King of *France* and his Court than lay, and got a great Booty of Money, Priſoners and Cattle; but it being heard at *Roan* the Earl of *Arminack* was ſent to purſue him with 5000 Horſe, who being newly made Conſtable was mighty deſirous to gain himſelf Reputation by this Exploit, and thereupon followed them very hotly till he had overtaken them. The *Engliſh* unable to reſiſt ſo ſtrong a Force, were forced to withdraw into an Orchard well fenced with Ditches and Banks for their Security with the Loſs of 300 of their Men and all their Prey. The *French* withdrew to *Villemont*, an adjoining Village that Night, and in the Morning purſued the *Engliſh* again as far as the *Sand* of *Cheif de Caux*, where ſetting upon them at a Diſadvantage by reaſon of an Hill that hinder'd them from aſſiſting each other, the *Engliſh* fell ſo fiercely upon them that they routed them wholly, and ſo got ſafely to *Harfleur*. The Conſtable was much blamed for his Raſhneſs and Unſkilfulneſs in this Exploit, and loſt more Honour by his laſt ill Conduct than he got by his firſt good Fortune, and the *Engliſh* became more terrible for their Courage and Hardineſs.

The Earl of *Dorſet's* Fight with the Earl of *Arminack*, Conſtable of *France*.

Triumphs and Thankſgivings in *England* for the Victory at *Agincourt*

This Year the Order of the Church-Service was changed throughout *England* from the Uſe of St. *Paul* to the Uſe of *Sarum*. On *Candlemas*-Day ſeven *Dolphins* were diſcovered playing in the River *Thames*, and four of them were taken.

Divers Accidents.

The King on *Monday*, *March* the 16th ſummon'd his Parliament to meet at *Weſtminſter*, and though he requir'd no Taxes in ſo great a War, yet he thought it neceſſary to ſummon his Great Council to ſettle Things well in his Abſence, which he did by making ſeveral Beneſi-

Third Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

(*g*) The Famous Marſhal *Boucicault* who had done great Things in *Italy* and the *Eaſt* was taken Priſoner in this Battel, and being carried to *England* died there two or three Years after.

(*h*) In this Proceſſion *Stow* ſays, the Prieſts brought forth the Relicks of ſeventy Saints.

(*i*) The Mannor of *Ewhelm* came to the Family of *Suffolk* by the Marriage of this Earl's Son, afterward created Duke of *Suffolk*, to *Alice*, Daughter of *Thomas Chaucer*, Eſq; Son of *Jeoffrey Chaucer* the Poet. *Holinſhead*, pag. 1236.

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cial Acts for the common Good, *viz.* That a certain baſe Money, called *Gally-half-pence* brought hither from *Genoa*, and vented to the Damage of the People, ſhould not be hereafter uſed in any lawful Payment in *England*; That all *Britons* who were not Naturaliz'd and made Free of this Nation ſhould immediately depart out of it upon pain of Death, becauſe the Duke of *Bretagne* was confederate with the King of *France* againſt him; That all Proviſions, Licenſes, Acceptations or Pardons ſent into *England* by the Pope to diſturb or deprive any Perſon who is in the actual and legal Poſſeſſion of any Benefice, ſhall be *ipſo facto* void, and the Perſons that ſhall bring any ſuch Proviſions, and by them moleſt or diſturb any Incumbent ſhall ſuffer and incur the Puniſhments contain'd in the Statutes of Proviſors, to be inflicted by Proceſs of *Præmunire facias*; That the Clipping, Waſhing and Filing of the Current Money of the Land ſhall be adjudged Treaſon, and they who ſhall ſo Clip, File or Waſh the ſaid Coin ſhall ſuffer as Traytors. And laſtly. That Juſtices of the Peace ſhall Award a *Capias* to apprehend all ſuch Perſons, and impriſon them to be tried by the Judges of Aſſize who ſhould have Power to hear and determine all ſuch Matters: And then was the Parliament Prorogued becauſe of the Emperour's coming.

Reg. 4.

Sigiſmund the Emperor came into *England.*

In the beginning of *May*, *Sigiſmund* the Emperour, Couſin-German to King *Henry*, and a very Wiſe and Learned Prince, came into *England* out of a pious Deſign to make Peace between the King's of *England* and *France*. He had been before in *France* and brought over with him the Archbiſhop of *Rhemes*, an Agent for his Maſter the *French* King, who ſeem'd forward to conclude it. He was received at *Callis* honourably by the Earl of *Warwick* who was Governour there, and conveyed over to *Dover* in 30 great Ships. The King having Intelligence of his coming, ſent the Duke of *Glouceſter* with a large Train of the Nobility to receive and entertain him, yet ordering them to meet him on the Shore with their drawn Swords, and to demand of him the Cauſe and Reaſon of his coming, whether it were as a Mediator of a Peace only, and the King's Friend, or as an Emperour to claim *England* as a part of his Kingdom, if as the latter to reſiſt his Entrance, but if as the former to give him a kind Welcome? Which they exactly performed entring into the Water with their drawn Swords in their Hands. The Emperour with a Smile mildly replied. *That he came as the King's Friend and to make a Peace*, and was then honourably conducted to Shore by 'em, and from thence to *London*. The King met him in Perſon at *Black-heath*, *May* the 7th, and carried him through *London* to *Weſtminſter*, where he was lodged in the King's Palace.

Albert Duke of *Holland* came into *England.*

Albert, Duke of *Holland* came alſo about the ſame Time but ſtaid not long. The Emperour was very earneſt with the King for a Peace, and his Perſuaſions had almoſt wrought the King to a Compliance, but the *French* not giving over their Acts of Hoſtility while they knew Peace was in Agitation, but firſt falling upon the *Engliſh* about *Roan*, and then laying cloſe Siege to *Harfleur* both by Sea and Land, ſo incenſed the King of *England*, who by their Actions judged that they deſigned only to amuſe him with Propoſals of Peace till they could by Force reduce their Country, that he would not hearken to any further mention of it, but recalled his Ambaſſadors the Biſhop of *Norwich* and Sir *Thomas Erpingham* out of *France*, reſolving to proſecute the War with the utmoſt Vigour; whereupon the Emperour gave over further preſſing the Peace between *France* and the King, and entred into a firm League with K. *Henry* himſelf to this Effect, *viz.* That the Emperour and King of *England* their Heirs and Succeſſors would be Friends and Confederates to each other againſt all Perſons whatſoever (the Church of *Rome* and Pope for the Time being only excepted). 2. That neither they nor their Heirs or Succeſſors ſhould be in any Council or other Place where either of them his Heirs or Succeſſors ſhould ſuſtain any Damage in their Lands, Goods, Honour or Perſon. 3. That if either of them their Heirs or Succeſſors ſhould know of any Damage or Loſs that was like to befal or happen to each other, they ſhould give each other as ſpeedy Information of it as they could conveniently. 4. That either of them their Heirs and Succeſſors would uſe all lawful Means poſſible to advance the Honour and Intereſt of each other. 5. That neither of them would permit their Subjects to levy War againſt each other, and that it ſhall be lawful for the Subjects of both Nations to Traffick and Merchandize with each other without any Impediments. 6. That neither of 'em would wittingly receive and harbour, much leſs defend any Rebels or Traytors to them, but either reſign them up to the injur'd Prince or drive 'em out of their Realm. 7. That neither of them ſhould begin a War with any other Perſon but ſuch as they now were at War with, without the Conſent and Advice of each other, unleſs it were in caſe of neceſſary Defence of themſelves or their Subjects and Dominions. *Laſtly*, That it ſhould be lawful for both of them to proſecute the War againſt *France* to recover their Rights ſo as ſhould to them ſeem Expedient, and that they would afford each other Aſſiſtance in ſo doing. Theſe Conditions and Agreements were ſealed (*k*) *October* the 19th, 1416. and the Emperour having ſtay'd almoſt ſeven Months in *England* at the King's Charge, and being made a Knight of the Garter departed Home, and King *Henry* accompany'd him to *Callis* partly in Honour to him, and partly to look into the State of his Affairs on that ſide, where having taken his leave of the Emperour, and renew'd a League with the Duke of *Burgundy* for his Provinces of *Flanders* and *Artois* to continue to the *Michaelmas* Twelve-month following: He returned again into *England* to meet his Parliament, which had been adjourn'd till this Time for the Emperour's coming.

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The Emperor makes Peace with King *Henry*, and the Articles of it.

The Duke of *Bedford* raiſes the Siege of *Harfleur.*

While the Emperour yet remain'd in *England* King *Henry* ſent his Navy under the Command of his Brother *John* Duke of *Bedford* to raiſe the Siege of *Harfleur*, which was ſecured and carried on by Sea by the *French* Fleet under the Command of the Viſcount of *Narbon*, who was aſſiſted by ſix large *Genoa* Gallies and ſeveral Carricks. The Duke zealous for the Honour of the King and Nation immediately paſſed over to *Harfleur*, and engaging with the *French* Navy, after a ſharp Fight obtain'd a ſignal Victory, taking three *Genoa* Carricks, and in them the Baſtard of *Bourbon*, Priſoner, the reſt being all ſunk or driven ſhatter'd into *Brittain*. The Earl of *Arminack*, Conſtable of *France*, who maintained the Siege by Land ſeeing the *Engliſh* Maſters

(*k*) They were ſealed *Auguſt* the 15th, and confirmed in Parliament, *October* the 19th. The Emperour return'd to *Callis*, and was not accompanied, but follow'd by King *Henry*, who Embark'd at *Sandwich*, *September* the 4th, and arrived at *Callis* the ſame Day, the Emperour waiting on the Shore for his Landing.

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at Sea, by which means the Beſieged would have ſuch Relief both of Men and Proviſion as would render it almoſt impoſſible to take it, immediately raiſed the Siege and marched to *Paris*. The News of this ſpeedy Deliverance of *Harfleur* being brought into *England* was aſtoniſhing to the Emperor, who heard of the Succeſs of the *Engliſh* Fleet before he could have imagin'd them there, and with Admiration ſaid to the King; 'Happy is the Nation who hath ſo good a King, 'but much more happier the King who hath 'ſuch Valiant and Obedient Subjects.

Fourth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

King *Henry* being return'd from *Calis* met his Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and having ſhew'd his Lords and Commons by his Chancellor, *Henry Beaufort*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, that tho' for the eaſe and quiet of his Subjects he had waved the purſuit of his Conqueſts which God had ſo Succeſsfully begun, and condeſcended to diſadvantageous Terms of Peace, yet the *French* had rejected all; and therefore ſince he could not give over the War with Honour, he hoped that they would give him ſuch Supplies of Money as were Neceſſary for ſo great an Undertaking, which he did not doubt but would bring in greater Advantages to the Nation in a ſhort time. The Parliament readily aſſented to his reaſonable Deſires, and having obtain'd his Aſſent to ſome Acts of Importance, 1. For puniſhing Maſters who give greater Wages to Servants than is allow'd by Statute. 2. For confining Merchant-Strangers to certain places of Reſidence in the Port-Towns. And 3. About granting Letters of Marque or Repriſal to Perſons that have been wrong'd by any Foreigners who are at Peace with the King; they gave him a liberal Supply of Money, a *Fifteenth* of the Laity, and two *Tenths* of the Clergy. After this Gift of Money the King appointed his Brother *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, by and with the Advice and Conſent of his Parliament, to be Regent of the Nation in his Abſence, and made *Thomas Beaufort*, Earl of *Dorſet*, in Conſideration of his many faithful Services, Duke of *Exeter*, allowing him a Thouſand Pound a Year out of his Treaſury, and giving him Forty Pound a Year out of his Free-farm Rents in and about the City of *Exeter*, and the Parliament confirm'd both to him, and was ſoon after diſolved and ſent into their Countries. In the Time of this Seſſion of Parliament a Beggar was hang'd for a barbarous Cruelty which he had uſed in diſmembring Children.

A. D. 1417.

King's Zeal for the Honour of his Clergy.

The King kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Killingworth-Caſtle* in *Warwickſhire*, where while he remain'd multitudes of Lampoons were ſcatter'd up and down the Nation againſt the Church-men, but eſpecially in Noble-Men's Houſes, and in great Towns, as St. *Albans*, *Northampton* and *Reading*. The King was very much diſpleaſed at it, being ſenſible that the next way to bring Religion it ſelf into Contempt and Diſuſe was to render the Miniſters contemptible, both which Things were equally abominable to him: Wherefore he uſed all Means to apprehend the Authors and Diſperſers of them, and was ſo Zealous to vindicate their Reputation, that he was call'd, *The Prince of Prieſts*: But the Clergy were ſo generally hated, that they found none ſo much their Friends as to diſcover their malicious Enemies, that they might receive their condign Puniſhment, neither for Love to the King nor hopes of Reward.

King *Henry* II. Expedition into *France*.

After *Chriſtmas* the King ſet himſelf with all Diligence to make Preparations for his *Second Expedition* into *France*, liſting great Numbers of Soldiers, who being invited by the Succeſs of the laſt Year offered themſelves willingly to his Service, and hiring ſeveral Ships to tranſport his Troops over into *France*. In the Spring he had gotten an Army of 25527 brave and luſty Men, and fifteen hundred Ships, but found his Charge ſo far to exceed the Supplies given him the laſt Parliament, that he was forced to borrow great Sums of Money to go on with his Deſign; for the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* lent him twenty Thouſand Pounds, for which he pawn'd his Crown to him, and the City of *London* lent him ten Thouſand Marks more, for which the King left them his Jewels as a Pledge. With this Money he put all Things in Readineſs for his Paſſage into *France* as ſoon as the Weather and Seas ſhould favour him. Theſe great Preparations in *England* being known in *France*, the *French* King endeavour'd to hinder his Paſſage by hiring many Ships and Carricks of *Genoa*, which being join'd to his own Navy, might not only infeſt the *Engliſh* Coaſts, but keep the King of *England* and his Army from Landing in his Dominions; but the King of *England* was neither ſo haſty nor careleſs as to neglect this Danger, and though he was oblig'd to ſtay a little the longer, yet he took care to remove this Obſtacle by ſending his Fleet under the Command of *John Holland*, Earl of *Huntington* (*l*) to ſcour the Narrow Seas of all *French* Veſſels, who accordingly did his Buſineſs ſo effectually, by taking ſome and ſinking others, that the King waiting ready at *Southampton* for the firſt Opportunity of ſailing over ſafely, took Shipping, and ſailing from *Portſmouth* *July* the 28th, landed in *Normandy* *Auguſt* the 1ſt, at *Beville*, and immediately upon the Shore made Forty-eight Knights, of the moſt valiant and beſt of his Captains, that he might encourage them by theſe Marks of Favour to greater Boldneſs in the future Attempts. The News of the Arrival of the *Engliſh* was no ſooner ſpread in *Normandy*, but all the People were affrighted, and fled either into the Wall'd Towns and Caſtles, or got them into *Bretagne*, leaving the Country open to the Will and Power of the Invaders, who having ſo much room left, ſoon made themſelves Maſters of the Towns and Cities.

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Reg. 5.

Earl of *Huntington* clears the Seas for his Paſſage.

Several Caſtles and Towns taken by the *Engliſh*.

And the firſt Thing that the King undertook, after he had been at *Harfleur* and taken Notice of the Condition of it, was the Siege of *Tonque-Caſtle*, a Place not ſo Important in it ſelf (*m*); but becauſe the King would not leave it behind him to annoy or infeſt his Army when it ſhould be buſied about any thing greater. The Duke of *Glouceſter* managed the Siege with one part of the Army, and took it *Auguſt* the 9th, by Reſignation. He made Sir *Robert Kirkby* Captain of it. The Earl of *Salisbury* while this was a doing beſieged the Town and Caſtle of *Ambervillers*, and with like Succeſs became Maſter of it. The King gave him the Lordſhip of the Town and Territories adjoining, and to his Heirs; which Gift, tho' the firſt of that Nature, much raiſed the Hopes of the Nobles, and made them dare great Things in confidence, that from ſuch a Beneficent King the braveſt Attempts ſhould have the greateſt Rewards. The Army being a little fluſhed with theſe Victories, the King reſolved upon a greater Enterprize, which was the Siege of *Caen*, one of the ſtrongeſt and beſt Towns in *Normandy*, and in his March deſtroyed and plundered all the Villages in the Country leading up to it. The Town was well provided

(*l*) Son to the Duke of *Exeter*, who was Beheaded at *Cicester*, for the Duke of *Aumarl*'s Plot.
(*m*) 'Twas a very ſtrong Caſtle in thoſe Days. *Godw.* p. 155.

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with Men, Ammunition and Proviſion, becauſe they expected nothing leſs except they would tamely ſubmit. In the Suburbs of *Caen* were ſeveral Goodly Churches and Monaſtries, which the King was very unwilling ſhould be deſtroyed, not only for Piety ſake, but becauſe they might be a Refuge for his Army, and therefore he ſent his Brother the Duke of *Clarence* to prevent the Deſtruction of them from the Inhabitants, who according to the uſual Methods of thoſe Times would ſet them on Fire upon the Approach of the Enemy, that they might not be an Harbour to them. The Duke of *Clarence* made all poſſible haſte with a 1000 Men to ſave them, but before he could get thither the Citizens had ſet them on Fire, yet by his Diligence he ſaved the Abby-Church of St. *Stephens* and one Nunnery. The King with the whole Army came before the Town, *Auguſt* the 17th, and began the Siege of it, caſting up high Banks and making deep Trenches to keep the Beſieged from ſallying out upon them; ſeveral Aſſaults he made againſt it, but to his own Loſs, wherefore he reſolved to truſt to his Mines, and therefore ſet all his Pioneers to Work, by whom he ſo undermined the Walls, that they ſtood upon a few Poſts only, ready to fall when there was Occaſion. The Beſieged he kept always awake with continual Alarms, that being weakened with much Watching they might be unable to make any conſiderable Reſiſtance. When all Things were ready for a general Aſſault, he ſent an Herald to them to offer them Mercy if they would reſign their Town; but they having Promiſes of Relief rejected all Propoſals of Peace, and ſo the King ſtorm'd the Place and took it by Force, *September* the 8th, ſlaying all Perſons that were in Arms againſt him. All the Arms that were in the Town he commanded to be brought into the Market-place, and all the chief Magiſtrates he ſummoned to the Senate-Houſe, and, ſuch as had been moſt Stubborn and Inflexible in reſiſting him, he cauſed to be put to Death, and the reſt he fined. The Fury of the Soldiers in plundering, inſulting and cruelly killing their Enemies, upon ſuch Succeſs, he ſo far reſtrained by his Care and Prudence, that he was not thought a more Fortunate than Wiſe Commander; yet he took ſuch Care to reward every one's Labour and Valour in the Siege by giving them a Share in the Plunder, that they were better contented with the King's Liberality than if they had been left to Carve for themſelves. The Caſtle ſtill held out after the Town was taken; but becauſe they perceived that no Relief came according as they were promiſed, and it was impoſſible for them to hold out long without it againſt ſo great an Army, they yielded, *September* the 20th, upon a Capitulation, that the Captain and Soldiers might ſafely depart whether they pleaſed. King *Henry* Peopled the Town with *Engliſh*. The Example of this City was ſo terrifying, that Fourteen other ſmaller Towns and Caſtles immediately reſigned to King *Henry*, and upon their taking an Oath of Fidelity to him he continued the Captains in their Offices, and ſuffer'd the Inhabitants to enjoy their Lands and Eſtates in as large or more ample manner as they had enjoyed them at any time before. *Caen* being then orderly ſettled under *Engliſh* Officers, *viz.* Sir *Gilbert Umphreville*, who was made Captain of the Town, Sir *John Popham*, Bailiff, and Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, Captain of the Caſtle, the King purſued his Victories, taking *Courſy-Caſtle*, *Argenton*, *Alanzon*, and *Sees* with little or no Oppoſition, and appointing *Engliſh* Captains over 'em, and then he returned to *Caen*, where he put in Execution his Proclamation which he had before put out, commanding all the Inhabitants of *Normandy* who were fled from their Habitations, to return again by a certain Day perfixed, or elſe he would give their Lands to his Soldiers; whereupon he conferred on the Duke of *Clarence* the Viſcounties of *Auge*, *Orb*, and *Pontinz*, with all the other Lands of ſuch as did not return according to his Command. While the King was thus buſied himſelf with part of his Army, the other parts whom he had ſent out under his ſeveral Commanders with equal Succeſs enlarged his Conqueſts: For the Earl of *Warwick*, and Lord *Talbot* took the Strong Caſtle of *Dampfront*, The Duke of *Clarence* took *Courton*, *Barny*, *Bechelovin*, *Harcourt*, *Fantgernon*, *Crevener*, *Anvilliers* and *Froſny*. The Duke of *Glouceſter*, with the Earl of *March*, and Lord *Grey* of *Codnor* took the whole Iſland of *Conſtantine*, except *Cherburg*, and placed *Engliſh* Captains in them.

Caen, a Chief Town in *Normandy* beſieged and taken by Storm.

The Caſtle of *Caen* ſurrendred.

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While the *Engliſh* thus carried on their Victories, the Kingdom of *France* was unable to put any ſtop to the impetuous Current. The King himſelf was not fit to attempt any thing of that Nature through his Indiſpoſition of Mind, being afflicted with long and frequent Fits of a [illegible] which made him not able to govern, much leſs to act in ſuch Difficulties and Dangers. The Duke of *Burgundy*, who at that time was by the Queen's means conſtituted the Regent of the Kingdom in hatred to her Son *Charles* the *Dauphin*, was engaged ſo much upon her Account to execute a Female Revenge upon the *Dauphin*, that he could not attend to the more neceſſary War againſt *Henry*, who fought the Conqueſt of them both; though it may be thought, that if the Duke of *Burgundy* had been at Liberty, he would have made but a very feeble Reſiſtance againſt the King of *England*, with whom he was in League for the Preſervation of his own Countries in *Flanders* and *Artois*. The Dauphin, *Charles* was the only Perſon really ſollicitous for the Good of his Country, and was willing to have run the utmoſt Hazzards to have reſcued it from the Power of the Invader; but he had neither Friends nor Money to go on with his Deſign, till the Count *De Arminack* had adviſed him to ſeize upon his Mother's Jewels, Plate and Money, by which indeed he was enabled to raiſe ſome Forces for the Defence of the Kingdom, but thro' his Mother's Malice he was compell'd to make uſe of them another way, *viz.* to chaſtiſe her Fury and *Burgundy*'s Folly, who to gain her Favour was forced to be the Inſtrument of her Revenge. While theſe Civil Broils were carried on by the *French*, King *Henry* was very diligent to improve this Advantage, and with wonderful Celerity run over *Normandy*, and laid ſuch a Foundation for the Conqueſt of *France*, that the moſt hearty Union and ſtrongeſt Forces could hardly have prevented it.

The State of *France* in this War.

But though the *French* themſelves thro' their Civil Diſcords did nothing againſt the *Engliſh*, yet they inſtigated their Old Friends the *Scots* to invade *England*, and that ſo powerfully as to draw the King himſelf, if it were poſſible, out of *France*; for they entred with a ſtrong Army, and beſieged the Caſtles of *Barwick* and *Roxborough*. And that they might have either the Aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh* themſelves, or meet with a more faint Oppoſition, they brought along with them a Perſon whom they pretended to be *King Richard*, but to little Purpoſe; for though the Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, who was the Lord *Warden* of the *Marches*, was not then at Hand to defend the Borders, yet the Gentry of the *Northern* Parts were Active to raiſe the Forces of the Countries,

Scots invade *England* with a ſtrong Army.

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Countries, and the Duke of *Exeter* who had lately levy'd freſh Recruits for the King's Army in *France*, was then in thoſe Parts at *Bridlington* on a Pilgrimage, and caus'd his Forces to be march'd thither; ſo that they made an Army of an 100000 Men, who were muſtered on *Baw-moor*, in order to go againſt the *Scots*. The Archbiſhop himſelf, though unfit to Ride, yet to encourage the Soldiers march'd with them, being carried in a Chariot: But the *Scots* hearing of the Greatneſs of the *Engliſh* Army, which in the King's Abſence they thought impoſſible to be raiſed, departed in a Fright, and dar'd not ſtay their Approach, leaving the Sieges unperfect which they had begun.

Fifth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

About the Feaſt of St. *Andrew*, *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, then Regent of the Nation in the King's Abſence, did by his Order call a Parliament at *Weſtminſter* to repreſent to them the Charge of the War, and obtain further Supplies for carrying it on, which he obtain'd with no Difficulty, *viz.* a Fifteenth of the Laity and Tenth of the Clergy. Few or no Acts paſs'd this Seſſion: But the Tryal and Condemnation of the Lord *Cobham* made it as Remarkable as others, which was after this manner. The Lord *Cobham* having for four Years ſpace ſhifted from Place to Place to ſecure himſelf from his Enemies, but being for the moſt part in *Wales*, was at length diſcovered to the Lord *Powis* to be in a part of his Barony, call'd *Powiſland*. This Peer, a zealous Patriot of the Church, knowing how acceptable a piece of Service it would be to the King, as well as a Reward to himſelf, ſent a certain Number of Men to ſeize and apprehend him, but it proved ſo deſperate an Attempt, that they ran great Danger of their Lives; for the ſaid Lord who had been always bred up in War, and a Perſon of undaunted Courage ſtood upon his own Defence, and dangerouſly wounded ſeveral of the Aggreſſors, but being over-powered and diſabled by ſeveral Wounds he had receiv'd in the Conteſt, he was at length taken, and being carried up to *London* by the Lord *Powis*, was impriſon'd in the *Tower* for his Tryal: With him were taken ſeveral Books which ſeem'd to reflect ſome Diſgrace on the Way of Worſhip then in Uſe, *viz.* Maſs-Books with the Faces of the Saints and Heads ſcraped out, and their Names blotted out of the *Litany*, which were delivered to the Archbiſhop, and by his Means expoſed to the Sight of the Auditors at the Sermons of St. *Paul's* Croſs by the Preachers, who aggravated the Guilt of the Fact, and accuſed him and his Party of doing Injury to the Saints in Heaven. The People being thus wrought upon to think his Death deſerved, he was at length brought before the Parliament to be examin'd and try'd; and the former Sentence againſt him being read, which he did not much oppoſe, he was condemn'd to be hang'd and burnt, hanging in St. *Giles's* Fields, which Sentence he accordingly ſuffered upon *Chriſtmas*-Day. The Lord *Powis* who had been the chief Inſtrument in his Apprehenſion, had the particular Thanks of the Houſes given him for his Pains, and the Parliament took effectual Care to put all former Statutes againſt the *Lollards* in Execution. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in his Convocation then ſitting made an Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution, That all Suffragan-Biſhops and their Arch-Deacons ſhould twice a Year make a diligent Inquiſition after all Perſons ſuſpected of Hereſy; and for the moſt certain Diſcovery of all ſuch Perſons, their Favourers and Books, he ordered, that they ſhould Swear two or three Perſons in every Pariſh to give a diſtinct Information, if any ſuch Perſons inhabited in their Pariſhes; thus hoping to cruſh the whole Sect, now the Head and Leader of them was taken off. But yet notwithſtanding this Zeal ſhewed for the Doctrine of the Church, it is remarkable, that the ſame Parliament ſtood up very manfully againſt the Encroachments of the Pope: For whereas Pope *Martin* V. had ſent over into *England* to require a Tenth of the Clergy to carry on the War againſt the *Bohemian* Hereticks, they made an Act, That the Church and all Eſtates of the Realm of *England* ſhould enjoy their Ancient Liberties, which were not Repealed nor Repealable by the Common-Law, by which they chiefly intended to exclude the Pope's Juriſdiction.

The Lord *Cobham's* Condemnation and Death.

A. D. 1418.

In the time of the Regency of the Duke of *Bedford*, Queen *Joan* was accuſed of a Contrivance with her Confeſſor Fryer *Randolph*, to put the King to Death by Sorcery, and was thereupon apprehended with her Confeſſor, and ſhe was firſt Impriſon'd in the Caſtle of *Leeds*, and after in the Caſtle of *Pemſey*, and he in the *Tower* of *London*, where while he lay he happen'd to fall into an hot Diſpute with the Chaplain of St. *Peter's* Church in the ſaid *Tower*, and coming to Blows was ſlain by him. The Queen was not long after brought to her Tryal, was found innocent of the Crime laid to her Charge, and was thereupon releaſed from her Confinement (*n*).

Queen *Joan* accuſed of Treaſon.

While theſe Things were tranſacting in *England*, the King was buſied about the Siege of the Town and Caſtle of *Falaiſe*, which he had begun in the beginning of *November*. The Town made a brave Reſiſtance, but being reduced to great Straits for want of Proviſion, they deſired to Capitulate the 20th of *December*, and agreed, that they would reſign the Town to the King upon the 2d of *January* if they had no Relief from their King or the *Dauphin*, to which King *Henry* aſſented, and accordingly the Town was delivered up to him upon theſe Articles.

Falaiſe beſieged, and ſurrendred to King *Henry* upon certain Articles.

I. That all the Strangers that were in the Town ſhould be left to the King's Mercy, and the *Engliſh* to his Juſtice to be puniſhed for their Treaſon in fighting againſt their King, as they deſerved.

II. That all the *Engliſh* Priſoners in the Town ſhould be ſet at Liberty without any Ranſom, acquitted from the Oaths made to them whoſe Priſoners they were.

III. That no Goods ſhould be carry'd out of the Town, but the Soldiers ſhould depart without any Damage to their Horſes or Arms.

IV. That none of the Inhabitants of the Town ſhould receive the Perſons or Goods of any within the Caſtle, nor give any Relief in Victuals or Ammunition to them.

All which Articles were obſerved, and the King took Poſſeſſion of the Town: But the Caſtle ſtill held out; and tho' the King uſed all the Arts of War to reduce it, yet it kept him out a Month longer, and then beat a Parley, *Feb.* 2. and came to Conditions of Reſignation on *Feb.* 16. following, if they had no Relief come to them before that time from their King, *Dauphin*, or Earl of *Armiack*, which not receiving the Caſtle was put into the King's Hands by Sir *Oliver Manny*, Governour of the Caſtle, and all the Perſons in it reſigned themſelves to the King's

(*n*) She was Convicted, and forfeited all her Lands and Goods by Parliament. She was alſo continu'd in Impriſonment the Term of Ten Years: After that *Randolph* was kill'd.

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Mercy, who had promiſed them not to damnifie them in Life or Goods, and accordingly they were all diſmiſſed and ſent away free, only Sir *Oliver Manny* was detain'd till the Caſtle was repair'd at his Charge. *Falaiſe* being thus conquered, the King divided his Army into three Parts, and ſent them out under the Conduct of the Dukes of *Glouceſter* and *Clarence*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, to take the leſſer Towns in his Way to a greater Attempt which he deſign'd ſhortly to Enterprize, which was the Siege of *Roan*, the Chief City of *Normandy*, with which all the Country muſt be his.

Reg. 6.

A Riot in St. *Dunſtan's* Church on *Eaſter* Day.

On *Eaſter* Day in the Afternoon in St. *Dunſtan's* Church in the *Eaſt*, in Sermon time, happen'd ſuch a terrible Example of Female Pride as no Hiſtory can match. The Ladies of the Lord *Strange* and Sir *John Truſſel*, two Women of high Spirits and implacable Hatred one to another, met at the Sermon, and being in the ſame Pew vyed ſo eagerly for Superiority (tho' in that place Humility had been the greateſt Sign of Gentility) that thro' their rude Behaviour one to another they cauſed their Husbands to engage in their Quarrel, and draw their Swords to revenge the Diſgrace done to each other's Wife. The Congregation was much alarm'd at this impious Fray, and ſeveral Perſons who were much troubled at the unſeaſonable Diſturbance of the Publick Devotion of that Day, in which moſt of the People had receiv'd the Sacrament, beſtirred themſelves much to appeaſe their Fury and part them, but all in vain. Theſe incenſed Gentlemen would not hearken to any Advice, but looked upon them who ſought to pacifie them as their Enemies, and wounded ſeveral of them, and killed one *Thomas Petwarden* a Fiſhmonger, dwelling at *Sprat's Key*. But at length they were both ſeized for this Fact and impriſon'd in the *Counter* in the *Poultrey*. The Archbiſhop having an Account of this Notorious Miſdemeanour, excommunicated the Offenders both in St. *Paul's* Church, and in all the other Pariſh-Churches of *London*, and ſuſpended the Church wherein it was done from all Holy Services as defiled with Blood, and that a due Penance might be inflicted upon the Authors of it, ſat in St. *Magnus* Church, *April* the 21ſt, upon an Inquiſition to examine who were the Perſons chiefly concern'd in it. The Lords *Strange* and his Wife upon full hearing were prov'd the Delinquents, and for this Prophane Act injoyned this following Penance, *viz.* That on *May* the 1ſt, all their Servants ſhould go before the Parſon of St. *Dunſtan's* in their Shirts from St. *Paul's* to his Church, the Lord and Lady following him, the former bare headed, and the latter bare-footed, *Renald Kenwood* the Arch-Deacon of *London* following them: That at the Conſecration of the Church (which they had prophaned and polluted) the Lady ſhould fill all the Veſſels with Water, and offer an Ornament of Ten Pound Value to the Altar, and her Huſband a Pix of Five Pound Value, which being done accordingly by way of a Satisfactory Penance they were abſolved. The Murther of *Thomas Pedwarden* in this Examination ſeems not to have been regarded, becauſe there was no Proſecutor; for the Lord *Strange* had made his Widow a large Satisfaction, and ſo eſcaped the Puniſhment of his Crime.

About this Time the general Council of *Conſtance* broke up having ſat three Years: In it the three Antipopes were all depoſed, and *Otho Colonna* was choſen Pope by the Name of *Martin* V. *Richard Clifford*, Biſhop of *London* (*o*) was firſt nominated for Pope by the Committee appointed by the Council for the Election, for as all the *Engliſh* Clergy were reputed among the moſt Eminent for Learning, ſo none was thought fitter for Pope than one of them. But the Biſhop named, through Modeſty and other Conſiderations, put off the Dignity to the Perſon who was firſt named by him and after choſen. The Prior of St. *John* ſupported the Triple Crown at his Inſtalment and Coronation. By this Council *Wickliff's* Books were condemn'd for Heretical; *John Huſſe*, and *Jerom* of *Prague* (tho' they had the Emperour *Sigiſmund's* Letters of ſafe Conduct) were accuſed, condemn'd and burnt for Hereſie, notwithſtanding the many Petitions ſent by the *Bohemians* to the Council to beg their Lives, and they were much lamented by them. St. *Bridgit* was Canoniz'd, and *England* accounted one of the Five chief Nations of *Europe* and reckon'd before *Spain*.

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Normandy being almoſt all come into the Pow[illegible]er of the *Engliſh*, the Lawful Proprietors of [illegible] the King reſolv'd upon the compleat Co[illegible] of that whole Country, and thereupon [illegible] Duke of *Glouceſter* to beſiege *Cherbu[illegible]* a [illegible]rable Port and a ſtrong Town in [illegible] *ſtantine*, while his Recruits wi[illegible] for into *England* of 15000 M[illegible] with which he intended to Beſiege *Roan*. *Cherburg* being very well provided for a ſiege which they expected made a ſtrong and vahant Reſiſtance; and tho' the *Engliſh* by their Batteries, frequent Aſſaults, Mines and other Warlike Devices annoy'd the Beſieged, and fought an Entrance into it, yet they made ſuch a good Defence, that they kept them out, till at length they were forced by Famine more than the Sword to Condition to deliver up the Town to the King of *England* if no Relief was ſent to them within Sixty Days, which they did not doubt of, becauſe the *Dauphin* and Duke of *Burgundy*, who had hitherto ſpent that Time and Force one againſt another, which ſhould have been employ'd againſt the Invading Enemy, were made Friends by the Interceſſion of the Pope and Cardinals, and were at Liberty to mind the Nation's Intereſt better: But their Hopes and well-grounded Expectations proved in vain, and they were obliged to ſurrender their Town and Caſtle the laſt Day of *November* to the Duke, who made the Lord *Gray* of *Codnor* the King's Lieu[illegible] there, but dying ſoon after, Sir *Walter Hungerford* ſucceeded him. While theſe Things were doing at *Cherburg* the King receiv'd his Recruits out of *England*, and ſoon after ſet forward to Beſiege *Roan*, taking ſome ſmaller Fortreſſes in his Way, *viz.* *Louviers*, and *Pont de Larche*, which ſtanding on each ſide the *Seine* was with ſome Difficulty encompaſſed: But the King by an ingenious Device of Wicker-boats laid over the River begirt it ſo cloſely that they were forced to ſurrender it within Fifteen Days. (*p*) From hence the King with all his Forces march'd to *Roan*, and ſat down before it, *July* the 30th. The Citizens who had long expected this woful Day, had made as ſtrong a Proviſion as was poſſible, for they had train'd 15000 of their Body in Arms, and had got a 1000 choice Soldiers from the Duke of *Burgundy*; they had laid into the Town Ten Months Proviſion, and burnt the Suburbs that they might not be an Harbour or Relief to their Enemies. The King of *England*

Roan beſieg'd, and after a long Siege ſurrendred.

(*o*) The Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Henry Beaufort* was nominated before him. *Godw.* p. 147.
(*p*) The Siege laſted Three Weeks. *Monſtrelet*.

being

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being come before the Town ſummon'd the Inhabitants to ſurrender the Keys to him by *Windſor* the Herald; but they gave him this reſolute Anſwer, *That they had received none of him, and therefore would deliver up none to him*, and thereupon made a briſk Sally out of the Town upon the King's Forces, but were driven back again with the Loſs of thirty of their Men. The King after this made many Aſſaults upon the Town, but to little or no Purpoſe; for the Citizens were very Numerous, being above 200000 Men, and behav'd themſelves with ſo much Boldneſs and Valour (for they had ſworn never to reſign the City to the *Engliſh* ſo long as they could hold their Swords in their Hands) that the Beſiegers could get no Advantage of them; wherefore it was thought the moſt prudent Courſe to block up all Avenues into the City and ſtarve them, which their great Number made them liable to the ſooner, and to that end the *Engliſh* Navy which was made up of 100 Sail of Ships, was brought up the *Seine* to hinder all Relief by Water, and certain Ships ſent by the King of *Portugal* to aſſiſt the King were laid at the *Seien*'s Mouth to prevent all acceſs up the River to them. The Lord (*q*) *Kilmain* alſo came out of *Ireland* with 1600 *Iriſh* Men well Arm'd and Diſciplin'd to help the King in this Siege, and they were very Serviceable to the *Engliſh* in the Blockade; for by the help of theſe Men he kept the City ſo cloſely Beſieg'd, that there were no Avenues poſſible to it. While the King lay idle and without Action about the Town, he ſent the Earl of *Warwick* to ſummons *Caudebec*, and Fourteen other Fortreſſes which lay at a ſmall Diſtance round about, to ſurrender to him, but they anſwer'd him, *That they would follow the Fate of* Roan, *and would reſign quietly if that City were taken without Relief*, which the King was contented to yield to, becauſe he could not well ſpare ſufficient Forces to ſubdue them from *Roan*, and ſo much the rather, becauſe the Duke of *Burgundy* had promiſed the Inhabitants to raiſe the Siege. This made the King not only to keep his Army together, but to caſt up a Trench round about it, and fill it with Spikes that the *French* might not Surprize them or remove the Siege. The Duke of *Burgundy* either not able to attempt ſo great a Matter, or elſe deſpairing of Succeſs did not undertake it, but only ſent his Soldiers to annoy the *Engliſh* Conqueſts at *Kilbeuf*, *Eureux* and *Laviers*, where they were with no great Difficulty repulſed by the *Engliſh* Garriſons. About *December*, which was full four Months after the Siege was begun, the City of *Roan* began to be much preſſed for Victuals, and put out of their Gates many uſeleſs People who conſumed their Proviſions, but did no good in the Defence of the Place, and they miſerably periſhed under the Walls, becauſe the King of *England* would not ſuffer them to paſs through the Army, yet in honour to Chriſt he gave them Relief upon the Day of his Nativity. The Inhabitants of the Town, notwithſtanding this Eaſe of their uſeleſs Brethren, yet underwent by *Chriſtmas* ſo great a want of Corn and other Food, that they were forced to eat Dogs, Cats, Horſes, Rats and Mice, and drink Vinegar; yet they held out ſo long, that there died above 50000 of Famine, and had not at laſt yielded had there been any poſſibility of Relief; but being ſorely Oppreſſed with Famine they came to a Parley upon *New-Years-Day*, and after ſeveral Meetings for Eight Days together, nothing being concluded, the People of the Town were ſo enrag'd with the Governour and Burgeſſes, becauſe they did not yield to the King of *England*'s Demands, that they threatned to ſlay 'em and deliver up the City to his Mercy unleſs they did it ſpeedily: Whereupon they deſiring another Meeting, it was fully agreed and accorded,

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Roan ſurrendred upon Articles.

I. That the City and Caſtle of *Roan* ſhould be deliver'd up to the King of *England*, at any time after *Jan.* 19. if no Relief came to them before, upon his Demand.

II. That all the Captains and People whatſoever, being and dwelling within the ſaid Town and Caſtle, ſhould be left entirely to the Mercy of the ſaid King.

III. That they ſhould pay to the ſaid King 300000 Scutes of Gold, of which every two Scutes ſhould be worth an *Engliſh* Noble.

IV. That every Soldier and Stranger being in the ſaid Town or Caſtle, ſhould ſwear upon the Evangeliſts before their Departure, not to bear Arms againſt the King of *England* in any Place whatſoever before the Firſt of *January* next enſuing.

V. That the Inhabitants of the Town ſhould receive the Poor People lying in the Ditches about it to their Habitations, and allow 'em ſufficient Proviſion till *Jan.* 19.

Theſe Articles with others of leſs Importance were ſealed, *Jan.* 16. and on the 20th the King entred the City in a moſt Triumphant manner. The Clergy of the City with Forty Croſſes, and Burgers meeting him to welcome him, by whom he was conducted to the Cathedral Church of our Lady to give ſolemn Thanks for the Conqueſt of it. Then the King went to the Caſtle to receive the Homages of the Burgeſſes, and having made Proclamation, that all Perſons that would ſwear Allegiance to him ſhould enjoy their Lands and Eſtates, many ſubmitted to him, and he confirm'd all their Liberties and Properties and Priviledges to them. The Captain of the Town *Alain Blanchart* was beheaded, the Garriſon was pillag'd and put out of the Town. *Guy de Boutellier*, Captain-General of the City-Forces ſubmitted to King *Henry*, and had his Eſtate reſtor'd, and a Place given him under the Duke of *Glouceſter*. Thus was *Roan* again in the Power of the *Engliſh*, after the *French* had been Maſters of it 215 Years, and King *Henry* having re-edified the Caſtle and Walls, and built another ſtrong Tower to keep the Towns-men in their Obedience, made it the Chief Chamber in *Normandy*, and order'd his Treaſury, Mint and Exchequer to be ſettled there at the Suit of the Biſhops and Abbots.

Caudebec and other Towns promiſe to ſurrender if *Roan* were taken.

Other Places taken, and ſome Overtures of Peace made by the Duke of *Burgundy* and *Dauphin*.

After the Surrender of *Roan* the ſeveral Caſtles which had agreed to reſign upon that Surrender, yielded themſelves up to King *Henry*, and he ſent out his Captains to take in others, as *Caſtle-Galliard*, *Vernon*, *Nantes*, *Baudmont*, and many others, the King himſelf remaining ſtill at *Roan*. The Duke of *Burgundy* (who rul'd all under the King of *France* and was upon that account hated by the *Dauphin*, tho' the outward Signs of Enmity were laid aſide) ſeeing the Current of King *Henry*'s Fortune to be irreſiſtible, deſir'd a Conference with him to eſtabliſh a Peace between the Two Realms, and accordingly a Meeting for them was appointed at *Melun* and agreed on; but it prov'd nothing but a complimental Enterview, for they came to no Concluſion, becauſe the Demands of the King of *England* were thought too unreaſonable to be comply'd with, whereupon they parted with ſome Heat: King *Henry* telling the Duke, *That*

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(*q*) The Prior of *Kilmahain*.

he

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he would have his Demands or he would drive them all out of France: And the Duke replying, *That he should be weary of it first*, and thereupon entertain'd Resolutions to come to a Reconciliation with the *Dauphin*, that by their united Forces they might put some stop to his Victories. This Meeting enflam'd K. *Henry*'s Courage, and with fresh Vigour he prosecuted the War, for he immediately surpriz'd *Pontboise* and got the Town without Resistance; for the Captain *Lisle Adam* fled with all the Inhabitants, the *English* having scal'd the Walls and let in 3000 upon them before they could be provided to oppose them. The News of this Conquest being carried to *Paris* so terrify'd the King, Queen, and Duke of *Burgundy* that they fled from *Paris* to *Troyes* in *Champaigne*, leaving that City under the Command of the Count *de St. Paul*, and the Chancellor *Eustace de Laitre*. About *Candlemas* the King left *Roan* and went to *Eureux*, where the *Dauphin* profered him a Meeting at *Dreux* to make a Peace, but disappointed the King, so that in great Displeasure he return'd to *Eureux*, and sent out of the Earl of *Warwick* to besiege *La Roche-guion*, which being taken *Apr.* 6. the King gave the Command of it to Sir *Guy Butler*, the Duke of *Exeter* to *Castle-Galliard*, and the Duke of *Gloucester* to *Very*, which he obtain'd with the Castle, *May* 13. The Duke of *Clarence* won *Gisors*, and the Earl of *Huntington* burnt *Priaux*, *Breteuil*, *Clermont* and the Castle of *Vendueil*, by all which Conquests the *English* over-ran all the Country about *Chartres*, and brought the *French* into great Distress, which was to all considering Men among 'em the more Insupportable, because there appear'd no Hopes of Recovery.

Reg. 7.

King *Henry* aims to get *Paris*.

King *Henry* having now made great Progress into the Country began to cast his Eye upon *Paris*, which being the Metropolis of the Nation would be a certain Means to gain the whole, if he could become Master of it, and to that end sent out his Army under the Duke of *Clarence* to subdue the little Towns that lay in his Passage, as St. *Germans-en-Lay*, *Meulan*, *Montjoy* and many others, by which having clear'd his Way, he sent the Duke of *Clarence* to take a View of that City, and tho' he spent two Days in surveying the Walls of it, yet none appear'd against him, they were all so terrified at the Approach of the *English*. But the more prudent and grave Persons seeing their Danger, and considering that the Fate of *France* depended upon the Welfare of that City, entred into a Consultation how to secure themselves and save their Nation: And since a Peace had lately been proclaim'd between the *Dauphin* and Duke of *Burgundy* in their City and *Amiens*, they endeavoured by all means to draw them to unite their Forces that they might rescue the Kingdom from the Power of the Conquerer; for tho' the *English* had under their Valiant King got no small part of their Country, yet it was chiefly thro' the civil Dissentions of the Heads and Governours of their Nation. They were still strong

The *French* endeavour to unite the *Dauphin* and *Burgundy* to save *Paris*.

enough to recover all if they could bring their Leaders to an hearty Union, which they thought it no hard Matter to do by uniting their two Heads together: And to this End by much Labour and Intercession with those two great Persons they brought them to an Interview at *Monstreausur-fault-yonne*. The *Dauphin* here not forgetting the Wrongs which he had had from the Duke of *Burgundy*, whose present Greatness was built upon his Ruins, and was thought as well by others as himself to tend much to his Dishersion, believ'd this a seasonable time to vindicate his own Title and Right to the Crown. He reproach'd him for usurping that Authority which was properly belonging to himself, charging him with breach of Promise in not withdrawing his Garrisons agreed upon to be remov'd by their League of Amity, and continuing the Civil War. The Duke knowing this no seasonable Time for Justification, least it should make a Breach, humbled himself on his Knees to the *Dauphin*, and made a modest Excuse for his Actions, hoping to pacifie him by a mild Answer and so unite for the Nation's Good; but while he remain'd on his Knees his Sword entangling in his Legs, he laid his Hand upon it to remove it, which the *Dauphin*'s Followers observing immediately cry'd out, *Do you draw your Sword upon the Dauphin?* At which Words *Tanneguy Duchastel*, a Knight in great Favour with the [illegible] struck him with his Battle-Ax and cut off his Chin, and others encourag'd by his Example fell upon him with their Swords and kill'd him. This Fact made the Breach wider than before, and the *Dauphin* got himself a more zealous and furious Party of Enemies than ever, for the Queen was enraged for the Loss of her Favourite, and the Earl of *Charlois* of his Father, who being encourag'd to revenge his Death by her, [illegible] solv'd by all means to prosecute so barbarous a Murther, which was the more odious to all Men, because it was [illegible] the sacred Shew of Friendship [illegible] much to the Damage of the Publick [illegible] the Duke neglected his Guard to [illegible] the Defence of.

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The Duke of *Burgundy* slain.

While the Union between the Duke of *Burgundy* and *Dauphin* was thus driving on, King *Henry* was very Active to compleat his Conquests, and strengthen himself against their conjoin'd Forces, like a wise Prince providing against the utmost Danger which could be suspected; for after he had taken several other Towns, as *Vealquissin*, *Chaumont*, *Neufle* and *Dangu*, he put strong Garrisons into them, and put them under the Command of such of his Captains as he knew most faithful to himself, most emulous of the *English* Honour, and most courageous in the most daring Attempts. *Normandy* which was now wholly under his Power unless *Mount St. Michael*, he was as careful to keep in their Obedience by putting their chief Towns into his best Friends Hands, *viz.* he made the Lord *Bourchier* his Lieutenant at *Deep*, the Earl of *Warwick* at *Aumarl*, Sir *John Gedding* at *Cherburg*, and others of like Fidelity in other Principal Towns. The King himself kept his *Christmas* at *Roan*, having a stout Army about him ready to oppose any Accidents or sudden Assaults. But when he saw that the desir'd Union between the *Dauphin* and Duke of *Burgundy* was quite broken by the Murther of the latter, he than began to be secure against any present Resistance, and sent out part of his Army under the Earl of *Salisbury* to besiege *Tresny*, which resisted them courageously, but was at length surrendred up to him for the King's Use; the Earls of *Marshal* and *Huntington*, Sir *John Green-Cornwal*, Sir *Philip Leech*, and divers others to subdue the Country of *Maine*, where the *Dauphin* had a Garrison at *Mens*, and a strong Force in the adjoyning Territories: With these the *English* were encountred briskly, but after a sharp Battel became Conquerours, with the Slaughter of 5000 *French* Men, and taking 200 Prisoners, among whom was the Marshal *de Rous*, and dives other Persons of Eminency. The greatest part also of the Country came into their Power.

King *Henry* provides against the *French* Union.

A. D. 1420.

Maine subdued by the *English*.

These Successes following upon the former soon brought the Queen and Young Duke of *Bur-*

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Queen of *France* and Duke of *Burgundy* reſolve to make a Peace with K. *Henry*.

Burgundy to a Reſolution in their Deſign, which was to revenge themſelves upon the *Dauphin* for the Murther of the old Duke of *Burgundy* his Father. Fortune had made *Henry* ſo much her unchangeable Favourite, that they judg'd it in vain to oppoſe the Current of his Victories. It ſeem'd to them to be an immutable Decree of the Fates, that *France* muſt be ſubject to him; and therefore they thought it much better to ſubmit upon the beſt Terms they could make, than ſpin out a little Time and come under the Conquerour's Will; for by this means the King might perhaps hold his Crown for Life (which was as much as he need deſire, the *Dauphin* being ſo undutiful and unworthy to Inherit) and the Blood of Thouſands of People be ſav'd which otherwiſe muſt neceſſarily periſh in the Quarrel. Wherefore it was fully reſolv'd and agreed upon by the Queen, Duke, and all their Party, who were then at *Troyes* in *Champaign*, that Ambaſſadours ſhould be ſent to the King of *England* to treat about a Peace for the good of both Sides, and Preſervation of the Kingdom, which was accordingly done preſently: But King *Henry* being often before deluded with the *French* Men's pretended Offers of Peace, would give no heed to their Propoſals, as being intended only to ſtop the Current of his Arms, which he would by no means ſuffer to be interrupted, and therefore ſent them away without an Anſwer according to their Deſires, and went on in his Conqueſts, which ſcarce a Day paſſed but he ſomething enlarg'd, and he never accepted but with a very thankful Heart to God the Giver of them. The Return of the *French* Ambaſſadours was very unacceptable at *Troyes*; but underſtanding that the former deluſive Tender made by the *Dauphin* and the Old Duke of *Burgundy* were the Cauſe of the King's Diſtruſt, and not any Averſeneſs in himſelf either from his Vain-glory or Succeſs, they diſpatch'd the ſame Embaſſadours back again to aſſure King *Henry* of the Queen and Duke of *Burgundy*'s real Intentions, and their Willingneſs to come to a Peace as Honourable and Advantageous to him, as they deſir'd it ſhould be Safe to them. King *Henry*, hearing this, was not willing to be thought Implacable and Cruel; and tho' he came over into *France* to gain his Inheritance by Conqueſt, yet 'twould be much better to obtain it peaceably if it were poſſible, eſpecially ſince the Continuance of the Quarrel would cauſe the Effuſion of ſo much Chriſtian Blood on both Sides, began to liſten to their Propoſals, and ſending the Earl of *Warwick* and Biſhop of *Rocheſter* to the Duke of *Burgundy* to be better aſcertain'd in Matters, after Two or Three times paſſing backward and forward, and much Interceſſion made by the Biſhop of *Arras*, and other Perſons of Quality, they at length came to an Agreement on certain Articles upon Condition, That the *French* King and his Parliament or Aſſembly of Eſtates would aſſent to them, which could not be much doubted of ſince all Things at Court were managed by the Queen, the Duke of *Burgundy* and his Friends: However for Form ſake King *Henry* ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to the Duke of *Burgundy*, ſufficiently Authorized to treat and conclude of all Matters then under Debate, who was to conduct 'em to *Troyes* in *Champaigne*, where the *French* King then was, to procure his Confirmation of them. The Perſons employ'd in this great Affair were the Duke of *Exeter*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, Lord *Fanhope*, the Lord *Fitz hugh*, Sir *John Robſert*, and Sir *Philip Hall*, who arriv'd at *Troyes*, *March* 11. in the Company of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and after a few Days entering into Conſultation with the *French* Miniſters, it was agreed and concluded between them, that King *Henry* ſhould come to *Troyes* and marry the Lady *Katherine*, and after the Celebration of the Marriage a firm Peace, already concluded, and finiſh'd upon certain Articles, ſhould then be ſeal'd and fully ratified by both Kings, and all the Nobles of the Realm of *France*, and other Eſtates, as well Spiritual as Temporal, and alſo the Cities and Commonalties, Citizens and Burgeſſes that were at that Time ſubject to the *French*, the King ſhould take their Corporal Oath for the due and true Obſervation of them.

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Reg. 8.

King *Henry* goes to *Troyes* to marry the Lady *Katherine*.

The Model of the Treaty being thus drawn up in the full Senſe and Purport of it, tho' not reduced to Form, the Embaſſadours for the King of *England* return'd again to their Maſter, leaving only Sir *John Robſert* behind to attend on the Princeſs *Katherine*, and gave him a full Account of what had paſſed, and how far they had gone in the Peace; with which King *Henry*, who was then at *Roan*, was ſo well contented, that he immediately gave Order for a ſpeedy Preparation for his going to *Troyes*; and all Things being ready, he began his Journey, *May* 8. He was accompany'd with his Brothers the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Glouceſter*, the Earls of *Warwick*, *Saliſbury*, *Huntington*, *Ew*, *Tankervil* and *Longevil*, with (*r*) 15000 Men of War. He went from *Roan* to *Pontboiſe*, and by St. *Dennis* to *Charenton*, where he paſſed the Bridge over the *Seine*, but left a ſtrong Detachment under the Command of Sir *William Gaſcoigne* to keep the Paſſage. Then entring *Brie* in *Champaigne* he beſieg'd and took the Town of *Criſpy* which was kept againſt him by the *Dauphin*'s Party, hanging the Chief Governour, and carrying ſome others of the Principal Men Priſoners with him. From hence he paſſed by *Provins* and *Nogent* to *Troyes*. He was met by the Duke of *Burgundy*, and a great Number of the Nobility Two Leagues from the Town, and by them conducted to his Lodgings prepar'd for his Reception. He arriv'd, *May* 18. and after Two or Three Days reſt to refreſh himſelf, he went to viſit the *French* King and Queen and Princeſs *Katherine*, and within few Days being affianced to the Princeſs *Katherine* in St. *Peter*'s Church, the Agreement before concluded by his Embaſſadours was alter'd in many Particulars, and then ſign'd and fully ratified, both Kings ſwearing upon the Holy Evangeliſts inviolably to obſerve and keep all the Conditions and Covenants therein Specified and Concluded. After this the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Nobles preſent took an Oath to King *Henry*, who by the Articles ſign'd was to have the Regency of *France* during the King's Life, and after him to enjoy the Soveraign Power of that Kingdom abſolutely for himſelf and Heirs, in this Form.

Peace concluded between King *Henry* and the *French* King.

Duke of *Burgundy* and Peers of *France* ſwear Allegiance to *Henry*.

Ego Philippus Burgundiæ Dux, &c. which is thus render'd into *Engliſh*: *I* Philip, *Duke of* Burgundy *do ſwear upon the Holy Evangeliſts, for my ſelf and my Heirs, to* Henry, *King of* England, *and Regent of* France (*s*) *under King* Charles, *that We will humbly and faithfully obey King* Henry *in all Things which concern the Crown and Civil Government of* France, *and after the Death of King* Charles *our preſent Soveraign will be faithful and obedient Subjects to the ſaid King* Henry *and his Succeſſors for ever; nor will we receive or quietly ſubmit to any other King of* France *but King* Henry *and*

(*r*) Others ſay 1600. Godw. *pag.* 264.
(*s*) His Title was Regent and Heir of *France*. Ibid. 269.

his

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his lawful Heirs; Neither will we be aiding, or enter into Council with, or conſent to any Perſons or Things, whereby the ſaid King Henry *or his Succeſſors may have Damage in Life or Member; but if any ſuch Deſign come to our Knowledge, we will endeavour either by Letters or Meſſengers to diſcover the ſame to them, that they may moſt effectually provide againſt it.* The ſame Oath did all the Biſhops and Peers of *France* then preſent take to King *Henry*, and then upon the Third (*t*) of *June*, being the *Monday* after *Trinity Sunday*, the Marriage between King *Henry* and the Princeſs *Katherine* was ſolemniz'd and compleated, and King *Henry* thereupon declar'd and proclaim'd Regent and Heir to the Crown of *France*. After theſe Things King *Henry* entertain'd the King, Queen, and all the Peers of *France* which had ſworn Allegiance to him, and attended his Nuptials, at a Magnificent Banquet, and at the Table declar'd, *That as it had been the main Subject of his Labours and Endeavours to unite the Kingdom of* France *and* England *under One Government, which now by God's Providence he had effected, ſo it ſhould be his daily Care to rule them both with that Juſtice, and in that Order as may make them the Happieſt Monarchy upon Earth: And tho' I am an* Engliſh *Man born, yet much* French *Blood runs in my Veins, which with that freſh Alliance that I have to you by Marriage ſo inclines my Affections to you, that you may aſſure your ſelves of an equal Share of my Favours and Love as my natural Subjects of* England; *and ſo long as you defend my Right by your Aid and Aſſiſtance, you ſhall never fail of that Love and Defence which may be expected from your King, who like a Father of your Country will cheriſh and protect you as his Children.* When the Banquet was ended the Kings and Queens tarry'd a few Days at *Troyes*, and then took their Journey to *Paris*, where they were receiv'd with outward Demonſtrations of Joy and Welcome, and the *Engliſh* were entertain'd with Feaſtings by the *Pariſians*.

King *Henry* Feaſts the *French* King and Peers, and promiſes his Care and Favour to them, as to his Subjects of *England*.

Peace being thus ſettled in both the Kingdoms of *France* and *England* to the general Satisfaction of the Subjects of both, it was thought neceſſary by King *Henry* that Copies of the Treaty thus made ſhould be fairly Written, and being ſent into every City and Market-Town in both Kingdoms be proclaim'd and openly publiſh'd to all Perſons; which Articles, becauſe they ſhew not only how honourable a Concluſion King *Henry* made of the War, and how very careful he was to ſatisfie his People in important Matters of State, but alſo the Right and Title which the Kings of *England* then had and ſtill have to the Crown of *France*, it is convenient to ſet them down all particularly in the Form that King *Henry* ſent them into *England*, and in which they were Publiſh'd in *London*, *June* 23. 1420.

The Articles of Peace between King *Henry* and the *French* King at large.

Henry *by the Grace of God King of* England, *Heir and Regent of* France, *and Lord of* Ireland, *to all Chriſtian People, and all Our Loving Subjects.*

WE being deſirous to have it kept in perpetual Remembrance, do hereby Notifie, Publiſh and Declare, That altho' there have been many Treaties of Peace between the Moſt Excellent Prince *Charles*, the preſent King of *France*, Our Father and Us, without any Good Effect; yet We conſidering the great Harms and Damages that have redounded, not only to the Subjects of both Realms of *France* and *England*, but to the Holy Church by the long Wars and Diviſions between them, have at length made and concluded a Peace with our ſaid Father in Manner and Form following, *viz.*

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I. That ſince by the Marriage of our dearly belov'd Queen *Katherine*, the above-mention'd *Charles*, King of *France*, and his Queen *Iſabel* are made Our Father and Mother, We will honour them as Our Father and Mother above all Kings and Princeſſes of the World.

II. That We will not diſturb or diſſeize, but quietly ſuffer the ſaid King and Queen Our Father and Mother to enjoy and hold the Crown and Royal Dignity of *France*, with all the Rights and Profits, Dignities and Prerogatives belonging to the ſame during their Natural Lives.

III. That the Lady *Katherine* Our Queen ſhould have and enjoy ſuch a Dower in *England* as the Queens of *England* in Times paſt were wont to receive, *viz.* Forty Thouſand Scutes yearly, of which every Two ſhall be in Value an *Engliſh* Noble.

IV. That the Annual Payment of the ſaid Forty Thouſand Scutes ſhall be ſecur'd to our ſaid Queen *Katherine* by the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Realm, that it may be conſtantly and duly paid to her after Our Death, if Our ſaid Queen ſhall over-live Us.

V. That Our ſaid Queen *Katherine* if ſhe ſhall ſurvive Us, ſhall immediately after Our Death, have and receive for her Dower out of the Kingdom of *France* the Sum of Twenty Thouſand Franks yearly, of and from the Lands and Lordſhips that *Blanch*, Wife to *Philip*, the Grand-father of King *Charles* did hold and enjoy.

VI. That during the Life of King *Charles*, King *Henry* ſhall not aſſume the Title of King of *France*, and that the *French* King ſhall in Writings entitle him, *Our Thrice Noble Son* Henry, *King of* England, *and Heir of* France.

VII. That after the Death of King *Charles* Our ſaid Father, the Crown and Realm of *France* with all the Rights and Appurtenances thereof ſhall come, deſcend, and remain to Us and Our Heirs for ever.

VIII. That his Queen *Iſabel* Our Mother, in caſe ſhe ſhall ſurvive him, ſhall keep her Eſtate and Title, and all ſuch Rights and Revenues, as *Blanch* the Wife of *Philip* Our Grand-father enjoy'd and held.

IX. That ſince Our ſaid Father is unable thro' Sickneſs and various Diſtempers of Body to attend to the Government of his ſaid Realm of *France*, the Management and Diſpoſal of all publick Matters and Affairs in the ſaid Realm ſhall be inveſted in Us, with the Advice and Council of ſuch of the Peers of *France* as we ſhall think meet to conſult with, to whom it ſhall be Lawful for Us to join ſome of the *Engliſh* Nobility, if thought convenient.

X. That the ſaid King *Henry* as Regent of *France*, will labour and endeavour diligently and faithfully to manage the Government of the Realm of *France* in ſuch manner, as ſhall make moſt for the Honour of God, the Eſtabliſhment of Divine Worſhip, the Proſperity of Our ſaid Father and Mother, and common good of the People.

XI. That we will by Our Power cauſe that the Court of Parliament in *France*, ſhall retain and keep their accuſtom'd Soveraignty and Authority, in all Places ſubject to Our ſaid Father *Charles* now King of *France*.

XII. That we according to Our Power will Protect and Defend, all and every of the Peers,

(*t*) The 30th of *May*. Ibid. 270.

Nobles,

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Nobles, Cities, Towns, Bodies Corporate, and Single Perſons, now, or in Time to come ſubject to the King of *France* in all their Rights, Cuſtoms, Priviledges, Freedoms and Franchiſes belonging and due to them in all manner of Places ſubject to Our Father the King of *France*.

XIII. That we will diligently and carefully provide that Juſtice be adminiſtred, and equally diſtributed to all Perſons impartially in the ſaid Realm of *France*, according to the Rights, Laws and Cuſtoms of the ſaid Realm, and that We will preſerve Our ſaid Subjects in Tranquility and Peace, and defend them to the utmoſt of Our Power from the Violence and Oppreſſion of all their Enemies.

XIV. That We will according to the beſt of Our Skill and Judgment prefer no other Perſons to the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, or Offices of Truſt in the Government, but ſuch as are able and skilful in the Laws of the Realm, and of undoubted Integrity, that all Perſons may receive impartial Juſtice from them.

XV. That We will with all Our Might endeavour, as ſoon as conveniently may be, to reduce to the Obedience of Our ſaid Father, all Cities, Towns, Caſtles, Places, Countries and Perſons within the Realm of *France*, as are now Diſobedient and Rebels to Our ſaid Father, ſiding with the *Dauphin* and Earl of *Armiack*.

XVI. That for the more effectual Accompliſhment of this Our Deſign, it is Accorded and Agreed, That all the Nobles and other Eſtates of the Realm of *France*, as well Temporal as Spiritual, which are at this Day Obedient to Our ſaid Father, ſhall take this Oath following to Us.

1. That they ſhall all, and every One of them, in their ſeveral Places and Degrees, be Subject and Obedient to Us, having the Rule and Government of the Realm in all Our lawful Commands, and Impoſitions for the Common Profit.

2. That all the Peers and Nobles of the Realm of *France*, as well Spiritual as Temporal, as alſo the Citizens, Burgeſſes and Commons, ſhall and will keep and obſerve whatſoever concerneth them in their Degrees, in the Treaty made between Our Father and Us.

3. That, from and after the Death of Our ſaid Father King *Charles*, they will receive Us or Our Heirs, as their Sovereign and the very King of *France*, and that they will not be in Council with, nor conſent to, or help any that ſhall conſpire againſt Us, our Throne or Dignity, but if they know of any ſuch Perſons ſhall oppoſe it according to their Powers, and diſcover it as ſoon as they can to Us, that we may prevent it.

4. That all manner of Conqueſts that ſhall be made upon the ſaid Rebels and diſobedient Perſons (except it be in the Dutchy of *Normandy*) ſhall be for the Profit of Our ſaid Father *Charles*, but that all manner of Lands and Lordſhips of Perſons who have ſworn, or ſhall ſwear to obey Our ſaid Father and Us, and keep the Articles of this preſent League, ſhall be reſtor'd to the ſaid Perſons again in all our Conqueſts.

XVII. That all Eccleſiaſtical Perſons who are Benefic'd in the Dutchy of *Normandy*, or in any other Places ſubject to our Father the King of *France*, who ſhall favour the Party of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and ſwear to keep this preſent Treaty, ſhall peaceably enjoy their Benefices and Preferments in Holy Church, as well in *Normandy* as elſewhere.

XVIII. That all manner of Churches, Univerſities, Studies General, and all Colleges of Studies, and other Colleges of Holy Church, being in Places ſubject to our Father, or in the Dutchy of *Normandy*, ſhall enjoy their Rights and Poſſeſſions, Rents, Prerogatives, Liberties and Franchiſes belonging or due to them in any wiſe in the ſaid Realm of *France*, ſaving the Rights of the Crown.

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XIX. That when it ſhall pleaſe God that We come to the Crown of *France*, then the Dutchy of *Normandy* and all other Places conquer'd by Us ſhall be annex'd to the Monarchy of *France*, and pay their Obedience and Submiſſion to the Kings thereof.

XX. That Recompence ſhall be made by our ſaid Father, or by Us, when We ſhall by God's Grace arrive at the Crown of *France*, if it be not made in our ſaid Father's Life-time to all ſuch Perſons as obey him, and favour the Party of the Duke of *Burgundy*, for the Lands, Lordſhips, Rents and Poſſeſſions taken from them by Conqueſt, either in the Dutchy of *Normandy* or elſewhere, and if the ſaid Lands, Lordſhips, Rents or Poſſeſſions belonging to ſuch Perſons in the ſaid Dutchy and other Places be not reſtor'd by Us, they ſhall have lawful Power to enter upon them without further Delay.

XXI. That during our Father's Life in all Places ſubject to him, all Letters of Common Juſtice, and all Grants of Offices, Gifts, Pardons, Remiſſions and Privileges ſhall be given out, and written in the Name of our Father, and if it be neceſſary in any Caſe to do otherwiſe, and write any Letters or Grants in our own Name, we ſhall take care to add our Father's Name, and our ſelves as Regent of *France*.

XXII. That we will not lay any Taxes or Impoſitions upon the Subjects of our Father without reaſonable and neceſſary Cauſes, and for the Common Good of the Realm of *France* according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the ſaid Realm.

XXIII. That We will cauſe, that by the Aſſent of the Parliament of both Realms it ſhall be ordain'd and enacted, That from the Time that We or our Heirs ſhall obtain the Crown of *France*, both the Crowns of *England* and *France* ſhall be united under one Perſon, that is to ſay, From and after the Deceaſe of our ſaid Father to Us, and from and after our Death, to our Heirs ſucceſſively, and that both Realms ſhall be govern'd not ſeverally under divers Kings, but under the ſame Perſon, which for the Time ſhall be King of both Realms, reſerving nevertheleſs to either of the ſaid Kingdoms their Rights, Uſages, Cuſtoms, Liberties and Laws, and not making either Kingdom ſubject in any wiſe to the Rights or Cuſtoms of the other.

XXIV. That We will from henceforth take effectual Care, that all, and all manner of Diſſentions, Hatred, Rancours, Envy and Wars between the Realms of *England* and *France* and the People of the ſaid Realms ſhall ceaſe, and a perpetual Friendſhip and Concord be eſtabliſh'd between the ſaid Realms.

XXV. That the Two Nations being united in Common Friendſhip, ſhall help and aſſiſt each other againſt all Men that ſhall attempt any Harms or Wrongs againſt them, or any of them with all their Forces, Councils and Aſſiſtance.

XXVI. That both the ſaid Nations ſhall freely Converſe and Traffick together, with all manner of Merchandize, paying the uſual Cuſtoms in the ſaid Nations.

XXVII. That all the Confederates and Allies both of our Father the King of *France* and his Realm, and alſo our Confederates of our Realm of *England* ſhall, within Eight Months after the Publick Declaration of this Peace, declare by

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their Letters, that they desire to come under the Articles of the said Treaty, saving nevertheless their Obedience to either of the said Crowns, and the Rights and Revenues to Us and our Subjects, and our Father and his Subjects, against all his and our Allies and Confederates.

XXVIII. That neither our Father, nor our Brother the Duke of *Burgundy* shall begin or make any Treaty, Peace, or Accord with *Charles*, who calls himself the *Dauphin* of *Vienne*, but by the Counsel and Assent of all, and each of Us Three, or of the Three States of either of the said Realms above-nam'd.

XXIX. That We with the Assent of our said Brother the Duke of *Burgundy*, and other the Nobles and Peers of the Kingdom of *France*, who ought to be consulted with in that Case, shall Constitute and Appoint, for the Governance of our said Father, such Persons as shall be most suitable to the State and Degree of our said Father, and will be careful to promote the Worship of God, Honour of our said Father, and Good of the Common-wealth.

XXX. That all manner of Persons, both Nobles and Gentlemen who give any Attendance, or shall hold any Office about our said Father, shall be such as have been born in the Realm of *France*, or Places thereunto belonging, wise, true and able to do him Service, and that our said Father shall reside in the Places subject to him, and no where else.

XXXI. That we for the Things aforesaid, and every One of them will give our Assent by our Letters Patents seal'd with our Seal unto our said Father with the Approbation and Confirmation of Us, and all other of our Blood-Royal, and of all the Cities and Towns obedient to Us; and our said Father shall do the like to Us for himself, Peers, and all other his Subjects under his Obedience.

Given at Troyes (*u*) *the* 30*th Day of* May, 1420.

Sign'd, Seal'd, Concluded and Agreed between the said Two Kings in the Presence of Queen *Isabel*, the Duke of *Burgundy*, the *French* King's Council, the Prince of *Orange*, Seignior *Chastalleux*, Marshal of *France*, with many others of the Chief Nobility both of *England* and *France*, both the Kings with the Queen taking a Solemn Oath upon the Holy Evangelists for the Observation of them, and the Duke of *Burgundy* and the other Nobility, swearing Homage to K. *Henry*, as the Regent of *France* (in the Form above-mention'd.)

The Peace receiv'd in *England* with Joy.

The News of this Peace in *England* was entertain'd with an universal Joy, and a solemn Procession was Celebrated at *London*, at which a Sermon was Preach'd at St. *Paul*'s Cross, in which the Preacher shew'd the Advantageous Effects of the King's Marriage, and the Peace which has ensu'd upon it. That the King had obtain'd the Kingdom of *France* with equal Honour, as if he had won it all by the Sword, but with less Expence of Blood and Treasure to the *English*: That tho' indeed he was at present but Regent of *France* under his Father-in-law King *Charles*, yet he was to bear the Arms of *France* with the *English*, and exercised the Authority of a King tho' he had only the Name, and was declar'd Heir apparent of the Crown, which was as much as K. *Henry*, who is a Pious Prince, could reasonably desire, having marry'd the Daughter of the *French* King, whom to Depose wholly would have been as Dishonourable to himself as Barbarous to his Father, and therefore could not decently be done.

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A League between K. *Henry* and the Duke of *Burgundy*.

Besides the League made between K. *Henry* and the *French* King, and whole Body of the Realm of *France*, there was also a Private League made between King *Henry* and the Duke of *Burgundy* to this Effect, and under these Articles.

I. That the Duke of *Burgundy* should to the utmost of his Power procure, that the Peace lately concluded between King *Henry* and King *Charles* should be observ'd and kept in all its Covenants and Articles. In consideration of which one of King *Henry*'s Brothers should marry one of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Sisters.

II. That King *Henry* should ever shew particular Favour to the said Duke of *Burgundy* as his most dear Brother, and support him in all his Rights.

III. That the said Duke of *Burgundy* after the Decease of King *Charles* should take an Oath of Fidelity to be true to King *Henry* and his Heirs, according to the Form of the League before-mention'd, and should in all Things be a Friend to King *Henry* and his Heirs for ever.

IV. That King *Henry* should do his utmost endeavours that due Punishment be inflicted upon the Murtherers of *John* late Duke of *Burgundy*, as well upon *Charles*, who calls himself the *Dauphin*, as upon all others that shall be found Guilty of the said Murther.

V. That if the *Dauphin* should chance to be taken either in Battel or in any Town besieg'd, or if any other chanc'd to be taken that should be found Guilty of or Privy to the Murther of the said Duke *John*, he shall not be releas'd without a just Punishment for so foul a Fact, nor without the Consent of the Two Kings of *France* and *England*, *Charles* and *Henry*, and of the Three Estates of both Realms.

VI. That in consideration of the Fidelity and Diligence of the said Duke of *Burgundy* in settling the Peace and furthering the Marriage of King *Henry*, the said King *Henry* should labour with King *Charles* and Queen *Isabel*, that the said Duke may have an Annual Fee of Twenty Thousand Pound *Parisien* settled upon him by Patent from King *Charles*, and assign'd to him out of such Lands as border'd upon his Country, to be by him, his Lady and his Heirs-males enjoy'd for ever; and if he could not bring it to pass before King *Henry* should obtain the Crown of *France* himself, then he should cause the same to be perform'd at the receiving of his Homage.

Thus did the Duke of *Burgundy* revenge his Father's Death upon the *Dauphin*, and by his Serviceableness so advanced his own Interests with the King of *England*, that he was in Gratitude oblig'd to reward bountifully the Assistance he had lent him.

The *Dauphin* displeas'd at the Peace with K. *Henry*.

The Progress of the King of *England*'s Settlement by the Treaty was not unknown to the *Dauphin* and his Followers, who tho' they could not but be displeased at these Proceedings, yet neither fear'd nor fainted, hoping for the Reverse of Fortune when all this Clue should be unravell'd and this curious Train defeated, but they were not insensible that they were in great Danger from King *Henry*'s Power, which was very terrible before, and was now grown almost Irresistible. Wherefore they call'd a General Consultation to consider, what was best to be done for their own Security in this difficult Juncture. They dispair'd to do any good by Oppo-

(*u*) The 21st of *May*. Ibid. 268.

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ſition when they were ſo much over-match'd in Power and could only provide for their own Safety, till Fortune ſhould give a more favourable Opportunity of advancing their Cauſe. All therefore that could be reſolv'd on was this, That the *Dauphin*'s Life, upon which all their Hopes depended, ſhould be in no caſe hazzarded, and that ſuch Towns and Strong-holds as contin'd firm on their Side, and were moſt able to ſecure themſelves and annoy their Enemies, ſhould be better fortified, and ſo they would wait Fortune's Leiſure, and ſtand only upon their Defence. The *Burgundian* Faction, who were moſt in Favour with King *Henry*, were equally Zealous to apprehend the *Dauphin* who had kill'd the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Father, and therefore the *Dauphin*'s Friends would not ſuffer him to go out with any Party, nor attempt any thing of Hazzard, but kept him under ſtrong Guards to preſerve him.

K. *Henry* endeavours to ſubdue the *Dauphin* and his Party.

King *Henry* having now arriv'd almoſt at the higheſt pitch of his Deſires, had nothing to darken his Glory or Power in the leaſt, but the *Dauphin* and his Party who were conſiderable for little but their Obſtinacy: For their Number was ſmall and their Strength not able to do much, ſave that they held out, and upon any Change or Diſcontent might eaſily increaſe into a formidable Body: Wherefore as ſoon as the Formalities and Solemnities of his Marriage were over, he ſet himſelf to reduce the *Dauphin* and his Party, and on *June* the 7th he began with the Siege of *Sens*, whither he went himſelf in Perſon with his Queen, Father and Mother, and Dukes of *Clarence* and *Burgundy*. It was a Town of good Strength, but made a very faint Oppoſition; for before the *Engliſh* could make any Aſſaults upon it they ſurrendred upon Condition, That all Perſons ſhould have their Lives ſpared, except the Murtherers of the Duke of *Burgundy*, if any of them ſhould be found in the Town. From hence King *Henry* march'd to *Monterau-faut-Yonne*, and laid Siege againſt it. In this Town which was very ſtrong and very firm to the *Dauphin*, was *John*, late Duke of *Burgundy* ſlain, and lay buried, which was the Reaſon that the Duke of *Burgundy* ſat down with the firmer Reſolution to take it, becauſe he would interr his Father's Body more Decently. The Town was not daunted with the Approach of King *Henry*, but reſolv'd upon a vigorous Oppoſition, yet held out but a few Days, becauſe the *Engliſh* having receiv'd a freſh Recruit of Soldiers out of *England* under the Command of the Duke of *Bedford*, follow'd them with continual Aſſaults, ſo that the Place was taken by Force, *June* 23. but the Caſtle being well Victual'd and Mann'd would not ſurrender, and therefore the Siege was remov'd thither. While the Caſtle held out, the Duke of *Burgundy* was inform'd where his Father was buried, and thereupon commanded his Corps to be taken up, and being Embalm'd was carried to *Dijon* in his Dutchy of *Burgundy*, and there magnificently Entomb'd among his Anceſtors. The Caſtle ſtill ſtood out, and King *Henry* being willing to preſerve it, ſent Twenty Gentlemen whom he had taken in the Town, and who had render'd themſelves Obnoxious to his Diſpleaſure by abuſing the King's Herald when he was ſent to require them to yield, to perſwade the Captain, whoſe Name was *Guily*, a valiant *French* Man, and true Friend of the *Dauphin*'s to ſurrender, being threatned, that if they did not prevail they ſhould be all hang'd. Theſe Gentlemen were *Guily*'s Friends, and true Men to their Country; but being in danger of Life, and ſeeing his Oppoſition to ſo great Forces fruitleſs, begg'd of him on their Knees, that he would ſurrender the Caſtle and ſave their Lives and his own, which otherwiſe would be loſt. *Guily* was deaf to their Deſires; whereupon the Petitioners were all hang'd in his Sight, yet he ſav'd his own Life, tho' he held out the Caſtle long, by a Capitulation, that all ſhould have their Lives, but ſuch as were guilty of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Murther, upon the Delivery up of the Caſtle to him. *Monterau* being thus gain'd King *Henry* ſtopp'd not here, but following the Courſe of his Victory remov'd his Siege to *Melun*, a ſtrong Town in the Iſle of *France* which held with the *Dauphin*, and ſat down before it, *July* the 13th. The Garriſon which was 700 had well fortified themſelves, and had very brave Commanders, *viz.* Seignior *Barbaſon*, a *Gaſcoigne* of approv'd Valour and Conduct, *Pierre de Bourbon*, a Prince of the Blood, Monſieur *Preaux* and *Bourgeois*. At the firſt Approaches of the King's Army *Barbaſon* call'd all his Soldiers to him with the Townſ-men, who were equally concern'd to maintain the Siege, and having encourag'd them to behave themſelves Valiantly againſt their Enemies, warn'd them all on pain of Death not to make any Motion, much leſs treat about ſurrendring the Town, or coming to any Compoſition or Agreement, until they had firſt acquainted him their Captain with it, and ſo ſet himſelf to the Defence of it. The King of *England* on the other ſide having a very ſtrong Army commanded by his Brothers the Dukes of *Clarence*, *Bedford* and *Glouceſter*, *Burgundy* and *Barr*, and being accompany'd with the Young King of *Scots*, Prince of *Orange*, his Father-in-law the *French* King, and many other great Perſons, was as diligent in plying the Siege, which as it was likely to prove Difficult, ſo would produce a more noble Victory. The *French* Queen and her Daughter the Queen of *England*, with the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* lay during the Siege at *Corbeil*, and made divers Viſits to their Husbands and Friends who lay about the City, whom the King of *England* nobly Entertain'd in his Camp. To this Siege for the King's Aſſiſtance came the Duke of *Bavaria*, who had married Queen *Katherine*'s Siſter, with 700 Men well accoutred, who being retain'd in the King's Service behav'd themſelves very well. King *Henry* being thus provided with an Army, ſought out all means by Mines, frequent Batteries, and Aſſaults to win the Town, but was ſo valiantly Oppoſed and Countermin'd, that he ſaw ſmall Hopes of getting it otherwiſe than by ſtarving them. While he lay before the Town, it chanc'd that two of the *Engliſh* Lords began a Contention about entring a new Mine, which to decide, the King himſelf went in firſt, and meeting there with the Lord *Barbaſon* fought with him over the Barriers made in the Mine by the *French* for that Purpoſe. The King and Lord engag'd each other with equal Courage, and having got little Advantage on either part diſcover'd themſelves, and ſo parted with Admiration of each others Valour. After this the King begirt the Town in on all ſides to prevent Relief, and laid a Bridge over the *Seine* to ſtop any Paſſage into it that way, and to uphold an Intercourſe between the Armies on each. The Beſieged made many brave Sallies, but were as bravely Repulſed though with Loſs on both ſides. The King of *France* himſelf came into the Camp of King *Henry*, and commanded them upon their Allegiance, which they ow'd him as their Natural Lord, to reſign the Town to his Son the King of *England*; but they anſwer'd, *That if he*

Sens ſurrendred.

The Town and Caſtle of *Montereau* taken.

The Duke of *Burgundy*'s Body taken up and carried to *Dijon*.

Melun beſieg'd.

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were at Liberty, and free from King Henry's *Power, who was their Enemy, they would do him the Duty of Subjects, and obey him in all Things, as their Sovereign, but being as he was, they desir'd to be excused, for they would never yield to the Mortal Enemy of* France. But though no Humane Force nor Perswasions could prevail with stout *Barbason*'s Heart to submit to his Enemy; yet the Inflictions of Heaven, Pestilence and Famine turn'd his Resolutions, and he came to a Capitulation upon these Conditions.

Melun surrender'd upon Conditions.

I. That the Town and Castle of *Melun* being deliver'd up to the King of *England*, both the Soldiers and Burgesses should submit themselves to his Pleasure, to be dealt with as he should think fit.

II. That all such Persons as should be found Guilty of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Murther, should suffer Death.

III. That all the rest of the Soldiers should be receiv'd to Mercy, but should remain Prisoners until they should put in sufficient Securities for their faithful Obedience for the future.

IV. That the Natives of *France* should be dismissed to their own Homes.

V. That all the Moveables and Arms in the Town should be carry'd into the Castle.

VI. That all the Prisoners that had been taken during the Siege, or before, should be set at Liberty without a Ransom, and acquitted of all Promises.

VII. That Twelve Captains and Six Burgesses should be Hostages for the Performance of these Articles.

VIII. That all the *English* and *Scots* should be deliver'd up to K. *Henry*, and left to his Mercy.

Thus was *Melun* resign'd up to King *Henry* about the midst of *November*, and most of the Besieged sent under the Conduct of the Duke of *Clarence* to *Paris*, of which the *French* King had made him Captain, and gave him Possession of the *Louvre*, *Bastile* of St. *Anthony*, *Hotel* of *Nesle*, and *Bois de Vincennes*, where he placed *English* Garrisons. Among the Prisoners which were 600 and more, was Monsieur *Barbason*, *Pierre de Bourbon*, and Seignior *de Preaux*. King *Henry* put an *English* Garrison into *Melun*, and left it under the Command of *Pierre de Verrolt*, a valiant *French* Man, going himself by *Corbeil* where his Queen and Mother lay during the Siege, whom he took along with him to *Paris*, where they were receiv'd with Processions, and all other Magnificent Solemnities, and convey'd to their Palaces, King *Henry* and his Queen to the *Louvre*, and King *Charles* and his Queen to the *Hotel de S. Paul*, an homely mean One in comparison of the former.

The D. of *Burgundy*'s Murtherers punished with Death.

The first Thing done after their Arrival at *Paris* was to put the Murtherers of the Duke of *Burgundy* to Death, of which several of the Captives were found Guilty, and were accordingly Punish'd, and among them Two Monks, *Bertrand de Chermont*, a *Gascoigne*, much in favour with King *Henry*, was also punish'd with them with Death, because he had at the King's Entrance into *Melun* convey'd away one *Amenion de Lau*, who was prov'd guilty of the same Crime. The Duke of *Burgundy* himself, and the Duke of *Clarence* had much interceded with the King to save his Life, but could not prevail; for though the King protested he had rather have lost 50000 of his Nobles, yet he resolved that he should suffer Death to be an Example of Terror to all those, who out of Presumption of their Prince's Favour would venture to do Things Offensive to him, and Prejudicial to the Publick: And accordingly he was Executed with them.

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A Parliament met at *Paris*.

While the Two Kings, *Charles* and *Henry* King of *England* remain'd at *Paris*, a great Assembly of the Clergy and Nobles met in the great Hall of the *Hotel* of St. *Paul*, where a Magnificent Seat of Justice under one *Cloth* of *State* was erected for both the Kings, as Supreme Judges of all Matters which might be examin'd in this Assembly. The main Design of this Parliament being to ratifie the late Alteration made by the Marriage and Peace with King *Henry*, very few or no Laws were made, but only every Member of the Assembly was sworn severally to keep, support, maintain and defend the Treaty and Final Agreement which was lately made and concluded between the Kings of *France* and *England*, and every Noble Man, Spiritual Governour and Temporal Ruler set their Seals to certain Instruments containing the Sum of this Engagement and Oath, which Instruments were sent to the King's Treasury of the Exchequer at *Westminster* to be safely kept, and there they still remain. The *French* King also himself, being then in perfect Health of Body, and Soundness of Mind, publickly own'd and declar'd, *That the said Treaty and Agreement was made with his full and free Assent, and with Advice and Consent of all his Council of* France, *and that he for his Part would observe it, as his Heirs and Successors were obliged to do, in all its Articles and Parts; and that he did strictly require, That all his Subjects of what Degree soever, should observe it, and do nothing prejudicial to it.*

An Appeal to this Parliament about the D. of *Burgundy*'s Murther.

To this Parliament did the Dutchess of *Burgundy*, and her Son the Duke of *Burgundy* send their Advocates, *Nicholas Rollin*, and a Doctor of Divinity to accuse the *Dauphin*, *Charles*, Viscount *Narbonne*, Seignior *Tanneguy*, and *Barbason*, and Four others, of the Murther of *John*, Duke of *Burgundy*, and desire impartial Justice against them, which they did in a long Invective; adding by way of Petition, That a Church might be Founded, and Furnish'd with Sacred Ornaments, and a sufficient Revenue to maintain Twelve Canons, Six Chaplains, and Six Clerks, to pray for his Soul for ever, every Canon to have Two Hundred Pound *per Annum*, *Paris* Money, every Chaplain a Hundred Pound, and every Clerk Fifty Pound, to be levy'd upon the Lands of the *Dauphin*, and his Associates in the Murther of the said Duke: To this Petition the Chancellor of *France* in the Behalf of K. *Charles* promised, that no endeavour should be wanting on his Part, and that all Justice should be done for them, and thereupon caus'd his Son to be solemnly call'd to the Marble Table to answer the Accusations brought against him by the Name of *Charles*, Duke of *Toureme*, and *Dauphin de Vienne*, which being done Three times, and he not appearing, he was by Arrest of the same Court of Parliament banish'd the Realm, and judg'd unworthy to succeed in any of the Seigniories, as well present as to come, that belong to the Crown of *France*. But the *Dauphin* valu'd not this Sentence of his Enemies, from whom he could expect no milder, and had been sure of a more severe, if he had been in their Power; he stood upon his own Defence, trusting to God's Providence and his Sword, which he doubted not would settle him again in his Right.

Seignior *Barbason* accused of the D. of *Burgundy*'s Murther, but acquited.

But Valiant *Barbason* stood more Obnoxious to their Sentence, though less guilty, being vehemently accused for the same Murther by the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Mother and Sisters, and many Circumstances produced against him tending to make him Guilty, but he so bravely defended himself against the Charge, though he freely acknowledg'd himself to be a true Servant of the *Dauphin*'s, that he was in no wise thought Guilty

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ty of it; yet whether he eſcap'd Judgment is uncertain, for tho' ſome ſay he was acquitted, others ſay, that King *Henry* in favour to the Duke of *Burgundy* pronounc'd him Guilty and gave Sentence on him, that he ſhould ſuffer Death, which though he avoided by alledging a Military-Law, That any Man having his Brother in Arms within his Power, ſhould not put him afterwards to Death for any Cauſe or Quarrel, proving himſelf to be the King's Brother in Arms, becauſe he had Encounter'd with him Hand to Hand in the Mine above-mention'd, by which Law the King's Sentence was annull'd, yet he was kept Priſoner at *Paris* ſtill, and after remov'd to other Places, not being able to recover his Liberty, till *Caſtle-Galliard* was taken by the *Dauphin* Nine Years after this.

K. *Henry* ruling in *Paris* as King.

King *Henry* being thus Eſtabliſh'd in the Government of *France* as well as *England*, paſſed his *Chriſtmas* in great Majeſty in *Paris*, ordering all Affairs of State as he pleaſed, and being look'd upon by all Foreign Embaſſadors, as well as the Native *French*, as their King; *Charles*, the *French* King having indeed the Name, and keeping a Court, but very Private, and as a Prince whoſe Power was out of Date. All the Grandure of *France* was ſeen only in King *Henry*'s Palace, where were many Military Shews and Paſtimes daily, and all the State and Magnificence of a Court. All Commiſſions were given out in his Name, and he placed and diſplaced Officers as he pleaſed. He alſo made a New Coin, which he call'd a *Salute*, wherein the Arms of *France* and *England* were quarter'd. *Chriſtmas* being over, the King reſolv'd to leave *France* a while and go into *England* to have his Queen Crown'd; wherefore leaving *Paris* under the Command of his Uncle the Duke of *Exeter*, with a Guard of 500 Men, he went to *Roan* and continu'd there ſome Time. Hither all the Nobles of *Normandy* came to him to pay their Homage, and the Earl of *Stafford* did his Homage for his Earldom of *Perch*, and *Arthur* Duke of *Brittain* for the County of *Yury*. Here he ordain'd his Brother the Duke of *Clarence* to be his Lieutenant in his Abſence over all *France*, and his Deputy in *Normandy*, the Earl of *Salisbury*; leaving *Roan* he came by *Amiens* to *Callis*, and taking Ship came to *Dover* about *Candlemas*, and ſo paſſed to *London*, where he was receiv'd by the Citizens with as great Joy, as if he had been an Angel from Heaven, or a Victorious *Alexander*, who had ſubjected the World to him.

Henry goes into *England* to have his Queen Crown'd.

A. D. 1421.

King *Henry* being thus ſafely arriv'd in *England*, he according to his uſual Piety would not enter upon any Material Buſineſs till he had given his Subjects an Example of ſignal Devotion in returning God publick Thanks for the Succeſs which he had given him in *France*, and therefore by his Proclamation appointed, that Proceſſions and Solemn Thankſgivings ſhould be kept by all his Subjects in all Cities, Towns and Villages through the whole Nation, which was accordingly perform'd with much Devotion. This Act of Piety being ended the King appointed, that all Things ſhould be provided with convenient Speed for the Coronation of his Queen upon St. *Matthias*'s Day approaching, *February* the 24th, on which ſhe was Crown'd with great Magnificence by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, *John* (x) *Stafford*. Beſides the conſtant Ceremonies uſed upon ſuch Occaſions, which were all perform'd with great Exactneſs; there was more than ordinary Coſt and Magnificence beſtow'd in the Coronation-Dinner; for though it was in *Lent*, and ſo it conſiſted of Fiſh and Sweet-Meats chiefly; yet there was ſuch vaſt Varieties of both, and ſuch rare Devices in every Courſe, as were never ſeen upon the like Occaſion. The Earl of *March* kneeling on the Right-hand of the Queen with the Scepter in his Hand, and the Earl-Marſhal on the Left-hand, the Duke of *Glouceſter* waiting bare-headed and over-ſeeing the Management of the whole Feaſt, made it one of the moſt ſplendid Banquets that was ever known in *England*. As ſoon as the Coronation was ended, the Queen return'd to her Palace at *Weſtminſter*, where ſhe remain'd till *Palm-Sunday*, when ſhe remov'd to *Windſor* to meet the King, and keep her *Eaſter* there with him.

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K. *Henry* gives publick Thankſgiving for his Victories in *France*, and Q. *Katherine* is Crowned.

In the Interval between the Coronation and *Eaſter*, the King took a Royal Progreſs through ſeveral Parts of the Nation, to ſee in what State his Affairs were, and rectifie any juſt Matters of Complaint, which his People in his Abſence might have receiv'd from his Officers and Juſtices. In his Journey he omitted no Opportunity of paying his Devotion to the *Shrines* of ſeveral Saints; ſo making it a Pilgrimage, as beneficial to himſelf (as he then imagin'd) as he intended it for his People. Many grievous Complaints with Petitions for Redreſs were preſented to him againſt his Juſtices for the Male-adminiſtration of their Office, which the King received with much Willingneſs and Cheerfulneſs from the meaneſt Perſons; all Abuſes immediately reform'd, not ſparing the greateſt of his Miniſters whom he found Guilty of Miſdemeanours in their Places; telling them, 'That 'ſince they had no reſpect to his Honour, which 'was wounded by their Injuſtice and Partiality, he had no reaſon to ſhew them any Favour, but puniſh them the more ſeverely, becauſe for the ſake of a little Gain or Friendſhip, they had robb'd him of what he moſt valu'd, his People's Love and Affections. Theſe Affairs detain'd him longer in the farther Parts of the Nation, than he intended to to have ſtaid; and therefore not being able to reach *Windſor* to keep his *Eaſter* as he had intended, he ſent for his Queen to *Leiceſter*, and there kept his *Eaſter* with her.

K. *Henry* takes a Progreſs into ſome parts of the Nation.

Reg. 9.

The Duke of *Clarence* invades *Anjou*, and is ſlain.

While theſe Things paſſed in *England*, the Duke of *Clarence* who had the Supreme Government of *France* having ſummon'd all the Garriſons of *Normandy* to meet him at a Town call'd *Buchy*, from thence began an Invaſion in *Anjou*, and ravag'd the Country as far as *Angiers*, burning and plundering the Villages and Towns as he went along; but having an Information, that the Duke of *Alenzon* was come into thoſe Parts with a conſiderable Body of Men of the *Dauphin*'s Party, and that the *Scots* in a Body of about 700 (y) Men were coming to joyn with them under the Command of *Archibald*, Earl of *Dowglas*, and *John*, Earl of *Buchan*, he return'd back to a Town call'd *Beaufort*, intending to give the Duke of *Alenzon* Battel before the *Scots* could come to him. Being on his March he took one *Andrew Forguſa* a *Lombard* and a Spy, who pretending he was fled from the *French* Camp, gave the Duke of *Clarence* an Account, that the *French* were but a ſmall Party and might eaſily be vanquiſh'd by his Forces which were much greater, but this he ſaid to encourage him to engage him raſhly, and ruin himſelf and Army, as he did: For the Duke of *Clarence* being haſty and

(x) *John Stafford* was at this Time Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Henry Chicheley*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*.
(y) Seven Thouſand *Scots*. Ibid. 308.

credu-

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credulous put forward and ſet upon them tho' much more Powerful than his *Engliſh*, and after a ſharp Battel was himſelf ſlain by one *John Swinton* (z) a *Scotch* Man (for the *Scots* had joyn'd them before the Duke of *Clarence* could get up) as alſo the Earl of *Rime*, and the Lords *Grey* and *Reſs* with 1500 *Engliſh*. The Earl of *Huntington*, *Somerſet* and *Perche*, the Lord *Fitz-Walter*, with ſeveral other Perſons of Note, as well as common Soldiers, were taken Priſoners, and the Victory fell to the *French*. But yet it coſt them many Lives, for they loſt 1200 Men. The Earl of *Salisbury*, (a) the Baſtard Son of the Duke of *Clarence* had Intelligence of this Defeat of the *Engliſh*, and made all the haſte he could to recover the Loſs receiv'd, but he came too late to do any Service, only the *French* being fled at his Approach left the Dead at his Diſpoſal, and ſo he ſent the Duke's Body to *Roan* in order to be convey'd into *England*, and buried many of the Slain. The Earl of *Buchan* who was a chief Leader in this Battel was made Conſtable of *France* for this Action by the *Dauphin*, and the Earl of *Alenzan* immediately beſieg'd the Town of the ſame Name. The Earl of *Salisbury* endeavour'd what he could to raiſe the Siege, but loſt 300 Men in the Succeſsleſs Attempt, not being ſtrong enough to relieve it, tho' the *Dauphiniſts* had not the Fortune to obtain it. The King was ſtill in his Progreſs, and had left *Leiceſter* to go to *York*; in the Way to which Place having viſited the *Shrine* of *John* of *Beverley* he heard of the News of his Brother's Death, which he receiv'd with abundance of Sorrow, and reſolv'd to revenge it ſeverely upon the *French*. He ſent the Earl of *Mortaign* into his Place for the Preſent, intending as ſoon as he could ſettle Affairs in *England* and provide Things neceſſary for his Expedition, to go over again into *France* and proſecute his Victory in the Conqueſt of the *Dauphin*.

K. *Henry* very ſorry for his Brother's Death.

Sixth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

About the beginning of *May* a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter* in order to the King's intended Expedition into *France*, and in it the King having given them an Account of his Victories in *France* deſir'd their Aſſiſtance for the further Proſecution of them. The Laity return'd him Anſwer, *That the* Commons *were ſo impoveriſh'd with the long continuance of Taxes, that they were unable to lend him any conſiderable Supplies*, yet they opened their Purſes before the Seſſion was up. The King having in this Parliament paſs'd ſome Statutes of Benefit to the Publick, and particularly an Act commanding, That no Gold ſhould be Current in ordinary Payment but by Weight, according to the Standard in the *Exchequer*; for the Coin being then much abuſed by Waſhers, Clippers, and Counterfeiters of Money, was a great Hindrance to Commerce, and a Damage to the Subject, which was by this Statute in a great meaſure prevented. For this Act and ſome others of like Nature the Houſe granted a Fifteenth of the Laity, and the Clergy being at the ſame time met in Convocation in St. *Paul's*, gave him Two Tenths. The King accepted the Aſſiſtance of his Subjects; but being too little to ſupport ſo great a Charge, he borrow'd (b) 20000 *l.* of his Uncle the Rich Biſhop of *Winchester*, giving him his Crown in Pawn for it, and with this he prepar'd for his *Third Expedition* into *France*. And having ſettled the Regency of the Kingdom in the Hands of the Duke of *Bedford* his Brother, and provided his Queen with a well-attended Court, with whom he left a ſtrong Army of 30000 to defend the Nation againſt the Invaſion of the *Scots*, who had engag'd in the *Dauphin's* Intereſt, and would therefore be Troubleſom in his Abſence, he with a freſh Army of 4000 Horſe, and 24000 Foot, began his Journey into *France*, and taking Ship at *Dover* landed at *Callis* about the beginning of *June*, having the King of *Scots* with him to allure the *Scots* from the *Dauphin's* Part, either by Promiſes of Rewards, or Menaces of Puniſhment.

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K. *Henry's* third Expedition into *France*.

K. *Henry* being landed in *France* in this *Third Expedition* would not enter upon any Action till he had pay'd the Dutiful Honour of a Viſit to his Father and Mother the King and Queen of *France*, who lay then at *Bois de St. Vincennes* near *Paris*, and therefore took his direct way towards that Place. At *Montrevil* in the Road the Duke of *Burgundy* met him with a Petition from the *Baſtard* of *Thian*, who valiantly had held out Three Weeks the Siege of *Chartres* againſt all the *Dauphin's* Forces, and began to be ſtraiten'd ſo much, that he could not hold out longer. The King after ſome Conſultation with the Duke thought it neceſſary to raiſe the Seige, and having made him Commander of his Armies, ſent him to relieve it ſpeedily, the King proceeding in his Journey but ſlowly, till he could ſee the Succeſs of this Attempt. (c) The Duke of *Burgundy* by moderate Marches proceeded towards *Chartres*, and being arriv'd at *Monte* the *Dauphiniſts* diſcover'd his Approach, and had an Information of the Strength of his Army, which being too great to encounter, they raiſed the Siege and retreated to *Tours* in *Touraine*. The Duke of *Burgundy* having thus reliev'd *Chartres* he return'd to the King, who ſent him with a good Force into *Picardy* againſt Sir *Jaques de Harcourt*, who annoy'd the King's Conqueſts there. In the mean time the King went on to *Paris* to pay his deſign'd Viſit, and was honourably receiv'd and entertain'd by the King and Queen of *France*. In his Paſſage he took a ſmall Fort call'd *La Ferte*, (d) which being commanded by the *Baſtard* of *Bellay* ſurrender'd unto him upon Summons, but was as eaſily loſt as taken, for *Bourſiers*, a *Picard* to whom the King gave the Command of it, betray'd it to the *Dauphin*. Great Invitations he had at *Paris* to paſs his Time in Pleaſures, every Perſon being Ambitious to pleaſe him with the moſt grateful Delights; but his Mind was wholly engag'd on the Glory of Conqueſt, which ſeem'd a little eclipſed by the ſmall Advantages the *Dauphin* had gotten by taking *Bonneval*, *Galendon*, and ſome other Places; he could not be at Eaſe, till his Forces were employ'd for the Recovery of them, and utter Suppreſſion of the *Dauphin's* Party if it were poſſible: Wherefore having raiſed a ſmall Addition of *French* Forces to his Army he

K. *Henry* arrives in *France*, and ſends the Duke of *Burgundy* to raiſe the Siege of *Chartres*.

K. *Henry* viſits the King and Queen of *France* at *Paris*.

(z) *John Swinton* gave him the firſt Wound, but the Earl of *Buchan* killed him. *Ibid.* 309.

(a) The Earl of *Salisbury* was of the Family of *Mountacute*, and not the Duke of *Clarence's* Baſtard; that Duke left a natural Son, whoſe Name was *John*, and he was commonly called the Baſtard of *Clarence*. Holinſhead, 1233.

(b) His Uncle the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* had lent 20000 *l.* for it once before, and it ſeems the Pawn was ſettled at that Sum, which is ſcarce the Value of one of the Jewels of the Imperial Crown of *England* at this Day.

(c) The Duke of *Burgundy* was ill of a Fever when the King came to *Montrevil*, from whence they went to *Panthieu*, *Montenay*, St. *Riquier*, *La Ferte*, which Places King *Henry* took, and then return'd to *Montrevil*, where he diſmiſſed the Duke of *Burgundy*, upon his Promiſe of returning ſuddenly to the Army. He march'd himſelf to relieve *Chartres*, and when he arrived at *Monte*, diſpatched away Meſſengers to the Duke of *Burgundy*, to join him with his Forces. *Enguerant Mont.*

(d) The King took this Fort before he raiſed the Seige of *Chartres*. Ibid.

marched

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march'd himſelf towards the *Loire* to fight the *Dauphin*, who had given it out, That he would try the Fortune of a Field-Battel with K. *Henry*; but the *Dauphin*'s Courage fail'd when he ſaw the Greatneſs and Boldneſs of K. *Henry*'s Forces, and he withdrew towards *Bourges*, where he continu'd without giving King *Henry* any Moleſtation and Hindrance, in his Victories, for which Quietneſs he was Nick-nam'd, *The King of Berry.* (e) King *Henry* having no Oppoſition to his Arms, proceeded with all Expedition to reduce all Places to his Obedience, and ſitting down before *Dreux* (f) himſelf; he ſent the Earl of *Dorſet* and Lord *Clifford* with 1200 Horſe and Foot againſt the *Dauphiniſts*, who ravag'd the Countries about *Paris*, and before his Arrival had put the Duke of *Exeter* in *Paris* to great Straits for Proviſion, but they ſoon left the Neighbourhood of that on the Approach of the King's Forces. *Dreux* endur'd an Aſſault or two, but the Inhabitants and Garriſon being timerous of a Storm deſir'd a Parley, in which they promiſed to ſurrender the Town upon *Auguſt* the 20th, if no Relief came in the mean time, which was accordingly done, and 800 of the *Dauphin*'s Men were permitted to depart in ſafety, having ſworn to the King not to bear Arms againſt him nor his Allies for a Year enſuing. The Towns-Men alſo who would ſwear Allegiance to King *Henry* were permitted to enjoy their Houſes and Eſtates, but ſuch as refuſed were ſent out of the Town with the Garriſon, and the Earl of *Worceſter* was made Captain of it.

Dreux taken by ſurrender.

K. *Henry* purſues the *Dauphin*, but was forc'd to retire for want of Forage.

King *Henry* being made Maſter of *Dreux* purſu'd the *Dauphin* farther into the Country hearing that he lay at *Baugency*, but not finding him there he beſieg'd and took divers Caſtles and Towns, as *Baugency*, *Rougmont*, and many other Places, intending to have at length gotten to *Bourges* it ſelf, where the *Dauphin* lay ſtrongly Fortified; but the latter had carry'd away or deſtroy'd all the Forage and Proviſions of the Country, ſo that the King's Army was forc'd through mere want to retreat back to *Orleans*, where he ſtay'd two Days to refreſh his Troops, and then paſſing through *Gaſtinois* and *Vigny-ſur-Yonne* he arriv'd at *Paris*, and he was receiv'd with univerſal Joy and Reſpect. He remain'd there ſome time not only to recruit his Army, which was much Weaken'd by his late purſuit of the *Dauphin*, but to ſettle the Diſcontents of the City it ſelf, which was diſturb'd by ſome of the *Dauphin*'s Party, and having finiſh'd it he marched out again with his whole Army to lay Siege to the City of *Meaux* in *Brie*. This City was very well fortified, mann'd and furniſh'd with Proviſion, and could not be taken without very great Difficulty, yet becauſe it was almoſt in the midſt of King *Henry*'s Conqueſt, and was many ways Prejudicial to the Country which had ſubmitted to him, the Siege of it was reſolv'd upon, and the King himſelf undertook to ſubdue it. It was a large City, and beſides the Suburbs which were very populous and great, it was divided into two Parts by the River *Marne* which runs through the midſt of it, *viz.* the Town and Market-Place. The King being ſenſible that if his coming were certainly known the Inhabitants would burn the Suburbs, ſent the Duke of *Exeter* before him with 4000 Men to prevent it, following himſelf within a few Days. The King lodg'd in the Abby of *Pharon*, and the Duke of *Exeter* in the Abby of *Chage*, the Earl of *March* in an Houſe of the *Gray-Fryers*, and the Earl of *Warwick* over-againſt the Market-Place. They began their Aſſaults about *October* the 6th, (g) and continu'd with all their Vigour to force the Town to yield. The Inhabitants being ſtrengthen'd with a good Garriſon under the Command of the *Baſtard* of *Vaurus* and other Men of Name both for Birth and Courage, held out valiantly, and made as brave Reſiſtance within as the *Engliſh* did without, being as reſolute to defend their own, as their Enemies were to gain it. *Winter* was a great help to the Beſieg'd, and had certainly raiſed the Siege if any thing could have broken the ſteady Hearts of the *Engliſh*; for the River over-flowing much endamag'd their Camp, the Cold and Wet brought in many Diſtempers among them, of which not a few dy'd, and there was great want of Proviſion, ſo that the ſurviv'd ſcarce had any Strength to attempt their Enemy. Beſides theſe Difficulties which Providence ſeem'd to caſt upon them to croſs their Attempts, *Jaques de Harcourt* a ſteady Friend of the *Dauphin*'s with 800 Men infeſted the Beſiegers, but he was repulſed with the Loſs of 300 of his Men, and was himſelf ſav'd only by the Swiftneſs of his Horſe: So much did the Courage of the *Engliſh* enable them to conquer all Dangers, and hold on boldly in their Undertaking till they obtain'd their Deſires.

A. D. 1421. Reg. 9.

Meaux beſieged by K. *Henry*.

While Things were carry'd on thus bravely by King *Henry* in *France*, ſeveral Things of Moment paſs'd in *England*. On *December* the 1ſt, the Duke of *Bedford* call'd a Parliament in the King's Abſence, and becauſe notwithſtanding the Act of the former Parliament about the Coin, it was ſtill found unfit for Commerce; therefore in this there were ſeveral Acts made for bringing in all Monies to be Recoin'd, and for the Weight of the ſeveral Pieces of Money with the Allay; and, which ſhew'd the King's Favour to his People, there was an Order ſent to all Receivers of Money, that they ſhould receive all Monies brought to them if it did not want above Twelve Pence in a Noble of the true Weight, and give them the New-coin'd Money for it, by which the King, though then under great Neceſſities for Money, yet was contented to loſe almoſt Three Shillings in the Pound for the Benefit of the People. This Redreſs of the Coin by the King's Favour gain'd ſo much of the Parliament that they gave him a Fifteenth from the Laity, and the Clergy contributed a Tenth towards the carrying on the War, and ſo the Parliament was ſent Home. In the Time of this Seſſion, *viz.* on *December* the 6th, being St. *Nicholas*'s Day was Queen *Katherine* deliver'd of a Son at *Windſor* to the equal Joy both of the Nation and King. The Queen in the King's Abſence put forward his Chriſtning, and therefore that ſolemn Act of Chriſtian Initiation was perform'd by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* ſoon after his Birth, the Duke of *Bedford*, and his Great Uncle *Henry*, Biſhop of *Winchester* being his Godfathers, and *Jaqueline*, Counteſs of *Brabant* and *Holland* being his God-mother and Governeſs. The News of the Prince's Birth was ſent over to the King with all convenient Speed, and was receiv'd with great Joy. He was then at the Siege of *Meaux*, and as ſoon as he heard it gave ſolemn Thanks to God, that it had pleaſed the Divine Providence to beſtow a Son upon him that might ſucceed him in his Crown and Scep-

Seventh Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

The Birth of Prince *Henry* at *Windſor*.

(e) Of which Province *Bourges* is the Capital.
(f) He took *Dreux* before he march'd to the *Loire*. *Engu. Mont.*
(g) They inveſted the Town, *October* the 6th. *Du Cheſne Antiq. des Ville's de France.*

ter.

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ter. However it is ſaid, that he was not pleaſed at the Place of his Nativity, which was at *Windſor*, becauſe having ſome Information, that that Place would be Fatal to him, he had given a ſtrict Charge that he ſhould not be born there; but ſince an unavoidable Fate had caſt his Birth there, he prophetically ſaid, either from preſent Inſtinct, or from the Prediction of ſome other, unto the Lord *Fitz-Hugh* his Chamberlin and great Confident.

I Henry *born at* Monmouth, *ſhall ſmall Time reign and much get;*
But Henry *of* Windſor *ſhall long reign and loſe all, but as God will ſo be it.*

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K. *Henry* loſt many Men before *Meaux*, but at length took it by Aſſault.

Chriſtmas now approach'd, and though King *Henry* always kept it with ſome Solemnity, yet he choſe rather to abridge himſelf of that Cuſtom than break up the Siege of *Meaux*, though the Extremity of the Weather both for Cold and Wet, the Sickneſs of his Army, and the great Loſſes which he had ſuſtain'd by the Beſieged, who had kill'd many of his Men; and among the Reſt the Earl of *Worceſter* and Lord *Clifford*, might have been an Argument ſufficient to have diſcourag'd his Proceedings, and forc'd him to have left it. But all theſe Things rather increaſed than diſheartned him; whereupon with more fierce Aſſaults he batter'd the Walls of the Town, and having made Bridges of Planks over the River *Marn*, begirt it ſo cloſe, that it was much diſtreſſed, and could hardly hope to hold out againſt his various Arts to ruin them. But yet they ſtood out as undauntedly as Men in ſo much Danger could, having Intelligence that the *Dauphin*'s Arms had proſper'd in *Normandy*, and that *Auranches* was fallen into their Hands, by which means King *Henry* would be oblig'd to ſend away part of his Forces to ſecure his Conqueſts there, which accordingly he did under the Command of the Earl of *Salisbury*, who ſoon regain'd the Town. At this the Citizens took heart, and endeavouring to get another Captain of great Courage and Experience, *viz.* the Seignior *de Offemont* into their Town, thought to maintain their Ground againſt him; but being unfortunate in their Attempts, their Captain as he was Scaling the Walls falling into the Enemies Hands they were ſo diſcourag'd that they deſpair'd to hold out long, and began to carry all their Goods into the Caſtle. The King perceiving their Fear made a general and fierce Aſſault, and by dint of Sword obtain'd the Town. The Caſtle and Market-Place ſtill held out, and though the King batter'd it with his Cannon, that it could not long ſtand out, yet they ſo inſolently behav'd themſelves to him by reproachful Words and Abuſes as if they had been Unconquerable, which was the Cauſe, that when they were oblig'd at length to yield, they were reduc'd to ſuch hard Conditions as no Town before had had impoſed upon them, which were to this Effect.

The Caſtle of *Meaux* ſurrender'd, but upon hard Terms.

I. That the Market-Place of *Meaux* ſhall be ſurrendred up the Eleventh Day of *May* next enſuing.

II. That Monſieur *Lewis de Gaſt*, the Baſtard of *Vaurus*, the Captain of the Town, who had barbarouſly ſpoil'd and oppreſſed the People of the Country ſubject to King *Henry*, *Jehan de Romieres*, Bailiff of the Town, and *Fromagon*, and *Barnard de Meureville*, two Burgeſſes of the Town, who had been Aſſiſtants to their Captain in his Outrageous Acts ſhould be left to King *Henry* to be put to Death for their Cruelties as he ſhould think fit.

III. That *Guichard de Siſſay*, *Pierron de Luppe*, *Robert de Gerames*, *Philip de Gamaches*, and *John de Ouray* ſhould be deliver'd into the King's Power, and ſo remain till they had ſurrendred, or cauſe to be ſurrendred all the Towns, Caſtles, and Fortreſſes which they or any of them held in *France*, and then to be diſmiſſed and ſecured of Life and Limb.

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IV. That all the *Engliſh*, *Iriſh*, *Welſh* and *Scots* that heretofore had been in the King's Service, or were his Natural Subjects, ſhould be left to the King's Will and Pleaſure.

V. That all Perſons who were found guilty of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Murther (and many there were in the Town who were accuſed of it) ſhould be left to Juſtice for that barbarous Crime.

VI. That all the reſt of the Inhabitants of the Town, as well Soldiers as Burgeſſes ſhould alſo be left to the King's Diſpoſal, their Lives only excepted.

VII. That the Count *de Conuerſon* who had been Priſoner to *Pierron de Luppe*, but at the beginning of this Siege was deliver'd up to King *Henry* at his Requeſt, and upon Promiſe of a certain Ranſom, ſhould now have his Liberty without the Payment of the ſaid Ranſom.

VIII. That all the Arms and Goods in the Market ſhall be brought to One Place, and being there ſafely guarded, an Inventory of the ſame ſhall be exactly taken and given to King *Henry*.

IX. That the Sacred Reliques found in the Churches, with all the Church-Ornaments and neceſſary Utenſils ſhall be ſafely preſerv'd and reſtor'd to the ſeveral Churches.

X. That all the Priſoners, as well in the Market-Place as in any other Place within the Juriſdiction of the Town, ſhould be ſet at Liberty Ranſom-free, and be acquitted of their Promiſes.

XI. That no Man until the Day appointed for ſurrendring of the Caſtle ſhall go out of the Market-Place, nor any Perſons admitted into it, unleſs by the Allowance and Aſſignment of King *Henry*.

XII. That theſe Articles ſhall be Subſcrib'd and Seal'd by an Hundred of the Chief Inhabitants of the Place, and Four and Twenty of them, ſuch as King *Henry* ſhall think fit to chooſe out from among them, be left as Hoſtages in his Hands for the more certain Performance of this Agreement.

The Articles were accordingly perform'd, and the Market-Place of *Meaux* ſurrendred to the King at the Time agreed on; whereupon he ſent ſome Selected Perſons immediately Priſoners to *Paris*, *Roan* and *England*. The Baſtard of *Vaurus* himſelf was hang'd upon the ſame Tree whereon he had formerly hang'd many *Engliſh* and *Burgundians* the King's Friends, and his Head fix'd upon a Pole on the top of the ſame Tree, his Standard, which uſed to be born before him in Battel, being alſo ſet up by it. The Bailiff of the Town and two Burgeſſes were ſent to *Paris* and there Executed. The Goods of the Town found in the Market-Place were diſtributed by the King himſelf among his Captains and deſerving Men. The Breaches of the Town and Caſtle were immediately order'd to be repair'd, and a ſtrong Garriſon left both in the Town and Market-Place of *Meaux* able to defend it from any ſudden Aſſaults and Surprizes. The Surrender of this great and important Place was ſuch a Terror, as well as Example to ſuch other Towns of leſs Strength that held out ſtill for the *Dauphin*, that moſt of them immediately yielded to King *Henry*'s Arms, *viz. Creſpi*, the Caſtle of *Pierre-pont*, *Merlaw*, *Offemont* and many

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many other Places, ſo that all the Iſle of *France*, *Brie*, *Laimnois* and *Champaign*, became entirely ſubject to King *Henry*, who put his moſt faithful and valiant Captains into the moſt important Places of them, and then return'd to *Bois de St. Vincennes* to his Mother and Father the King and Queen of *France*, who joyfully welcom'd him, having eſcap'd the great Dangers and Hazards of War.

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Queen *Katherine* failed into *France*, under the Conduct of *John*, Duke of *Bedford*.

Queen *Katherine* being now perfectly recovered of all the Diſtempers and Weakneſſes of Child-bearing, was very deſirous of enjoying the Company of King *Henry*, whoſe Glory ſounded over all the World, and accordingly having prepar'd all Things ready for her Voyage, took Ship at *Southampton* and ſail'd into *France*. *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, who was Regent of the Nation in the King's Abſence, thinking it his Duty to take an equal, if not greater Care of the Queen than Kingdom, ſhe being a more valuable Jewel than all earthly Power in the King's Eye, deputed his Brother *Humphrey*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, to govern in his Abſence, and with an Equipage of 800 Men conducted her over the Seas to *Harfleur*, and ſo by eaſie Journeys to *Bois de St. Vincennes* where her Father and Mother reſided. King *Henry* had ſcarce ſettled Matters after the Surrender of *Meaux*, but hearing of the Arrival of his Queen, he haſten'd to meet her there. With great Joy was ſhe receiv'd by her Parents, but with much greater by her Huſband, who with a State of Splender equal to his Love and Affection welcom'd her to his Embraces. They all ſtay'd a ſmall Time at *Bois de St. Vincennes*, and on *Whitſun-Eve*, being *May* 30. remov'd all together to *Paris*, where King *Henry* in the Caſtle of the *Louvre*, and the *French* King in the Hoſtle of St. *Paul* celebrated the Feaſt of *Penticoſt* in the greateſt State and Magnificence. K. *Henry* and his Queen ſitting upon that Feſtival in their Robes with their Crowns on their Heads, and keeping their Courts with a wonderful Confluence of People, while the King of *France* ſeemed but like ſome Petty Prince or Nobleman to him. King *Henry* govern'd and diſpoſed all Things, and the K. of *France* contentedly ſuffer'd him to act like a Soveraign, as tho' while King *Henry*'s Power and Glory daily increaſed, his own could never be eclipſed: So much did the Honour of the Son ſatisfie the Mind of the Father.

The *Dauphin* while King *Henry* lay at *Paris* invades his Conqueſts.

The *Dauphin*, who had conſtant Intelligence of the Motions and Condition of King *Henry*, and his Army, was not careleſs of this Opportunity of regaining what had been conquer'd by him; for though the King had conquer'd all *Picardy*, *Normandy*, *Brie*, the Iſle of *France* and *Champaign*, yet ſtill the greateſt part of the Nation remained unconquer'd, and held with the *Dauphin*, whoſe Fortune though it was not equal to King *Henry*'s, yet his Power and Greatneſs of Mind was not much inferior. The *Dauphin* therefore having an Army of 20000 Men, and thinking his Adverſary now taken up with Pleaſures and Eaſe, enters upon his Conqueſts, and takes with no Difficulty the ſmall Town of *La Charite* upon the *Loire*. Being encourag'd by this Succeſs he proceeded and laid Siege to a Town call'd *De Cone* on the ſame River, which not willing to undergo the Miſeries and Straits of a Siege, agreed to ſurrender to him if the Duke of *Burgundy* did not come to their Relief before *Auguſt* the 16th, to which the Duke of *Burgundy*, who lay not far off with a Body of Men, but much inferiour to the *Dauphin*'s, aſſented; and having appointed a Day for the Fight, the Duke ſent Word of their Appointment to King *Henry*, deſiring, That he would ſend a greater Enforcement to his Army. King *Henry* hearing this Meſſage, and being ſenſible that a Field-Fight might poſſibly put an end to the Quarrel between 'em, return'd an Anſwer, *That he would certainly be with him in Perſon with all his Forces upon the Day prefix'd*, but his brave Mind was croſſed with a Crazy Body; and tho' he had begun his March, yet he was forced to yield to the Violence of the Diſtemper upon him, being a Fever and Flux, which he had contracted by the long Fatigues he had undergone in the Wars, and therefore remain'd at *Senlis*, ſending his Army under the Command of the Duke of *Bedford* to aſſiſt the Duke of *Burgundy* upon the Day appointed, who accordingly joyning with the Earl of *Warwick* march'd haſtily thither, and the Day before the Battel was to be, encamp'd near the Walls of *de Cone*. The King, who never miſcarry'd in any of his Perſonal Enterprizes, and was deſirous to be preſent in all dangerous Attempts, becauſe a good Fortune ſeem'd ever to attend him, was diſcontented that the Army had left him, and therefore march'd forward after them in an Horſe-litter, intending to animate his Men by his Preſence, though he could not engage with them, and was carry'd as far as *Melun*, but there finding himſelf unable to travel he was oblig'd to ceaſe his Deſign and return to *Bois de St. Vincennes*. The *Dauphin* who readily accepted the Proffer of Battel, and by his Herald had faithfully promiſed to abide the Field and try his Fortune; as ſoon as he ſaw the *Engliſh* Colours diſplay'd, and his Army as he imagin'd inferiour to them, notwithſtanding his Vaunts diſlodg'd them and march'd to *Berry*. This unexpected Flight of the *Dauphin*, as it gave Relief to *Coſney*, ſo it encourag'd the Duke of *Bedford* to go on and undertake ſomething which might be for his Maſter's Honour, and gratifie the Soldiers eager Courage, who were unwilling to return back without Action: Whereupon the Duke led 'em to *Troyes* in *Champaign*, and began the Siege of that important Place, but before any thing conſiderable could be attempted, the ſad News of the King's Danger by his Sickneſs arriv'd in the Camp, which drew away their Leader, who immediately poſted to *Bois de St. Vincennes* to the King, and ſo damp'd the Hearts of the whole Army, that they could not go on with the Siege, tho' left under the Conduct of the Duke of *Burgundy*, but ſoon after departed, and ſo the Earls of *Warwick* and *Salisbury* with the reſt of the Nobility return'd to the King.

Coſney beſieged.

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King *Henry* falls ſick of a Fever and Flux.

The Duke of *Bedford* being arriv'd at St. *Vincennes*, and ſeeing the low and dangerous Condition of his Brother, much lamented his approaching and untimely End, as did alſo the other Noblemen about him; but the King as unconcerned at his own Death, look'd cheerfully upon them, and comforting them for his Departure from them, gave them ſuch Directions, for the Management of his Kingdoms for his young Son after his Deceaſe, as he thought neceſſary and ſuitable in his Farewel-Speech, to this Effect.

King *Henry*'s Death approaches, and his Preparation for it.

'That he knew his Death would be born by them 'with great Sorrow, but when their Paſſions 'were a little cool'd, they upon Conſideration 'would have as little cauſe to be troubl'd at it 'as he himſelf had: For tho' indeed his Life and 'Reign had been but ſhort, yet that was ſo far 'from diſturbing him, that he placed it among 'one of his Felicities, that he ſhould not out-'live his Glories, as long Reigns do almoſt ineviteably cauſe the moſt ſucceſsful and brave 'Princes to do: Fortune either being tried with 'long Attendance, or Old Age being Nauſeous 'to her. That he ſhould carry flouriſhing Lau-'rels

1. He comforts his Nobles, and 2. Gives them direction about the Education of his Son, and Management of the Kingdom in his Minority.

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'rels out of the World with him; and though 'he was laid in the Duſt, the Glory of his Cou-'rage and Victories, Virtue and Goodneſs ſhould 'live for ever: That though indeed much Blood 'had been ſhed in his Quarrel, and Blood-ſhed 'be one of the moſt crying Sins in the Ears of 'Divine Juſtice, yet his Conſcience accuſed him 'of no Guilt in that kind, ſince he could pro-'teſt in the Sight of God, that it was not any 'ambitious Deſire of enlarging his Dominions, 'or of purchaſing himſelf the Vain-glorious 'Name of a Conquerour, nor any other ſiniſter 'Conſideration had mov'd him to take in hand 'this War, but the Recovery of his Inheritance, 'to which he had an undoubted Right from his 'Anceſtors by the Judgment of the moſt Learn-'ed and Conſcientious both of the Clergy and 'Laity of his Realm, who both inſtigated and 'encourag'd him in the Proſecution of this War 'till he had gotten his due; aſſuring him, that 'he might do it without any Danger of God's 'Diſpleaſure, or Peril to his own Soul; That he 'was ſenſible his untimely Death would create 'great Troubles to them, and all his People, be-'cauſe he ſhould leave them in ſuch a Multitude 'of Buſineſs depending, and without a Prince to 'ſucceed him, who ſhall be able to govern in his 'ſtead, but the Conſideration of the Frailty of 'all worldly Things ought to mitigate their 'Sorrow; for when we have done all we can, 'there will ſtill be ſomething wanting which we 'deſire.' Having thus comforted them concern-ing his own Death, he went on and gave them Directions about his Son: And firſt conjur'd them all to follow and obſerve the Council that he ſhould give them. 'He earneſtly entreat-'ed them to love his Infant Son and their King, 'Prince *Henry*, and to take care that by their 'Wiſe and Prudent Inſtruction he may be made 'Able and Worthy to rule ſo great Kingdoms, 'and manage ſo great Scepters, and that they 'would comfort his Queen, the moſt afflicted 'Creature living, and love her with the ſame 'Affections as he had always done them while 'he was alive. He exhorted them to live in 'Unity and Concord one with another, and con-'tinue the League of Amity with *Philip*, Duke 'of *Burgundy*, which would conduce much to 'the Security of the *French* Dominions in their 'due Subjection, if by their Breaches among 'themſelves they did not endanger all. He pro-'pounded to them for Deputy-Governour of his 'Kingdoms in his Sons Minority, and deſir'd 'they would quietly ſubmit to them, his Bre-'thren, *Humphrey*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, to govern '*England*, and enjoyn'd him not to depart out 'of the Realm upon any Occaſion ſoever, till 'his Son was arriv'd at an Age able to aſſume 'the Government, and *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, 'with the Aſſiſtance of *Philip*, Duke of *Burgun-'dy*, to govern his Kingdom of *France*, command-'ing them (who were both preſent) to pro-'ſecute the *Dauphin* with all their Force, till 'they had either totally ſubdu'd him and his 'Party, or driven him out of the Realm, for, '*ſaid he*, you will never be quiet ſo long as he 'hath any Power to diſturb you, and it is abſo-'lutely neceſſary, that either you muſt loſe what 'you have, or he be driven out of all. Then he 'commanded them (however Time or Occaſi-'on might invite them to the contrary) that '*Normandy*, which is the Ancient Inheritance of 'the Crown of *England*, and hath been purchaſ-'ed and regain'd with ſo much Labour and Ex-'pence of Blood, ſhould not be alienated from 'that Crown upon any Occaſion whatſoever. '*Laſtly*, He enjoyn'd them, that the Duke of *Or-'leans*, the Earl of *Eu*, the Lord *Gaucourt* and '*Guicchard de Siſay* ſhould be kept Priſoners in '*England* till his Son came of Age, leaſt if they 'were ſet at Liberty they might raiſe greater 'Troubles in *France*, than they ſhould have Pow-'er or Policy enough to allay. The Noble Men full of Grief ſtood ſilent about him, but promi-ſed to perform all his Deſires to the full.

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His Prepara-tion for Death.

The King having thus order'd the Matters of his Kingdoms, that his Son might be well Edu-cated and enjoy a proſperous Reign, betook him-ſelf to prepare for the State which he was ſenſi-ble he was juſt ready to enter upon, becauſe of the Violence and Strength of his Diſtemper; wherefore calling his Chaplains and Phyſicians, he enquir'd of theſe latter how long it is poſſible he might live, who anſwer'd, *Not above two Hours*; whereupon he order'd the former to do their Office, and fit his Soul for its Diſſolution. He firſt made a very devout and penitential Confeſ-ſion of his Sins, and then receiv'd the Holy Sa-crament, after which he cauſed the Seven Peni-tential *Pſalms* to be recited, and as the Chaplain who read them mention'd the Name of (*b*) *Jeru-ſalem*, he burſt out into this Ejaculation. *Lord thou knoweſt that it was in my real Purpoſes to conquer* Jeruſalem, *and reſcue it out of the Hands of the In-fidels, if it had pleaſed thee to lengthen out my Life, but thy Providence hath defeated my Deſign; Thy Will be done*; and then before the Chaplain could read many Verſes further, he gave up the Ghoſt at *Bois de St. Vincennes*, on the laſt Day of *Auguſt*, 1422. having liv'd Thirty Six Years, and reign-ed Nine Years, Five Months and Fourteen Days, (*i*) leaving a Son of Eight Months Old Heir of all his Dominions, whoſe Education was, at the Deſire of his Father, committed to the Duke of *Exeter*. His Bowels were interr'd in the Church of St. *Maur de Toſſes*, and his Body being embalm-ed, was incloſed in a Coffin of Lead, and being accompany'd with all the Lords and great Men, as well of *France* as *England*, and the whole Ar-my, was brought with much Honour and Lamen-tation to *Paris*, and there being ſet in the Church of our Lady, ſolemn Obſequies were ſaid for him (*k*) ſeveral Days, and a great Diſtribution of Money given to the Poor. From thence he was remov'd to *Roan*, where his Body remain'd till all Things could be made ready for his Bu-rial and Conveyance into *England*, and then be-ing carry'd to *Calais*, he was convey'd to *Dover*, and from thence to *London*, where his Corps be-ing ſet in St. *Paul's* Church, his Exequies were again celebrated. The Entrance into, and Paſ-ſage through *London* (*l*) was very Magnificent. An Effigies repreſenting his Perſon as near as could be, the Head whereof was Maſſy Silver, was laid in a Bed upon the Top of the Hearſe where his Body lay, painted curiouſly in Imita-

The manner of his Buri-al and Inter-ment.

(*b*) The Place is in the Fifty Firſt *Pſalm*, the Words, *Build up the Walls of Jeruſalem.*

(*i*) He began his Reign *March* the 20th, 1413. He died the 31ſt of *Auguſt*, 1422. So he reign'd Nine Years, Five Months and Eleven Days. We muſt here Correct a Contradiction in Mr. *Goodwin's* Hiſtory of this King, He ſays, Page 1. *He was Crown'd the 9th of* April, 1413. *in the Twenty Sixth Year of his Age.* And pag 337. *He died the* 31ſt of Auguſt, 1422. *in the Tenth Year of his Reign, and Fortieth of his Age:* If he was but Thirty Six Years Old in 1413. he certainly was but Thirty Five or Thirty Six in 1422.

(*k*) The Archbiſhop of *Paris* ſung the Maſs of *Requiem* for his Soul.

(*l*) It paſt in the ſame Pomp from *Roan* to *Ableville*, *Heſdin*, *Montrevil*, *Boulogne* and *Calais*, the Queen following at a League's Diſtance with a great Retinue. *Engu. Mont.*

tion

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tion of a Man in coſtly Robes; on his Head was ſet an Imperial Crown of Gold and Precious Stones, and in his Right-hand a Scepter, and in his Left a Globe of Gold. The Covering of the Bed was of Cloth of Gold, and a Canopy of very great Value was born over his Body by certain Noble Men. His Corps was attended by the King of *Scots*, all the Nobility, and moſt of the Gentry of *England* beſides thoſe of *France*, who likewiſe after the Exequies perform'd at St. *Paul's* attended his Body to *Weſtminſter*, where it was interr'd among his Royal Anceſtors in *November* following, by St. *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, and his Effigies laid upon his Tomb erected over the Body, where it remains ſtill, but Headleſs, the Covetouſneſs of ſuch as were employ'd to ſweep the Church clean from Superſtition at the Diſſolution of the Monaſtries, being ſo great, that they ſpared not the Monuments of the Dead to advance their own Intereſts and Eſtates. But the Preſervation of that was the more neceſſary, and ſo their Sacriledge the more intolerable, becauſe they ſwept away thoſe Monaſtries at *Richmond*, viz. One of *Carthuſians*, and another of *Monks* and *Nuns* of St. *Bridget* which he had erected and endow'd to ſay Three Solemn Maſſes for his Soul every Week for ever: So that were not his Virtues and brave Actions more laſting than Iron or Braſs, his Memory had periſh'd e're this, but ſo long as either *England* or *France* remain, or any Memoirs continue in them, he will be Celebrated as the Glory of the One, and the Terror of the Other. His Queen, who not long after his Death came over into *England* with her Son King *Henry*, was afterwards marry'd to *Owen Theodore* or *Tudor*, a Gentleman of *Wales*, one not Eminent either for his Noble Birth, (*m*) or Plentiful Fortune, but being of a very graceful and beautiful Perſonage found ſuch Favour with her as to receive him into her Bed, and by him had Three Sons, *Edmund*, *Jaſper*, and *Owen*. *Edmund* was after by her Intereſt made Earl of *Richmond*, and marry'd to *Margaret*, Daughter and ſole Heireſs to *John Beaufort*, Duke of *Somerſet*, (*n*) natural Son of *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, and by him ſhe was Mother of *Henry* the Seventh. *Jaſper* was made Earl of *Pembroke* by K. *Henry* the Sixth, and requited his Favour by continually adhering to him againſt the Family of *York* in all his Wars. Q. *Katherine* ſurviv'd *Owen*, and retreated into the Nunnery of *Bermondſey* in *Surrey*, where ſhe dy'd in the Fourteenth Year of her Son *Henry's* Reign, and was bury'd in our Lady's Chappel in St. *Peter's* Church at *Weſtminſter*: Her Corps was taken up in King *Henry* the Seventh's Reign, her Grand-Child, and ſet by her Husband's Tomb, where it ſtill remaineth unbury'd to be ſeen and touch'd by any that pleaſe. Thus ended the moſt Glorious King *Henry*, and his Beautiful Queen *Katherine*.

Queen *Katherine* married to *Owen Tudor*.

Having given the Reader a View of this glorious Reign, it may be thought Preſumptuous to add a Character of a King whoſe Victories and Virtues were ſo Illuſtrious, that Eloquence it ſelf is too weak to deſcribe them. He was poſſeſt of every Quality which forms a good Man and a Hero. His riper Years made a ſufficient amends for the Extravagancies of his Youth; and yet even thoſe were but the Sallies of that Martial Fire which afterwards ſhone out ſo brightly, to the Immortal Honour of his Name and Empire. That he was as Brave as the Braveſt Captains of *Old Rome*, appears by the Facts which adorn his Annals. He undertook no Enterprize that he thought too Perilous for himſelf to engage in, and never put his Troops upon Action to which he durſt not lead them in Perſon. As he was the moſt Brave, he was the moſt Generous Prince of his Age, and did nothing that a true Father of his Country might have occaſion to repent of. He treated his Subjects like his Children, and never was ſo much diſpleaſed with his Condition as when it oblig'd him to burthen them with Taxes, which he always laid as ſparingly and equally as poſſible. He was truly Religious according to the Religion of the Times, and his Zeal for the Proſperity of the Church was as warm as his Paſſion for the Intereſt of *England*. Indeed he was too ſevere with the *Lollards*. He was the firſt who Proſecuted them for their oppoſing *Popery*, which is the only Blot in his Reign; and yet that, if we conſider they were Hereticks in his Judgment, was the Fault of his Religion, and not an Error of his Mind. He attributed all the Glory of his Conqueſt to God the *Giver of all Victory*. He was always devout in his Prayers for Succeſs on his Arms, and hearty in his Praiſe for the Bleſſings with which they were Crown'd. He was ſtrict and impartial in the Diſtribution of Juſtice, and as he furniſh'd the Church with the beſt Biſhops, he ſupply'd the Courts with the beſt Judges. He delighted in the frequent Meeting of his People in Parliament, and never refuſed the Royal Aſſent to any one Bill that was preſented him for the Publick Good. In his Wars abroad he was as merciful as in his Government at home, and ſpar'd even the Blood of his Enemies. He lov'd his Queen with Tenderneſs and Conſtancy, and in a Word was too Great and too Good for ſo Wicked and Idolatrous a Generation, having left an Example of Heroick Virtue behind him, which the Favourites of Fame have endeavour'd to imitate but could never reach. He was graceful in his Perſon, tall of Stature, his Preſence Manly and Majeſtick. His Hair was Black, his Neck long, his Look Gracious and Lovely, his Speech Grave, his Wiſdom Conſpicuous in all his Actions, and his whole Life from his Man-hood to his Death the Wonder of his own Age, and the Admiration of Poſterity.

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King *Henry's* Character.

(*m*) He was deſcended from *Cadwallader* the laſt King of *Britain*, of the *Britiſh* Race.

(*n*) He was not natural Son to *John* of *Gaunt*, but Son to *John*, Earl of *Somerſet*, who was Son of *Kat. Suinford* by the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and all the Children of that Duke by that Lady were Legitimated in Parliament after the Duke had married her.

THE
Remarkable OCCURRENCES,
IN THE
Reign of HENRY *the Fifth,*

Are related among

The Actions of his Life, in the ſame manner as the Author has done in the Hiſtory of his Father, and in all the King's Reigns which he wrote from *RICHARD* the Second down to *HENRY* the Seventh; only ſome few memorable Things which he omitted, we ſhall inſert in their proper Places.

ON the Day of his Coronation there happen'd a Tempeſt of Wind, Snow and Hail, the Snow was moſt taken Notice of becauſe 'twas moſt Prevalent, on which the People made various Superſtitious Obſervations. Some thought it preſag'd, that the New King would be Cold and Negligent in the Adminiſtration of the Government, or Wrong and Oppreſs them, others took it for a good Omen, that having diſpell'd thoſe Clouds of Vice which had darken'd the Nation, Brightneſs and Serenity would ſucceed the Storm.

'Tis no Wonder that a Reign ſo Glorious as this ſhould produce a great Number of Hero's. 'Twould be endleſs to put down all the Illuſtrious *Engliſh* Names that ſhine in the Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of *France*: Some of the Chief and theſe who diſtinguiſh'd themſelves moſt, we think it our Duty to mention, as *Thomas*, Duke of *Clarence*, *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, and *Humphrey*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, the King's Brothers, of whom the Two latter made greater Figures in the Reign of his Son *Henry* the Sixth. *Thomas*, Duke of *Exeter*, and *John*, Earl of *Somerſet*, his Uncles, Princes worthy of their Relation to *Henry* the Conqueror of *France*. *Richard Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, *Thomas Mountacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*, *John Holland*, Earl of *Huntington*, the Lord *Willoughby*, the Lord *Beaumont*, the Lord *Bardolf*, the Lord *Fitz-hugh*, Sir *John Falſtaff*, Sir *Thomas Erpingham*, Sir *Walter Hungerford*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *Philip Hall*, Sir *John Cornwall*, Sir *Lewis Robiſſart*, Sir *Gilbert Umphreville*, and the Brave *Welſh* Captain *David Gam*, whom King *Henry* Knighted, when he was dying of the Wounds he receiv'd in the Battel of *Agincourt*, fighting in Defence of his Royal Perſon.

As the King was great in War, ſo he ſhew'd by his Favour to Men of Learning that he would have been a Promoter and Patron of the Arts of Peace, if he had liv'd to have given Reſt to his Arms. He was himſelf bred up at *Oxford* under the Tuition of his Uncle *Henry Beaufort*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and took delight in the Converſation of *Thomas Redburn*, Biſhop of St. *David's*, *Stephen Patrington*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and *John Carpenter*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, Men noted for their Learning and Eloquence: Beſides theſe, there were many others Eminent in his Time, *viz.*

Dr. *Alain* of *Lun* in *Norfolk*, Prior of the *Carmelites* in that Town, a Divine and Philoſopher.

John Seguarde a Poet. He taught Polite Learning in *Norwich*, and wrote againſt the Abuſe of Poetry by writing Lewd Verſes.

Dr. *Robert Roſe*, Prior of the Monaſtery of *Carmelites* in *Norwich*. He was Noted for his *Moderation* in the Diſputes between the *Wickliviſts* and *Papiſts*.

Dr. *John Luck*. *Ant. Wood* ſays, he was a great Friend, and *Bale*, that he was a violent Enemy of the *Wickliviſts*. See *Wood's Athen. Oxon.* and *Bale, de Scriptor. Britan.*

Richard Caiſtre of *Norwich*, a ſecret Friend to the *Wickliviſts*.

William Wellys, General of the Order of the *Black-Fryers* in *England*.

Richard Smetiſham, a Famous Diſputant.

William Taylor, A. M. a zealous *Wickliviſt*. He wrote a Book, *De non invocando Sanctos*, and was a Martyr, being burnt in *Smithfield* in the laſt Year of this King, whoſe only Blot was the Blood ſpilt in his Time by the *Papiſts* to ſupport their Idolatry, and the King out of Bigotry or Intereſt too much encourag'd their Cruelty.

Dr. *William Lyndwood*, a Civilian, Author of the Book call'd, *Provinciale ſeu Conſtitutiones Angliæ*.

Bartholomew Florarius, call'd ſo from a Book he wrote, which he Intitul'd, *Florarius*.

Adam Hemlington, famous in the Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Paris*.

William Batecomb, an Excellent Mathematician.

Robert Maſcall, one of the *Engliſh* Deputies at the Council of *Conſtance*, and Biſhop of *Hereford*.

John Purvey, A. M. *Wickliff's* Pupil, a Man of extraordinary Learning. He wrote a Comment upon the *Revelations*, publiſh'd afterwards by *Luther* without the Author's Name, in which he aſſerted, that the Pope was the Whore mention'd in the *Apocalypſe*. He dy'd in Priſon. He wrote many other Treatiſes.

Bertram Fitzallen of *Lincolnſhire*, a Philoſopher.

John Beſton, one of the beſt Orators of his Time.

John

John Leland, Senior, a Grammarian and Poet.
Dr. *John Bale*, Learned in the *Greek* Tongue.
Dr. *Richard Ullerſton*, a violent Enemy to the *Lollards*.
Peter Clark, A. M. He diſputed againſt *Thomas Walden* in the Schools at *Oxford*, vindicating *Wickliff*'s Doctrine, he fled for it to *Bohemia*, and dy'd there.
Roger of St. *Ives*, He wrote againſt Sir *John Oldcaſtle*.
John Tartas, a Logician.
Roger Whelpdale, Biſhop of *Carliſle*.
John Wayneſleet, a Divine and Philoſopher.
Richard Fleming, He was firſt a great Favourer of *Wickliff*'s Doctrine, but was brib'd off by the Biſhoprick of *Lincoln*.
Nicholas Pont, of *Merton*-College in *Oxon*. He diſputed with *Richard Fleming*, while the latter was a *Wickliviſt*.
Thomas Cranly, Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, a Poet, being Diſtreſſed by the *Iriſh* Rebels, he wrote an Epiſtle in *Latin* Verſe to King *Henry* for Succours.
Thomas Walden, He was ſent to the Council of *Conſtance* to Diſpute with the *Huſſites*, being a violent Papiſt.
Thomas Otterburn, a *Franciſcan-Fryer*.
Dr. *John Langden*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*.
Robert Graſdale.
John Shirburn wrote *Chron. Britan.*
John Henfield, a Monk of *Battle-Abbey*, and *Peter Baſſel*, Eſquire, the King's Chamberlain, who wrote his Life, were Hiſtorians.

And that brave Soldier, Courtier and Chriſtian, Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, who defended himſelf at his Tryal with more Learning and Eloquence than all the Doctors his Adverſaries accuſed him with. He wrote Three Pieces. The *Firſt*, To the Parliament of *England*. The *Second*, The Complaints of the Husbandmen. The *Third*, A Confeſſion of Faith.

THE

THE LIFE and REIGN OF HENRY VI.

A. D. 1422. Reg. 1.

HENRY the Sixth, the Son of that moſt Heroick Prince *Henry* V. but rather of his Piety than Courage, was left Heir of the Crowns of *England* and *France* when he was not above Nine Months Old, by the untimely Death of his Father, and accordingly was Proclaim'd King of all his Dominions, *Auguſt* the 31ſt, 1422. both at *London* and *Paris*. (*a*) The State of Affairs was ſo Intricate and Troubleſom, that it required a Prince of equal, if not greater Magnanimity and Conduct than the Nation had ſo lately loſt; but ſo great was the Religious Reſpect which the People then had to the Right of Succeſſion, (*b*) that tho' a much fitter Perſon might have been Elected for the Government, yet they choſe rather to ſubmit to a Child the Rightful Heir, than to the moſt Brave Hero who wanted that Lawful Claim. And indeed the late King *Henry* who was not able to preſerve a Kingdom by his Wiſdom, as to get it by his Valour, had taken ſuch effectual Care upon his Death-Bed to ſupply all the Deficiencies in Government during the Minority of his Son, by putting in ſufficient and able Deputies in both Kingdoms, as well as Tutors for the Education of his Perſon in all Virtuous and Prince-like Endowments and Accompliſhments, that inſtead of One he may ſeem to have left us many Kings. For he made his Elder Brother *John*, Duke of *Bedford* Regent of *France*, and his Younger *Humphrey*, Duke of *Glouceſter* Governour of *England* during the Non-Age of his Son, both Perſons of that Wiſdom, Valour and Integrity, that as they knew how to manage ſo great Truſts with the greateſt Skill and Fidelity, and uphold the Intereſts of the Crown in their own Family without an Ambitious Uſurpation of it, ſo they were both admitted to thoſe high Stations with the general Approbation and Content of the Nobility and Commons of the Nation. *Thomas Beaufort*, Duke of *Exeter*, and his Brother *Henry*, Biſhop of *Winchester* were appointed Guardians of his Perſon, and to take care of his Education, as ſoon as he was capable of any Impreſſions of Honour and Goodneſs; which Choice ſhews that his Royal Father, who indeed himſelf was the perfect Model of a good Prince, accounted Religion as neceſſary for a Prince, as Policy and Martial Skill, and in the mean time he remain'd under the Care and Government of his Mother Queen *Katherine*, who with the Indulgence and Kindneſs fit for ſo great an Infant and ſo good a Mother, nouriſh'd him in his Child-hood, till he was Old enough to receive the Inſtructions of his Wiſer Tutors and Guardians.

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King *Henry*'s Age and Succeſſion.

His Deputies and Tutors.

Due Care being thus taken of the King's Royal Perſon, and the Government being put into the Hands of ſo Wiſe and good *Men*, Neceſſities of State requir'd ſpeedy Action; and tho' greater Time might have juſtly been allow'd to their Grief for the Loſs of ſo loving a Brother, and ſo great a King, yet ſince Ceremony might bring irrecoverable Damages upon both Nations, the Two Dukes upon whom the Charge of them lay were forced to offer ſome Violence to Nature, and betake themſelves immediately to the Management and Settlement of Publick Affairs. The Duke of *Glouceſter* being as deſirous to pleaſe as benefit the Nation, and ſenſible that the beſt Government is always eſtabliſh'd upon good Council, made Choice in the firſt Place of ſuch of the Nobility to be his Council, as were more Eminent for their Wiſdom and Virtue, and provided ſuch Under-Magiſtrates, as by their Juſtice and Impartiality might give a general Satisfaction to the People, and by their Fidelity and Loyalty might ſecure the Conſtitution, and preſerve the Peace under their Infant-King. The Duke of *Bedford* alſo was equally diligent and careful to preſerve his Dominions in *France*, which being hardly impoſſible to be done but by the ſubduing of the *Dauphin* (as his Brother King *Henry* the Fifth in his dying Speech had order'd) he kept on Foot the ſame Forces which he had left in *France*, and with the ſame Zeal and Courage ſought to ſuppreſs both him and his Adherents, which no doubt he might have done, had not that fatal Alteration, the Death of the *French* King *Charles* the Sixth, ſo ſoon happen'd, for he dy'd within Fifty Three Days after King *Henry* his Son-in-law, on *October* the 21ſt following. The Life of King *Charles* was many ways an Advantage to the *Engliſh*; for tho' the Settlement made by him upon K. *Henry* and his Heirs after his own Death, could be reaſonably thought of little Validity againſt *Charles* the *Dauphin*'s Claim, becauſe he was ſo diſtem-

Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Government.

Duke of *Bedford*'s Care of *France*.

Charles the *French* King's Death.

(*a*) He cou'd not then be Proclaim'd King of *France*, becauſe *Charles* the Sixth was living, and by the Treaty of *Troyes*, the King of *England* was not to be Stiled King of *France* till after *Charles*'s Death.

(*b*) 'Twas rather their Reſpect to the Memory of his Father than to the Right of Succeſſion; for beſides, that they ſhewed they did not value much that Right when they placed *Henry* the Fourth, the King's Grand-father on the Throne, The *Divine Right* of Succeſſion was in *Edmund*, Son of *Roger Mortimer*, late Earl of *March*, who was the Son of *Edmund Mortimer*, by the Princeſs *Philippa*, Daughter and Heir of *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, Elder Brother to *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, the King's Great Grand-father, which Title we ſhall hear more of to this King's Coſt before the End of his Reign.

per'd

E. Luttrell delin:
P. Vanderbanck Sculp:
KING HENRY THE VI.th

A. D. 1422. Reg. 1.

per'd in his Underſtanding by his Diſeaſe, and ſo over-rul'd by his Queen, who to revenge her own Quarrel, valu'd not her Son's Right, that no Act of his in theſe Circumſtances could be of any laſting Obligation, yet ſo long as he was alive, and had confirm'd the Title of the *Engliſh* to all they had already gotten by their Arms, and joyn'd further with them to ſubdue his Son, the *Engliſh* met every where with more Aſſiſtance, their Proceedings were more juſtifiable, and the Oppoſition that the *Dauphin* and his Party made againſt them, thus joyn'd with his Father, look'd like a moſt unnatural Rebellion, and ſo no doubt was accounted by many, who otherwiſe would have aſſiſted him; and though they thought it a glorious Act to reſcue their Kingdom out of the Power of the Conqueror, as the *Dauphin* rightly pretended, yet their Conſciences would not ſuffer them to engage in that Action which carry'd ſo great Sin, under the fair Pretences of recovering their Country and Liberty, as Rebellion is; for they could not fight for the Son, but againſt their Father, nor ſave their Country from the Conquerour without Wrong to their lawful Prince. But the Death of *Charles* now releaſed them from theſe dubious Perplexities, and put a new Spirit into the *French*, who were weary of the *Engliſh* Power and long'd for Liberty.

King *Charles* his Death.

Charles the *French* King dy'd at *Paris*, and was bury'd at St. *Dennis*, after he had been a Crowned King of *France* Forty Six Years (or according to the *French* Hiſtory, Forty Two Years.) He was a Prince of that Excellent Diſpoſition and Temper in his Younger Days, while his Underſtanding was clear and vigorous, and govern'd his People ſo well, that he was univerſally lov'd by his Subjects, who therefore call'd him, *Le Roy Charles le bien aimè*, i. e. K. *Charles* the Well-belov'd: But the Happineſs which *France* might have promiſed her ſelf under ſo good a Prince, was ſoon eclipſed by the Diſeaſe which ſeiz'd him within four Years after he came of Age, thro' a great Fright, which he was put into as he rode thro' the Forreſt of (c) *Mans*, by the ſudden Appearance of a Man (or rather a Spirit in Human Shape) which boldly laying hold of his Horſe's Bridle and ſtopping him, ſaid, O *King ride no further, but return back immediately, for you are betray'd.* Theſe Words much ſurpriz'd the King; and tho' his Guards forced the Man by Blows to let go his Bridle, yet his ſudden Diſappearance, as if he were more than a Man, made ſuch a ſtrong Impreſſion upon his Mind, that he fell into a Fit of Frenzy, which plainly diſcover'd it ſelf to be nothing elſe but the *Effects* of thoſe *Fears*, and the exceſſive Jealouſy of Treaſon, which he had conceiv'd in his Mind from the former Words; for he look'd upon all about him as Traytors, and with all his might would ſtrike any Perſon that he could come at, with any thing he could lay hold of. In which miſerable Condition, ſaving ſome ſhort Intervals, he reign'd Twenty Nine Years, or rather was govern'd by Factions and Parties, for he was in no wiſe able to govern himſelf. This Misfortune brought many Troubles upon the Kingdom,

His Frenzy, and the Cauſe of it.

creating ſtrong Diviſions among his Nobles, and giving his Enemies an Opportunity to encroach upon his Territories, which the *Engliſh* had done ſo effectually, that he was in his Life-time become a King only in Name, tho' not without his own Conſent, and ſaw his Kingdom and Regalities in the Power of a Foreign Prince, *Henry* the Fifth, King of *England*. Death was never a greater Happineſs to any Perſon than to him; for though he had nothing blame-worthy in him but his Affliction, yet that made his Life ſo troubleſom to himſelf as well as others, that nothing could be ſo deſirable to him as Death, which reſtor'd him to a right Mind, a ſweet Repoſe, and eternal Happineſs at once. After his Death his Kingdom was immediately ſeiz'd on by Two Rivals, who with equal Zeal, and as they thought, or pretended Title, ſought to eſtabliſh themſelves Kings of it. *The Duke of Bedford* almoſt as ſoon as he had given up the Ghoſt, cauſed his Nephew *Henry* VI, then King of *England*, to be proclaim'd in *Paris* after this manner: *Two* Heralds at Arms in their uſual Formalities, and many Nobles to attend them, were ſent into the moſt eminent Streets of that City, and one of 'em having cry'd out, *King* Charles *is dead*, another immediately ſaid with a loud Voice, *God ſave King* Henry *the Sixth, God give a long and happy Life to* Henry *the Sixth*, (d) *King of* France *and* England, *Our Sovereign Lord:* And after the ſame manner was he proclaim'd King in other Parts of the Realm. *Charles*, Duke of *Touraine*, commonly call'd the *Dauphin*, on the other ſide was alſo proclaim'd and crown'd King of *France* by his Party at *Porchiers*, as being Legitimate Heir to the Deceaſed King, and by the Laws and ancient Edicts of the Nation as well as Nature, the lawful Heir to the Crown of *France*. The *Engliſh* indeed at this Time were grown ſo Powerful, and had gotten ſo large Dominions in *France*, that they derided this their Competitor, and call'd him in Contempt, *The King of Berry*, becauſe his Fortunes were at ſo low an Ebb at his Father's Death, that little of *France* was in his Power, but the City of *Bourges* in *Berry*, and the Territories adjoyning; yet the Juſtice of his Title, his undaunted Courage in his worſt Condition, and conſtant Reſolution to recover his Right, and reſtore the Liberties of *France*, were ſuch Endearments of him to his Country-Men, that it ſoon appear'd, that tho' *Henry* had largeſt Territories, *Charles* had moſt Hearts, which tho' under ſome Fears and Confinements, yet as Opportunity offer'd fell ſo by Degrees to him, that the *Engliſh* were quite expell'd *France*, and *Charles* regain'd all his Hereditary *Rights*, and an abſolute Dominion over that Kingdom, yet not without ſome Difficulty and Struggling with a various Fortune, as the Hiſtory of the following Years will ſhew us.

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Henry VI. proclaimed King ſolemnly in *Paris*.

Charles the *Dauphin* crowned King of *France*.

The great Change which had thus happen'd by the Death of King *Charles*, the beſt Friend of the *Engliſh*, much awaken'd the vigilant Mind of the Duke of *Bedford*, who could eaſily foreſee the approaching Dangers of the *Engliſh* from the preſent King, who was not more Contemptible to others, than Formidable to him. He knew that

Duke of *Bedford's* Care to preſerve *France*.

(c) *Mezeray*, the moſt Authentick Hiſtorian among the *French*, writes, that he fell Diſtracted by this means. He was going upon an Expedition againſt the Duke of *Bretaign*, and as he rode on a very hot and ſultry Day arm'd from Head to Foot, his Page that carry'd his Lance following him, he happen'd to drop aſleep, and the Page by chance let the Lance fall on his Helmet, which not only awaken'd him, but threw him into ſuch a Fury that quite bereft him of his Senſes, inſomuch, that he fell upon all that were about him, and had certainly killed ſome of them had he not been prevented by being laid hold on. His Diſtemper, ſays the ſame Author, grew greater by a Fright the next Year, when Dancing in a Mask, the Cloaths of his Fellow Maskers being daubed with Pitch and Roſin, took fire, and before they could be undreſſed they were burnt or ſtifled, the King was ſnatched out of the Flames by a Lady of Maſculine Courage; and this Accident ſo frighted him, that he never entirely recovered the Uſe of his Underſtanding.

(d) As King of *England*, ſtiled *Henry* the Sixth, and as King of *France*, *Henry* the Second.

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the *Engliſh* Yoke could never be made eaſie to the *French* Necks, and that ſince now by the Death of the late King they had no Bond to hold them to their *Allegiance*, tho' never ſo often ſworn and promiſed, but Conqueſt, they could expect Subjection from them no longer, than either Fear or lack of Opportunity could prevent their Revolt. This put him upon uſing all means to ſecure the Dominions of his Maſter, which he was ſenſible could not be always effectual, yet he hop'd it might preſerve them to ſome advantageous Accidents. And the firſt Thing he did was to reinforce the Army which King *Henry* his Brother had left in *France*, and place over it ſuch Commanders, as were not only eminent for their Loyalty, but ready to undertake the boldeſt Attempts to maintain the Rights of their Country. With part of which he well fortified all the Garriſons on the Confines of the *Engliſh* Pale, and the reſt he kept on Foot to oppoſe any ſudden Invaſion upon them by the *Dauphin* or his Party: Then he aſſembl'd all the Nobility, as well *French* as *Engliſh* to him at *Paris*, and having in a grave Speech reminded them of their Duty and Allegiance to King *Henry* VI. their undoubted Sovereign, to whom they had not only oblig'd themſelves to be faithful and true by the ſolemneſt Oath made to his Father, but were ty'd by their preſent Intereſts; for as by their voluntary Subjection they were now ſettled in the quiet Enjoyment of their Honour and Eſtates, ſo by their Revolt they muſt neceſſarily expoſe themſelves to all the Miſeries of a renew'd War, which they muſt expect would be ſo much the more Mercileſs, by how much a treacherous Friend is always accounted as the worſt of Enemies, he perſwaded them to renew their Faith to the King, and take a freſh Oath of Fidelity to him. This Advice was readily comply'd with by all the Nobles and others preſent, who did their Homages to him in the King's Behalf, and took a ſolemn Oath of Allegiance to him, which being ſo good a Preſident to all of inferior Degrees, the Regent impoſed the like Oath upon all Perſons as well *Engliſh* as *French* within King *Henry*'s Dominions in *France*. Beſides theſe Things, he took the moſt effectual Care he could to keep *Normandy*, the Ancient Inheritance of the *Engliſh*, in Subjection, by encouraging the Nobility, and placing ſtrong Garriſons among them, and that he might eſtabliſh the *Engliſh* Sovereignty as firmly as he could among the *French*, he call'd in all the Ancient Coin, and had it new made and ſtamped with the *Engliſh* Arms quarter'd with thoſe of *France*, ſtrictly forbidding, that any Money coin'd by the late King *Charles* ſhould be Current in King *Henry*'s Dominions, and ordering, that no Money ſhould paſs in Payment, but what had both the *Engliſh* and *French* Arms upon it. Two new Pieces were Coin'd as Badges of the *Engliſh* Sovereignty, one of Gold, call'd a *Salus*, of Twenty Two Shillings Value, and another of Silver, call'd a *Blans*, of Eight Pence Value. Thus did the Regent as wiſely and cautiouſly provide for the Continuance of the *Engliſh* Power and Dominion in *France* as Human Prudence could deviſe, ſo that whatever might after fall out, he ſecur'd himſelf from any Negligence or deſerv'd Blame.

French ſwear Allegiance to K. *Henry*.

But the Regent's Care was not thought ſufficient to maintain ſo conſiderable a Part of the *Engliſh* Dominions, as *France* was deſervedly accounted; the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who was equally concern'd to defend his Nephew's Right, thought it a Subject fit for the Conſultation of a Parliament, which he ſummon'd for that End to meet, *Novemb.* 9. The Deſign of their Meeting being only to provide for the War in *France*, little of Publick Concern was enacted, but what Neceſſity requir'd, and therefore only Three Acts of that Nature paſſed, *viz.* 1. To inveſt in the Lords of the King's Council, a Power to appoint Officers and Workmen to coin Gold and Silver, in as many Places as ſhall ſeem to them convenient. 2. To enjoin all Sheriffs, four times a Year, to proclaim in their Juriſdictions all Statutes in Force concerning Purveyors, that they may not abuſe the People's Ignorance or Credulity in Buying. 3. To baniſh certain *Iriſh* Men out of the Realm, who having taken Sanctuary in *Oxford*, committed many Rapes, Murthers, and heinous Diſorders in the Nation, to the great Diſturbance of the adjoyning Countries. Moſt part of the Seſſion was ſpent in contriving Supplies for the carrying on the Conqueſt of *France*, and it was at length unanimouſly granted, That for every Sack of Wool exported, Five Nobles ſhould be paid to the King for Three Years next enſuing; and an Act was made at the ſame time for an Allowance to be given the maim'd and decrepit Soldiers, who had ſerv'd King *Henry* V, in his Wars with *France*, out of the Territories conquer'd by their Aſſiſtance, and Spoils taken in the War. With this Supply of Money the Protector, the Duke of *Glouceſter*, raiſed a Body of able Men, and in the Spring ſent them over to aſſiſt his Brother againſt the Power of the New *French* King, whom they had reaſon to ſuppoſe would be ſtruggling for his Right, as indeed they ſoon found he did.

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First Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

While the *Engliſh* Governours were thus providing to ſecure their Conqueſts in *France*, *Charles*, then call'd King of *France*, was no leſs Active to raiſe an Army to regain his Kingdom, of which he had left little more than the Title, for ſcarce any Province adher'd to him but *Languedoc*, and that able to do him little Service, being aſſaulted on the one Hand by *John De Chaalons*, Prince of *Orange*, and on the other by the Lord *Rochebaron*, Governour of the Dioceſſe of *Velay*, Friends to the *Engliſh*; but yet the loweſt Ebbs of Fortune could not make him deſpair, having as he frequently uſed to ſay, *God and Right on his ſide*. With his Friends in *Languedoc* he began to lay the Foundation of his enſuing Power, and with ſuch an Army as he could pick up, which he put under the Command of the Count *de Fois*, encountred the Prince of *Orange*, and Lord *Rochebaron*, whom he eaſily overcame, being but weak in themſelves, and at too great a Diſtance to receive any timely Aid from the *Engliſh*. This Province being thus ſettled, he put it under the Government of *Charles de Bourbon*, Count *de Clermont* a Prince of the Blood, and as grateful to the People as faithful to himſelf, and being encourag'd by this Succeſs he return'd to *Poictiers* to proceed in his Affairs, and raiſe an Army great enough for his Deſign, if it could be done with all his Intereſts. The *Scots* were his Friends, as they had always been to the Kings of *France*, but he was forced in ſo deſperate a Condition to give them greater Encouragements than Ordinary, preferring ſome of their Nobles to the greateſt Offices about him, as *Charles Steward*, Earl of *Buchan*, he made Conſtable of *France*, and gave him the Lordſhip of *Aubeny*, which his Poſterity long enjoy'd, and *James*, Earl of *Glaſcoe*, Marſhal, and beſides chooſing one Regiment of his Guards out of them (which is continu'd to this Day.) Theſe Favours ſhew'd to the *Scots*, gain'd them readily to his Aſſiſtance, and made them not ſparing in lending him Aid to recover that Dignity, which they were ready to believe by theſe Earneſts would be their Gain

King *Charles* his endeavours to regain *France*, and recovers *Languedoc*.

The *Scots* aſſiſt *Charles*.

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as well his own. He ſent alſo to his Friends into *Italy* and *Spain* to require their Aid, who were not backward to his Deſires, but lent him a convenient Force, which ſo elevated the Hopes of his Friends at Home (of which he had ſome Perſons of Note in every Province of his Kingdom) that they alſo ſet all Engines at work to draw off the People from their Subjection to the *Engliſh*, and invite them to recover their ancient Freedom and Rights, in which they were ſo ſucceſsful, that in a few Weeks they had gathered a great Army able to compaſs their Deſigns, and were aſſur'd privately of the Fidelity and Obedience of many conſiderable Towns, yea, even of the greateſt part of the *Pariſians* themſelves, who tho' they dar'd not declare for him, yet would be ready as Opportunity ſhould offer to act for his Advantage, which perhaps they ſhould be the better able to do by being reputed Friends to the *Engliſh*. Thus did the Affairs of the Two Rival Kings ſtand. *Henry* had moſt of the Kingdom of *France*, but *Charles* had the moſt of the *French*. *Henry* was fear'd moſt, but *Charles* lov'd beſt. *Henry* was forc'd to truſt his Enemies, but *Charles* to fight againſt his Friends: And then it was eaſie to gueſs which way the Victory would at length turn; for what Prince can be ſo Powerful that Treachery cannot undermine, and what Prince ſo Weak as not to conquer where his Enemies are loth to ſtrike and glad to yield, thereby to throw the Victory into the Hands they'd have it.

The *Italian's* aſſiſt King *Charles.*

Duke of *Bedford* makes Alliances for the Safety of King *Henry.*

The D. of *Bedford* with a watchful Eye obſerving the Growth of the *Dauphin's* Intereſt, feared that he would ſoon be, what he had as yet only the Title of, *King of France*, unleſs all ſpeedy Means were uſed to cruſh him in the Beginning; and tho' he had a very good Force by him, yet he found it neceſſary to ſtrengthen himſelf by a ſtrict Alliance with ſuch neighbouring Princes as might prove moſt prejudicial to the *Engliſh* by joining with their Adverſaries: Whereupon he invited the Duke of *Burgundy*, *Peter*, Duke of *Bretagne*, with his Brother *Arthur*, Earl of *Richmond*, *John*, Prince of *Orange*, and *Amadeus*, Duke of *Savoy* to an Interview at *Amiens*, and there enter'd into a League both Offenſive and Defenſive with them againſt *Charles* the pretended King of *France*. And that he might oblige them firmly to hold to their Promiſe, he marry'd *Anne* the Duke of *Burgundy's* Siſter, and the Earl of *Richmond* his other Siſter *Margaret*. From this Confederacy ſprung almoſt an irreſiſtible Oppoſition to all the Pretences of *Charles* to the Crown, for they all agreed to guard their ſeveral Parts of *France* againſt him and his Adherents, and to keep ſo ſtrict a Watch upon all his Motions, that he ſhould never be able to make any conſiderable Reſiſtance. The Duke of *Burgundy* undertook the Defence of *Picardy*, and put in *John* of *Luxenburg* to drive out the *Dauphiniſts* (as they were call'd) out of the Towns they had poſſeſſed themſelves of. The Earl of *Salisbury* was placed with a ſtrong Body of Men in *Champaigne* and *Brie*, not only to ſuppreſs any Inſurrections, but keep the *Pariſians* in awe. The valiant Earl of *Warwick* was ſent into *Gwyenne* to take thoſe Towns that held out for the *Dauphin*, and the Prince of *Orange* was ſent with a good Army to ſuppreſs his Intereſts in *Languedoc* and *Dauphiné*. Thus did the Duke of *Bedford* provide as ſtrong a Force to reſiſt, as *Charles* had to oppoſe, and made as firm Alliances to uphold and to maintain K. *Henry's* Dominions, as *Charles* had to regain them, ſo that they ſeem'd almoſt an equal Match, ſcarce able to ſubdue each other, unleſs ſome ſpecial Decree of Heaven ſhould turn the Scale, as it may ſeem to have done in favour of the *French*, as the following Hiſtory will manifeſt.

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Several Places taken by the *French* and *Engliſh.*

Both Parties being thus provided for Action, they were as eager to try their Fortune one againſt the other, as they had been to fit themſelves for it. The *Engliſh* are ſaid by the *French* Hiſtorians to have begun the Game, and the *French* by the *Engliſh*, Report perhaps having out-run the real Attempts of either ſide: But this is credible, that they began to aſſault each other's Territories with equal Fury and Courage almoſt at the ſame time. The *Engliſh* beſieg'd *Bazas* in *Guienne*, and took it without much Difficulty, being a ſmall and weak City; but *Charles* undertook a more important Attempt by the Siege of *Pont-Meulan*, a fair City, then well fortified by the *Engliſh*, and ſtanding upon the River *Seine* at a convenient Diſtance from *Paris*, where he was certified he had many Friends who would be helpful to him, if he could make himſelf Maſter of a Place ſo fit for Communication with them. The eager Deſire he had to gain this City made him carry on the Siege with the greater Diligence and Severity; for having obtain'd it by Force before the *Engliſh* could ſend any Relief, he put the whole Garriſon to the Sword. The Duke of *Bedford* was ſenſible of the Inconvenience of this Loſs, and ſo much the more becauſe he found the *Pariſians* more uneaſie under his Government, and endeavouring by all means to get him out of their City, under a Pretence, that the adjoining Caſtles were troubleſom and hurtful to them, which he eaſily diſcern'd was only contriv'd to declare for their own King without Danger, and therefore reſolv'd upon the Recovery of it whatever it coſt him. *Thomas*, Earl of *Salisbury*, a Perſon not inferior to the moſt eminent *Roman* Captains, was thereupon ſent with a ſtrong Army to beſiege it; but becauſe K. *Charles* was ſenſible that the Garriſon was unable to make any conſiderable Defence, and he was loth to loſe the Advantage he had got, he ſent a Relief to them under the Command of the Earl of *Aumerl* the Conſtable of *France*, and the Lord *Anechy*, who having with them a good Body of hardy *Scots* endeavour'd by a pitch'd Battel to raiſe the Siege. The *Engliſh* as valiantly under their brave Commander maintain'd the Siege, and ſo a bloody and fierce Fight began, which concluded after ſome Hours in favour of the *Engliſh*, and with a great Loſs to the *French*, for there were ſlain 1800 *French* Men, and above 3000 *Scots*, and among them ſeveral great Men and Commanders, *viz.* of the *French*, the Earls of *Leſtrake*, *Comigens* and *Tonnoire*, the Lords *Coquart de Cameron*, *De Port* and *Montmorancy*, the Baſtards of *Arminack* and *Forreſts*, and the Viſcount of *Touraine*; and of the *Scots*, the Lord of St. *John's Town*, Sir *John Balgary*, Sir *John Turnbel*, Sir *John Holiburton*, Sir *Robert Liſlie*, Sir *William Dowglas*, Sir *Alexander Hume*, and many others. The Conſtable who had loſt his Eye in the Battel was taken Priſoner, with the Earl of *Vantadour*, Sir *Alexander Meldrum*, Sir *Lewis Ferignie*, and 2200 Gentlemen of the *French* ſide. The *Engliſh*, tho' Conquerors, yet kept their Ground with the Loſs of ſeveral of their Commanders, as Sir *John Grey*, Sir *William Hall*, and Sir *Gilbert Halſall*, one of their Marſhals of the Field, and 2100 common Soldiers. The Misfortune of the *French* in this Attempt ſo diſheartned the Beſieged, who were Spectators of the Battel, that they immediately ſurrendred the Town upon theſe Conditions.

Montacute, Pont-Meulan retaken by the *Engliſh*, and the Conditions of the Surrender.

I. That the *French* Garriſon ſhould depart out of the Town without Damage or Impediment,

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but ſhould leave behind them all their Horſes, Armour, and other Habiliments of War.

II. That all the Riches of the Town, as Gold, Silver, Jewels, and the like, ſhould be a Spoil for the *Engliſh*.

III. That all Perſons who had ſerv'd *Henry* V. in his Wars againſt *France*, or had ſworn to a final Peace with the *Engliſh*, as alſo all the Soldiers within the Garriſon, that were either *Scots*, *Iriſh* or *Engliſh*, ſhould be left to the Mercy of the *Engliſh*; and all others who would ſwear Fealty and Homage to King *Henry* ſhould have their Liberties given them immediately without Ranſom.

IV. That if there were any Perſon found in the Town who was either actually guilty of the Death of the Duke of *Burgundy*, or had been conſenting any ways to his Death, that he ſhould have no Benefit of this Agreement, but ſhould be deliver'd up to the Regent to be puniſh'd, with ſome other Articles of leſs Importance. The Recovery of this Town was of great Advantage to the *Engliſh*.

Duke of *Bedford* puniſhes the *Pariſians*, and preferrs the Earl of *Saliſbury* and Sir *John Falſtoff*.

The Regent having thus remov'd the Danger which the near Approach of K. *Charles*'s Forces threatned him with, ſet himſelf with all Diligence to ſecure the *Engliſh* Intereſts more firmly; he firſt inquir'd into the deſign'd Revolt of the *Pariſians*, and puniſh'd the Leaders of it with Death. Then he ſent Sir *John Falſtoff* to reduce the Caſtles of *Pacy* and *Courſay*, which being in the Hands of the *French*, who pretended themſelves Friends to the Regent, were become troubleſom to the *Engliſh* at *Paris* upon K. *Charles*'s Succeſs. Theſe Sir *John Falſtoff* with a good Force of *Engliſh* Soldiers ſoon reduced, and returning with a good Booty and many Priſoners to the Duke, they were put into the Keeping of more Faithful Perſons. But the Regent, who was of as eminent Wiſdom as Fidelity, thought it not more Prudent to curb his Enemies than encourage his Friends, and therefore preferr'd the Earl of *Saliſbury* and Sir *John Falſtoff* to Places of greater Truſt for their Services of this Year. The Earl of *Saliſbury* he made Lieutenant and Vicegerent for the King in the Counties of *Brie* and *Champaign*, and Sir *John Falſtoff*, Great Maſter of his Houſhold, his Deputy in the Dutchy of *Normandy*, lying on this ſide the River *Seine*, and Governour of the Countries of *Anjou* and *Main*, which Honours, as they ſhew'd what Reſpect the Regent had for their Fidelity and Valour, ſo they became a ſtrong Obligation upon them to be Indefatigable in his Service, as indeed they were ever after. (*e*)

Tranſactions in *England*, and Accidents.

During theſe Tranſactions in *France* by the *French* and *Engliſh*, many Things not unworthy Obſervation happen'd in *England*, but none of ſo fatal an Influence as the Marriage of the Protector *Humphrey*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, which ſhall be more diſtinctly related in its Order. *November* the 7th, the Body of the Heroick Prince, King *Henry* V. being brought out of *France*, was bury'd in the *Abbey-Church* of *Weſtminſter* at the Feet of St. *Edward*, as is more largely related in his Life. About *March* the 2d was *William Tailour* a Secular Prieſt, and Miniſter of *Briſtol* burnt for Hereſie in *Smithfield*. He had been accuſed ſeveral Years before of holding ſome Erroneous Opinions contrary to the Doctrines of the Preſent Church, and infecting the People of *Briſtol* with them by his Preaching, *viz.* 1. *That whoſoever ſhall hang any parts of Holy Scripture about his Neck to defend him from any Danger or Infection, or to free him from any bodily Diſeaſes or other Maladies (as was frequently done) taketh away the Honour due unto God only, and giveth it to the Devil.* 2. *That no Human Creature, neither in Heaven nor Earth is to be Worſhipped.* 3. *That the Saints in Heaven are not to be Worſhipped or Invocated.* For theſe Doctrines he was ſummon'd to appear before *Thomas Arundell* then Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* at *Lambeth*; and altho' they were then condemn'd as Erroneous and Heretical, yet becauſe he deny'd that he had at any time deliver'd them as his own Opinions or Senſe, but only propounded the ſame to argue about them, and with all promiſed, that he never would hold or favour any ſuch Opinions hereafter, he was diſmiſſed from his Impriſonment upon his Corporal Oath, and Security given into *Chancery* for his good Behaviour for the future. But he was not ſet at Liberty long, when a freſh Accuſation was brought againſt him under his own Hand, concerning ſome Heretical Doctrines which he had vented in ſome Letters written to *Tho. Smith* a Prieſt of *Briſtol*, wherein he had aſſerted, *That every Prayer wherein we Petition any Supernatural Gift, ought to be made to God only, and to pray to any Creature on that Account is Idolatry.* Theſe Aſſertions being examin'd by the Convocation then held by *Henry Chicheley*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* in St. *Paul*'s Church were condemn'd as Heretical; and he being Sentenc'd to Death as a lapſed and incorrigible Heretick, was firſt degraded of his Prieſtly Office, and deliver'd to the Secular Power to ſuffer the Puniſhment of his Crime, which he did in *Smithfield* with great Conſtancy and Chriſtian Reſolution. Whether the Shedding of this good Man's Blood provok'd the Divine Diſpleaſure to inflict the Puniſhment on the Nation that follow'd, is not for Us to determine, yet it was certainly the Effect of ſome Sin of like Nature, for from *Midſummer* to the End of *September*, there fell every Day ſuch Quantities of Rain, that the Harveſt was in great Danger of being utterly loſt for want of Seaſonable Weather to have the Corn in; yet ſo great Diligence was uſed, that Wheat at *London* was not ſold for more than Eight Shillings a Quarter, and Malt than Five Shillings. But the moſt Unfortunate Accident in *England* was (*f*) by the Marriage of the Duke of *Glouceſter*. The *French* Hiſtorians ſay, That by this Match, Providence, who had for a long time frown'd upon the *French* for their Sins, began to ſhew that he had ſome remainders of Favour for them, beginning now to revive the *French* Monarchy again, and reſtore them to their Ancient Liberties and Privileges. Upon this Occaſion, *Jaquet* or *Jaqueline*, ſole Daughter and Heireſs to *William* of *Bavaria*, was by the Death of her Father left the Government of the Earldoms of *Henault* and *Holland*, two large and populous Countries. She was marry'd to *John*, Duke of *Brabant* before, but leaving her Huſband upon a Pretence that he was a too near Relation to marry her (or as others, for his unkind Uſage of her) ſhe came into *England*, and being a Woman of an ambitious Humour, ſought her a New Husband. The Duke of *Glouceſter*, though then at the Helm of a great Kingdom, yet knowing that his Glory would have a Period by his Nephew's Age, ſought to make himſelf an Abſolute Prince by marrying her, and accordingly ſhe became his Wife to the great Diſpleaſure, not only of the Duke of *Brabant*,

The Marriage of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and ill Conſequents of it.

(*e*) And ever had been ſo.

(*f*) He did not marry till the next Year, the Third of *Henry* the Sixth, *Anno* 1424.

but

A. D. 1425. Reg. 3. but of the Duke of *Burgundy* his Father's Brother's Son, whoſe Friendſhip, as it had raiſed and eſtabliſhed the Power of the *Engliſh* in *France*, ſo his Enmity which was cauſed by this Quarrel, prov'd the utter Deſtruction of the *Engliſh* Intereſt there.

Reg. 2. The Earl of *Saliſbury*'s ſucceſsful Atchievements, and taking *Montaquillon*.

The Valiant Earl of *Salisbury* having lately receiv'd ſuch an Encouragement to exert his Natural Courage for his Maſter's Honour and Intereſt, began this Year with many brave Attempts, which were attended with the deſir'd Succeſs, ſo that the Ruin of K. *Charles* ſeem'd almoſt unavoidable: For he beſieg'd and took the Town of *Cravant* in *Auxerre*, and the Towns of *Vertus*, and *Eſperney* in *Champaign*, with many other ſmaller Towns that were either affrighted or allur'd by their Example. But *Montaquillon*, a ſtrong City in the Country of *Brie* coſt him a great deal of more Time and Labour, for it held out the Siege above Five Months, and was at laſt gain'd with no ſmall Loſs to his Army; but the Victorious Triumph which the *Engliſh* made at the taking recompenc'd their Pains and Loſs abundantly, for the Conditions of Surrender were very Honourable (which the *French* Hiſtorians call ſtrange and miraculous), *viz.*

I. That the Town with all its Treaſure and Riches ſhould be reſign'd to the *Engliſh*, their Lives and Houſes ſaved.

II. That the Captains of the Town, *Pregent de Cotinie*, and of the Caſtle *Guille Burgois*,, both *Bretons*, ſhould ſwear never to bare Arms againſt the *Engliſh* on this ſide the River *Loire*.

III. That all the Soldiers ſhould be left to the Mercy of the Regent, and ſhould go to the *Tournelles* in *Paris*, where the Regent then reſided, with bare Heads, and a Rope about their Necks, and a Dagger at their Breaſts, which was done, and they all had ſuffer'd Death, had not the Dutcheſs of *Bedford* obtain'd their Lives of her Huſband thro' meer Commiſeration to them.

While the Earl of *Salisbury* thus victoriouſly manag'd the *Engliſh* Affairs, the Earl of *Suffolk* was no leſs Induſtrious to carry on their Conqueſts another way; for he took the two ſtrong Caſtles of *Coucy* and *La Roche*, and the Regent himſelf beſieg'd and took the Caſtles of *Crotoy* and *Riol*, by which means the Kingdom of *France* was almoſt entirely ſubject to the *Engliſh*, having an abſolute Command of all Places as far as the Banks of the River *Loire*.

Second Parliament, its Acts.

This Year in *July* was born to *Charles* the Titular King of *France* his firſt Son, whom he nam'd *Lewis*. His Birth was receiv'd with great Joy by his Adherents, and was thus far advantageous to him, that it mightily confirm'd his Party to uphold him thro' the Hopes of a Succeſſor, and brought over to them all thoſe who had any Affection to the *French* Monarchy. But all the Comfort his Father had in him was in his Child-hood, he proving in his riper Age Ambitious and Rebellious, aſpiring ſo eagerly to his Father's Throne, that he could not wait Nature's Leiſure, but ſought to depoſe him.

The Protector being now loaden with many difficult Affairs of State, iſſu'd out his Summons to call the Parliament to meet, *Octob.* 20. and becauſe he thought the Preſence of the Infant-King might be a means to engage both *Lords* and *Commons* to be Zealous for his Intereſts: He thereupon was brought up by his Mother from *Windſor*, and at the opening of the Seſſion (*g*) ſat upon his Mother's Knee in the Chair of State among his Lords. The Speaker in an Eloquent Speech to the Lords, firſt extoll'd his Perſon, and told them, *That ſuch a Divine Sweetneſs appear'd in his Face as foretold all the Happineſs which could be expected from a good Prince, and the Son of ſuch an unparallel'd Father*, and then recommended to their Care the Government of the Nation in his Infancy, *Exhorting them not only in Compaſſion to his tender Age, but in Conſideration of their own Honour ſo to manage the Publick Affairs, as that neither the King nor his People may have juſt Cauſe to blame them when he came to his Government himſelf.* The Lords and Commons were eaſily perſwaded to do what they knew reaſonable in it ſelf and their Duty, and therefore immediately enter'd into Conſultation for the Publick Benefit. The King ſtay'd but a few Days in the City, but with his Mother on *November* the 26th remov'd to *Waltham-Croſs*, and not long after to *Hartford*, where he kept his *Chriſtmas* with the uſual Magnificence, the King of *Scots* being there with him. In the mean time the Parliament employ'd their whole Care and Thoughts for the Publick Good, and after much Deliberation Enacted and Order'd many Things of great Advantage to both Nations; for as to *England* they confirm'd all the Ancient Rights, Privileges and Franchiſes of the Church, and Lords Spiritual and Temporal, Cities and Boroughs, and all other the King's Subjects, and further enacted, That all Merchants trading in Wool ſhould ſell their Merchandizes at *Calis* only ſo long as the Staple continu'd there, by which means the Subjects of both Kingdoms were greatly enrich'd; That no Coin of Gold or Silver ſhall be carry'd out of the Realm upon any Pretence whatſoever, unleſs it be for the Payments of Soldiers, and other Expences of the King's Wars beyond the Seas, upon the Penalty of forfeiting the ſaid Sum ſo carry'd out. That a ſort of baſe Money call'd *Blanks* ſhall not be accepted or tender'd in any Payment upon Pain contain'd in the Stat. of *Hen.* 5. againſt *Gally-halfpence*, *Saskins* and *Dotkins*, both which Acts were well contriv'd for the Advantage of Trade and the Wealth of the Nation, becauſe the Exportation of Money is the Ruin of the Riches of a Kingdom. And that Juſtice might thrive with Trade, it was alſo enacted, That all Officers made by the King's Letters Patents in any Courts of Juſtice ſhould not only be Men of Integrity themſelves, but ſhould be ſworn to entruſt no Under-Clerks, for whoſe good Behaviour they themſelves would not be reſponſable, that there might be no Falſehood, Bribery or Extortion in adminiſtring Juſtice, to the great Wrong of the People. And for the Security of the King's Perſon, it was further enacted, That if any Perſon, who is committed to Priſon for Grand or Petty-Treaſon, ſhall break Priſon and eſcape, his Crime ſhall be taken *pro confeſſo*, and his Goods and Chattels may be ſeiz'd by the Lord of the Manor where they were found, as if he were actually Condemn'd and Executed. Beſides the Statutes made for the Benefit of *England*, it was ordain'd, That nothing ſhould be omitted neceſſary for the Preſervation of *France*, and that the Lord Protector ſhould ſend ſuch Supplies of Men and Money to his Brother into that Nation, as ſhould be judg'd requiſite for the Defence of it againſt the Pretenſions of K. *Charles*. And ſo the Parliament broke up with much Applauſe and Commendation.

A. D. 1423. Reg. 2.

A. D. 1424.

In the Time of this Seſſion of Parliament, and by and with the Conſent of the ſame, the Pro-

(*g*) This Parliament was ſoon called after *Eaſter* in the following Year, and 'twas then the Infant-King ſat in the Houſe. *Hol.* pag. 589.

A. D. 1424. Reg. 2.

tector (ſollicited by *Mordicai*, Duke of *Albany*) conſidering, not only that *James*, King of *Scots*, had been long detain'd Priſoner in *England* without a juſt Cauſe, but that being ſet at Liberty he might probably ſo manage him to a firm Friendſhip with the *Engliſh*, that he would deny the *French* King the Aſſiſtance of his Subjects the *Scots*, whoſe Valour had almoſt wholly ſupported him, ſet him free from his Captivity, and provided a large Retinue to convey him honourably into his own Country; but leaſt this Obligation ſhould be forgotten he marry'd him to the Lady *Jane*, the Daughter of the Duke of *Somerſet*, and Couſin-German to the King, *(b)* with whom he had a large Dowry, beſides many Gifts of Plate and Jewels which her Kindred of the Nobility preſented him with, and at his Departure induc'd him to take this following Oath of Friendſhip and Fidelity to the King of *England*, viz.

James, King of *Scots* ſet at Liberty.

His Oath to King *Henry*.

I James Steward, *King of* Scotland *ſhall be true and faithful unto thee* Henry, *by the Grace of God, King of* England *and* France, *the Noble and Superiour Lord of* Scotland, *and to thee I make my Fidelity for the ſaid Kingdom of* Scotland, *which I hold and claim of thee; and I ſhall bear you my Fidelity and Faith of Life and Limb and Worldly Honour againſt all Men, and faithfully I ſhall acknowledge and do you Service for the Kingdom of* Scotland *aforeſaid. So God me help and theſe Holy Evangeliſts.*

His Treachery.

With theſe Ties of Friendſhip was he diſmiſſed and ſent Home, but nothing could oblige him to deſert the *French* Intereſts; for ſoon *(i)* after his Return Home, either thro' a natural Affection to that Nation, or elſe deſirous to reſcue himſelf from all Badges of Subjection to the *Engliſh*, he entred into a ſtrict League with the *French* King, and ſeal'd it with the Promiſes of a Marriage between his Daughter *Margaret* and *Lewis* the *Dauphin*.

Sir *John Mortimer* accuſed of Treaſon, and Executed.

In the Month of *February*, and while the Parliament was yet ſitting, one *William King* a Servant of Sir *Robert Scott*, Keeper of the *Tower* of *London*, accus'd Sir *John Mortimer*, a Priſoner in the *Tower*, upon the Act of the laſt Parliament concerning Eſcapes, alledging many other Articles againſt him, *viz.* 1. That the ſaid Sir *John Mortimer* had contriv'd with him to break out of his Impriſonment, and had promis'd him immediately a Reward of Forty Pound a Year to be aiding and aſſiſting to him in his Eſcape, and afterward an Earldom. 2. That the ſaid Sir *John* told him, that after his Eſcape he would go into *Wales* to the Earl of *March*, and having rais'd 40000 Men would enter the Kingdom again and cut off the Heads of the Protector and Biſhop of *Winchester*. 3. That he had told him, that the Earl of *March* was rightful Heir to the Crown of *England*, and that after him he was the next Heir; wherefore if the Earl of *March* refus'd to recover his Right, he himſelf would take upon him the *Regal Power* as is due. 4. That when he came into *Wales*, if the Earl of *March* would not accept his Service, nor engage in his Cauſe, he would then fly into *France* and aſſiſt the *French* King againſt King *Henry*, and did not doubt but in the End he ſhould gain his Deſign. This Impeachment was brought againſt the ſaid Sir *John Mortimer* before the Lords and Commons aſſembl'd in Parliament, and was ſo fully prov'd againſt him by the ſaid *William King*, that he was found Guilty of High-Treaſon, and condemn'd for it to be hang'd and quarter'd, which Sentence was accordingly Executed upon him at *Tiburn*, and his Body was bury'd in St. *John's* Church at *Clerkenwell*. The Earl of *March* tho' nothing of a Conſpiracy could be prov'd againſt him, yet was ſent into *Ireland* with ſome others, to ſecure the Kingdom from Danger, and dy'd there ſoon after.

A. D. 1424. Reg. 2.

A freſh Army of *Engliſh* ſent into *France*, who conquer'd many Places.

While the Parliament was thus buſied, the Protector made it his Care to get Supplies for *France* to reinforce the *Engliſh* Army there, which tho' Succeſsful in all its Atchievements almoſt, yet was much diminiſh'd, and by his Induſtry rais'd an Army of 10000 able Men, which he ſent over in the beginning of the Spring well arm'd and provided. This prov'd a ſeaſonable and happy Recuit, for *Charles* began to overpower the *Engliſh*, and get ſome Advantages againſt them, for he had lately taken *Compeigne* and *Crotoy* from them. But the Arrival of theſe freſh Men reviv'd the Spirits of the diſcourag'd *Engliſh*; for the Regent putting them under the Command of the Valiant Earl of *Salisbury* and Earl of *Suffolk*, ſent them out to recover their late Loſſes, and oppoſe the further Progreſs of the *French* King, which they did ſo effectually, that within a ſmall time not only *Compeigne* and *Crotoy* were regain'd, but many other Places taken from K. *Charles*, viz. *Baſide*, *Riol*, *Rula*, *Gyronde*, *Baſyl*, *Mormond*, *Milham*, *Femal*, *Mauron*, *Daras*, and many other Towns and Caſtles of no ſmall Strength and Importance. Some ſmall Skirmiſhes in other Places had paſs'd between the *French* and *Engliſh* which being to the Diſadvantage of the latter, did ſomething abate the Glory of their Conqueſt; for Sir *John de la Pool* Brother of the Duke of *Suffolk*, Captain of *Auranches* in *Normandy* having aſſembl'd to him all the Garriſons in the Marches of *Anjoy*, made an Aſſault upon the City of *Angiers*, plunder'd and burnt the Suburbs, and pillag'd all the adjoyning Country, carrying away as many Priſoners and as much Cattle as they could conveniently. The Earl of *Aumerl*, and Viſcount *Narbon* were then the Governors of the Town and Caſtle; and though they could not prevent the Miſchief the *Engliſh* had done by reaſon of the Suddenneſs of it, yet ſeeing them retreat in much Diſorder, and clogg'd with the Priſoners and Spoil they had taken, they reſolv'd to revenge their Loſs, and redeem both their Credit and Captives: Whereupon Sallying out with 6000 *French* Men they purſu'd and fell upon them. The *Engliſh* were in ſo great Confuſion that they could make no conſiderable Reſiſtance, and ſo were eaſily routed and overthrown, 300 being ſlain, all their Spoil loſt, and above 600 taken Priſoners, among whom were Sir *John de la Pool* himſelf, Sir *John Baſſet*, Sir *John Aufort*, and ſeveral other Commanders and Perſons of Note. But in theſe Petty Skirmiſhes the Advantage was not always on the *French* Men's ſide, for Sir *Matthew Gough* with a Party of *Engliſh* routed the Baſtard *de la Baulm*, and the Lord *Craignac* who with a good Body of Men had made an Aſſault upon

The *Engliſh* Loſs at *Angiers*.

(*b*) She was Daughter to *John*, Earl of *Somerſet*, and Siſter to *John*, Duke of *Somerſet*, and Couſin German to *Henry* the Fifth, the King's Father: The *Scot*'s King marry'd her in the Second Year of his Reign, and before he return'd Home he did Homage to the young King of *England* in the Caſtle of *Windſor* in theſe Words.

I James Steward *King of the* Scots *ſhall be true and faithful unto you Lord* Henry, *by the Grace of God, King of* England *and* France, *the Noble and Superiour Lord of the Kingdom of* Scotland, *which I hold and claim of you; and I ſhall bear you my Faith and Fidelity of Life and Limb and worldly Honour againſt all Men, and faithfully I ſhall acknowledge and ſhall do you Service due for the Kingdom of* Scotland *aforeſaid. So help me God, and theſe Holy Evangeliſts.* Hol. p. 587.

(*i*) It cou'd not be ſoon after, for his Daughter *Margaret* was not born till ſeveral Months after her Mother's Arrival in *Scotland*, and 'tis not probable that they talk'd of marrying her before ſhe was a Year or two Old.

A. D. 1424. Reg. 2.

upon *Maſconnois*, and took the ſaid *Baſtard* Priſoner with his own Hands, whom he preſented to the Earl of *Salisbury*, but receiv'd him again of the Earl for a Gift, with a Horſe of great Value: So that the former Loſſes abated little of the Victories of the *Engliſh*. Yet the Regent was not contented with the Succeſs of the Arms of his Men, who though they gain'd ſomething daily, yet the Competitor of the Crown being yet alive, and rather increaſing in Strength and Intereſt, than declining, he knew there could be no ſafe Enjoyment of what they had, nor any Hopes of a Ceſſation of Arms; whereupon he contriv'd all he could to bring Things to a Concluſion by drawing the *French* King to a pitch'd Battel, and either Conquer or be Conquer'd; for a State of continual Wars damps all the Comforts of Victory, and makes Conqueſt it ſelf no Pleaſure. To effect this the Regent could find no better way than to lay Siege to *Verneuil* (*k*) in *Perche*, a moſt important Place belonging to the *French* King, which all his Intereſts were engag'd to defend, and accordingly the *Engliſh* Army ſat down before it in the beginning of *Auguſt*. The Captain of the Town, Moſieur *Gyrard* held out a while Valiantly againſt the *Engliſh*, but at length came to a Capitulation, and promiſed to reſign the Town if it were not reliev'd by a Day appointed, and immediately ſent King *Charles* Word of the Agreement. The Relief of the Place was thought neceſſary, and an Army of *French* and *Scots* was diſpatch'd thither to raiſe the Siege with all convenient Speed under the Command of the Duke of *Alenzon*, Earl of *Boughan*, Conſtable of *France*, *Archibald*, Earl of *Dowglas*, Viſcount *Narbon*, Lord *Ventadour* and others; but before they could get thither the City was reſign'd into the Hands of the *Engliſh* according to the Capitulation, becauſe the Succour came not time enough. The Reſignation of the Town being known to the Duke of *Alenzon* put him into ſome doubt, whether he ſhould not Retreat without Battle, ſince the Town could not be ſav'd; but entring into Conſultation with his Commanders, it was reſolv'd to go forward and give the *Engliſh* Battel, ſince they could not retire without Danger to themſelves, and a Brand of Cowardize upon their Perſons; wherefore they march'd toward the *Engliſh* and on a fair Plain near the Town drew into a Form of Battel. The Duke of *Bedford*, glad of this Opportunity of deciding the Quarrel, which he had long deſir'd, and now ſought, advanc'd towards them from the Town in great Order, and on *Auguſt* 28. gave them Battel. The Diſpute was very ſharp and furious, as though the fate of either ſide depended on the Succeſs of that Combate. Equal Courage, and equal Strength appear'd on both Parts, ſo that the Victory was long dubious, till at length the *Engliſh* prevail'd and utterly routed the *French* Army, ſlaying, as our *Engliſh* Writers relate (*l*) 10000, but as the *French* ſay, but 5000, and taking Priſoners the Duke of *Alenzon*, the Lords *Tajeſt* and *Hormit*, Sir *Peirce Harriſon*, and other Gentlemen to the number of 200 beſides common Soldiers. The Viſcount *Narbon*, though ſlain in the Fight, was after Hang'd on a Gibbet, becauſe he had been One of the Murtherers of the Duke of *Burgundy*. The *Engliſh* loſt 2100 Men, but none of Note, which made the Victory the greater, becauſe the *French* loſt not only moſt of their Men, but moſt of their beſt Commanders, as well *Scotch* as *French*, viz. the Earls of *Aumerl*, *Dowglas*, *Boughen*, *Ventadour*, *Foreſt and Marie*, the Lords *Gravile*, *Fountains*, *Ambois*, *Gaules*, *Touars*, and *Poiſy*, with above 300 Gentlemen more, a Loſs much harder to be recover'd, than that of the Common Soldiery. This Victory reduc'd the *French* King to very great Streights, as well of Fortune as Mind. He was extreamly troubl'd at the Defeat, but more at the Effects of it, which render'd him unable to defend himſelf or the Countries that adher'd to him, (*m*) yet he was reſolv'd to hold up his State as well as he could; and tho' he fear'd every Day to be turn'd out of all, yet he kept up ſomething of a Majeſtick Grandure at *Poictiers*, having his Nobles about him in form of a Court and his Parliament, Chancery, and other Courts for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and Management of his Revenues, and other Affairs of the Crown, as if he were in the higheſt Dignity.

A. D. 1424. Reg. 2.

The Duke of *Bedford* beſieges *Verneuil*, and takes it.

A pitch Battle between the *Engliſh* and *French*, in which the *Engliſh* overcame.

Reg. 3.

The Regent after his ſignal Victory having puniſh'd ſeveral Deſerters for their Baſeneſs and Treachery, which he apprehended after the Fight, and ſettl'd his Affairs in *Normandy* return'd to *Paris*, where he was receiv'd by the Duke of *Burgundy* and his own Dutcheſs with great Joy, and continued there all the Winter. The good Effects of this Victory which were eaſily foreſeen, fill'd the Regent's Mind with ſo much Eaſineſs, that he gave himſelf a little more Liberty than uſual to enjoy his Pleaſures, and ſpent his *Chriſtmas* in making great Feaſts for the Nobility of *France*, and the *Engliſh* Commanders. In one of them he feaſted the Old Queen of *France*, Duke of *Burgundy* Earl of *Salisbury* and *Suffolk*, with many other Perſons of divers Nations, and to divert them he was pleas'd himſelf to Juſt, which he never did before. The Duke of *Burgundy* alſo, who was a Perſon of a very aimable Feature, and graceful Behaviour, much pleas'd the Company with Dancing and Juſting, though the extream Civility which he ſhew'd to the Counteſs of *Salisbury* kindl'd ſuch a Diſguſt in her Husband's Breaſt, that he ever after bore him a Grudge. But theſe Days of Jolity were kept within their due Limits, by the Regent, who wiſely knew how to uſe Pleaſure without any hindrance to his Buſineſs; and therefore as ſoon as his Mind was a little refreſhed with innocent Divertiſments, he returns again to his Care of his Charge, and the firſt thing he enter'd upon was to make the beſt Advantage of his late Succeſs, before *Charles* could recruit his Loſſes, and to that End he ſends out the Lord *Scales*, Sir *John Montgomery*, and Sir *John Falſtoff* with an Army of 2000 Men to take in ſuch Towns and Caſtles in *Anjou* and *Main*, as ſtill held out againſt the *Engliſh*. This Army had no ſooner began their March into thoſe Countries, but ſuch a Terror ſeized upon all the Inhabtants, that thy yielded all up to them, as though it were a thing impoſſible to withſtand the

The D. of *Bedford*'s Joy after his Victory.

Several Caſtles and Towns in *Anjou* and *Main* yielded to the *Engliſh*.

(*k*) 'Twas *Ivry* that the Duke of *Bedford* beſieg'd. *Verneuil* was in the Hands of the *Engliſh*, and the *French* took it by ſending a falſe Meſſage to the Garriſon, that they had routed the Duke of *Bedford*'s Army, and raiſed the Seige of *Ivry*, upon which the Duke of *Alenzon* and his Troops were receiv'd into the Town. In the mean time the *Engliſh* took *Ivry*, the Duke of *Bedford* march'd immediately to give *Alenzon* Battle, and it appears by this Account that the *Engliſh* and not the *French* were thoſe that firſt offer'd the Battle. *Hol.* p. 588.

(*l*) *Mountjoy*, King at Arms in *France*, and the *Engliſh* Heralds there preſent reported, That there were 9700 *French* and *Scots* kill'd, and 2100 *Engliſh*. The Number of the Slain on the *French* Side was as great as that of the *Engliſh* Army which conſiſted but of 1800 Horſe, and 8000 Foot. *Hol.* p. 588, 589.

(*m*) Which were only the Provinces, or rather Counties of *Bourbon*, *Auvergne*, *Berry*, *Touraine*, part of *Anjou*, *Poictou*, and part of *Languedoc*.

A. D. 1428. Reg. 3.

the ſmall *Engliſh* Power, and ſo the *Engliſh* without any Aſſault became Maſters of the ſtrong Caſtles of *Beaumont*, *Le Viſcount*, *Teune*, *Sally*, *Oſce*, *Rouſſie*, *Vaſce*, and above Twenty more in a few Days. But *Mans*, the Principal City of the Province of *Main*, being a Place well Peopled and ſtrongly fortified refuſed to accept the *Engliſh*, and therefore the Earl of *Salisbury* was ſent with an additional Force of 8000 Men to beſiege and reduce it into Subjection. This Town though very ſtrong held out but a little while, becauſe the Earl made not uſe of the common battering Engines, but of Guns, which with their Shot ſoon laid their Walls and Towers flat, and brought the Inhabitants to a Capitulation to ſurrender the Town upon theſe Articles.

The City of *Mans* beſieged, and ſurrendred upon Articles.

I. That all Perſons, as well Soldiers as others that would abide and continue ſtill in the Town, ſhould be ſuffered to remain without any Harm or Damage either to themſelves or Goods.

II. That ſuch as would depart, eſpecially of the Soldiers, ſhould have Liberty to leave the Town with their Horſe and Harneſs. And

III. That all Perſons in the Town who were any ways guilty or conſenting to the Murther of the late Duke of *Burgundy* ſhould be delivered up to the Earl to be puniſhed for it: And ſo this City was ſurrendered to the *Engliſh*.

The Earl of *Salisbury* being now at the Head of a puiſſant Army able to carry on the Progreſs of his deſigned Victories, thought this a fit Opportunity to enlarge the *Engliſh* Conqueſts, and therefore immediately lays Siege to the Town of St. *Suſan*, of which one *Ambroſs de Loire* a valiant *French* Man was Governour, who ſo well defended it, that in many Aſſaults the Earl was rather a Loſer than Winner; whereupon he was forced to make uſe again of his great Guns to batter and beat down their Walls. Theſe new Engines of Death, which no Valour nor Strength of Man can be a ſufficient Defence againſt, made the Beſieged change their Counſels, and contrive the ſafeſt way for their Preſervation by agreeing to reſign their Town. The *Engliſh* having receiv'd ſome Damages by the Garriſon held them to the harder Terms, ſo that they could not gain their Lives, but upon Condition, that beſides reſigning the Town, they ſhould pay them 200000 Crowns, and then they ſhould have Liberty to depart the Town in their Doublets only, which they ſubmitted to; and ſo the *Engliſh* became abſolute Maſters of it, and Sir *John Popham* was made Captain of it. From this Place the Earl carrying on his Victories, went and laid Siege to the Caſtle called *La Fert Barnard*, but deferred to aſſault it by reaſon of the News brought him of the Danger that the Town of *Alenzon* was in to be loſt on this Occaſion. The *French* King's Party being ſo weakned by their late Overthrow were not able to recover their Loſſes by Strength, and therefore were conſtrained to uſe Policy and Stratagem, for which they had an Opportunity at *Alenzo* thus. One *Charles de Villiers* a *French* Captain had an intimate Acquaintance with a *Gaſcoigne*, who was a Soldier in the *Engliſh* Garriſon there, and having by him diſcovered how the Town was guarded by the Soldiers by turns, agreed with him for a preſent Reward of a conſiderable Sum of Money in Hand, and Promiſes of future Preferments and Advantages, to let him with a Body of Men into the Town, upon a certain Day appointed, but the *Gaſcoigne* countermining the *French* Men, as ſoon as the Bargain was made, gave the Earl of *Salisbury* Notice of it, that he might ſecure the Town and ſeize the *French*. The Earl thereupon ſent the Lord *Willoughby* and Sir *John Falſtoff* with 2000 Men to effect it, who lying in Ambuſh for them at their coming, who were not above 300 Foot-men and 200 Horſe, ſuddenly encompaſſed them on all ſides, and falling upon them ſlew all of them, but 25 Men, who in the Scuffle eſcaped by the Strength and Swiftneſs of their Horſes. *Alenzon* being thus ſecured and the *Engliſh* Army return'd, the Earl of *Salisbury* went on with the intended Siege of *La Fert Bernard* and took it, which ſtriking Terror into the adjoining Garriſons induced many to yield to the Earl without Reſiſtance. The Regent, who was not a little affected with the good Services of the Earl, made him Governour of all the Places and Caſtles he had taken, that the Growth of his Honour might encourage him in Brave Actions. The News of the great Succeſſes of this Year being carry'd over into *England*, was not received with greater Joy than Thankfulneſs to God, who had bleſſed the *Engliſh* Arms, and according to the Manner of thoſe Times a ſolemn Proceſſion was celebrated with all ſerious Demonſtrations of Praiſe to God for it.

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The Town of St. *Suſan* taken.

Alenzon agreed to be betrayed, but ſaved.

The Earl of *Saliſbury* takes *Fert Bernard*, and is made Governor of all the Places and Caſtles he had taken.

On the laſt Day of *April* the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, and becauſe the King's Preſence, though but an Infant, was thought neceſſary, he was carry'd through the City upon a great Horſe toward the Parliament-Houſe on the Firſt Day of the Seſſion. The People flock'd in great Multitudes to behold him, and imagining with themſelves that they could eaſily diſcern the Virtues of his Father to be tranſplanted into him by Nature, loaded him with loud Acclamations of Divine Bleſſings, and Hearty Wiſhes of a long and happy Life. The Parliament having their Infant-King in their Eyes (for he was often carry'd to the Houſe this Seſſion) was very careful and earneſt to do every Thing that could be thought neceſſary for the Support of his Honour and Majeſty, being the more induſtrious to Act for him, by how much he was leſs able to ſhift for himſelf. Several Acts were made for the Publick Benefit, of which the chief were, 1. Againſt the Exportation of Sheep beyond Sea without the King's Licenſe, becauſe by carrying of Sheep into *Flanders* and other Parts, the Wool of *England* would at length become of little Value, and the Woollen-Manufacture of the Nation be diminiſh'd to the Damage of the Realm, to prevent which they laid an heavy Tax upon Exported Wools, of Forty Three Shillings by the Sack, Ten Shillings more than ever was paid in *England* for the like quantity. 2. For the Exportation of Butter and Cheeſe to encourage Husbandry, giving the Chancellor of *England* leave to grant Licenſes at his Diſcretion to ſuch Perſons as ſhall deſire them to ſell and vend the ſame in all Foreign Parts, as well as a the Staple of *Callis*. 3. That all Merchants, Strangers, within 15 Days after they are landed in any Port of this Kingdom, ſhall take up for themſelves Lodgings, or ſome other Habitation in the Town or Place, where the Port is, under ſome *Engliſh* Man, and ſhall not make any ſale of any Goods or Merchandizes till they are ſo ſettled, and then ſhall ſell all their Merchandizes within 40 Days next enſuing, and if any Goods after that time ſhall remain unſold, they ſhall be forfeited to the King's Uſe. This Act was intended for a double Benefit, 1. That the King might not be defrauded by Strangers of his Cuſtoms: And next, That Strangers might not by keeping of their Goods and Merchandizes underſtand the Wants of the Nations, and ſo raiſe the Prizes. After theſe Acts the Parliament gave

Third Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

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gave the King a Tax of Twelve Pence *per* Pound upon all Merchandizes, whether brought into, or carry'd out of the Realm, except Wool, which they had otherwiſe taxed, and Wines, upon which they laid Three Shillings *per* Tun for Three Years next enſuing. And then they were diſmiſſed into their ſeveral Countries.

Duke of *Glouceſter* and *Jaqueline* his Wife go to recover her Inheritance in *Henault* and *Holland.*

Soon after the Parliament was riſen, the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who had ever ſince his Marriage been making Preparatons of Ships and Men to recover his Wife's Inheritance in *Henault* and *Holland*, went over with his Dutcheſs, and an Army of *Engliſh* Men of 12000 at the leaſt, all of known Courage and Ability, and well accoutred. He landed at *Callis*, and paſſing through the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Country with all his Force without doing any Damage, arriv'd at *Mons* in *Henault*; and being there receiv'd and welcom'd as their Lord, many of the Nobles and Towns came and ſubmitted themſelves to him. The Duke of *Brabant*, who was in Poſſeſſion of thoſe Countries, was highly diſpleaſed with this Action of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and ſince he not only had cohabited with *Jaqueline* as his Wife for Ten Months, and Pope *Martin* V. had declared the Marriage of the ſaid *Jaqueline* with the Duke of *Glouceſter* to be utterly unlawful and ſinful, he was reſolved to diſpute his Title with him by Arms. Great part of thoſe Countries adhered to him, and many of the Nobles employ'd their Intereſts to ſupport him in the Poſſeſſion, but he moſt depended upon the Aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Burgundy* (*n*) his Brother, who ſtood much upon the Juſtice of his Cauſe, and had promiſed him all his Aſſiſtance he could make, by which means an Army of 50000 Men appeared in Oppoſition to the Duke of *Glouceſter* under the Command of *Philip*, Earl of St. *Poll*, and *Pierre de Luxenburg*, Earl of *Conuarſon* his near Kinſman. The Duke of *Glouceſter* ſeeing ſuch an unexpected Union againſt him, too great for him to conquer, ſent an Herald to the Duke of *Burgundy* to expoſtulate with him about his aſſiſting the Duke of *Brabant*, charging him with Treaſon againſt the King of *England*, and challenging him to a ſingle Combat. The Duke of *Burgundy* made his Defence, 'That he could not think himſelf guilty of any 'Breach of his Fidelity to the *Engliſh*, in oppo-'ſing his Injuſtice in depriving another Man of 'his Wife, contrary to the Ordinance of God, 'and Rules of Holy Church; and to clear him-'ſelf of this Charge he ſent the Duke of *Glouce-ſter* Word, *That he would accept the Combat.* The Duke of *Glouceſter* being thus diſappointed of his Deſign, which was by this Meſſage to have brought off the Duke of *Burgundy*, drew off his Forces and departed with them immediately into *England*, upon Pretence of making Preparation for the Combat, leaving his Dutcheſs behind him at *Mons*. His Departure left a way open to the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Deſigns, who ſo wrought with the Citizens of *Mons*, that they delivered up the Dutcheſs into his Hands, who convey'd her to *Gaunt*, and there kept her. The Dutcheſs being thus betray'd Politickly carry'd her ſelf without any Reſentment of the Treachery, and pretending her ſelf very happy in falling into his Hands, promiſed to be govern'd by him in all Things, ſaving that ſhe would not be perſwaded to return to her Husband again. The Duke not ſpying the Deceit of the Woman, gave her a Civil Entertainment, and made her Confinement very eaſie, which ſhe no longer endured than ſhe could get a fair Opportunity to eſcape, which ſhe did in a little time, and fled into *Holland*. Here ſhe was joyfully receiv'd by divers Lords and Perſons of Intereſt, by whoſe Aſſiſtance ſhe was able to maintain a defenſive War againſt the Duke of *Burgundy*; and that ſhe might depoſe her Husband, ſent to the Duke of *Glouceſter* to aid her. The Duke, tho' now little valuing her, yet thinking himſelf in Honour oblig'd not utterly to forſake her, ſent over to her Aſſiſtance 1000 Men, under the Conduct of the Lord *Fitz-walter*. The News of theſe Aids rouſed the Duke of *Burgundy*, who fearing leaſt *Jaqueline* ſhould reſign the Country of *Holland* into the Hands of the *Engliſh*, aſſembled all his Forces he could, and going into *Holland* poſſeſſed himſelf of all he could, and reſolv'd to hinder the Landing of the *Engliſh* Troops. On the other ſide, *Jaqueline* and the Lords on her part, ſought all the Means they could to ſecure them a ſafe Landing, and poſted themſelves near *Bruſſels*; but the Duke of *Burgundy* falling upon them before they could unite for mutual Defence, routed both the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders*, ſlaying about 800, taking many Priſoners, and putting the reſt to Flight, the Lord *Fitz-walter* himſelf hardly eſcaping. This Defeat put an end to this Quarrel; for the Duke of *Glouceſter* gave over all Hopes of thoſe Countries, and knowing his Marriage to be unlawful with *Jaqueline*, marry'd *Eleanor* (*o*) the Daughter of *Reginald* Lord *Cobham*; and the crafty Dutcheſs *Jaqueline*, ſeeing herſelf unable to ſtand out longer againſt the Duke of *Burgundy*, pretended herſelf to be perſwaded by him, and ſo was reconciled to her Husband. Nothing of all theſe Wars remained, but the Combat of the Dukes. Honour obliged both not to ſhrink from their Engagement, and therefore they both made the neceſſary Preparations for it: But the Regent of *France* conſidering that it might be of very ill Conſequence to the *Engliſh*, became a Mediator between them, and made a friendey Concluſion of all.

Duke of *Burgundy* oppoſes them.

Dutcheſs of *Glouceſter* deliver'd to the Duke of *Burgundy*, but eſcapes.

Duke of *Burgundy* routs *Jaqueline*'s Forces.

About the latter end of this Year of the King's Reign, the Earl of *March*, who had been ſent into *Ireland* above a Year before, died there at *Trimmes*, leaving no Iſſue, and left his Honour and Eſtate to *Richard Plantagenet*, Earl of *Cambridge*, his Siſter's Son, who being thereby Heir to *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence* entertain'd many aſpiring Thoughts of the Crown of *England*, which he after put into Action, as we ſhall in the Sequel of this Hiſtory have a ſufficient Evidence of.

Earl of *March* dies.

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About *Michaelmas*, *Peter*, Duke of *Coimbra*, Eldeſt Son of the King of *Portugal*, came into *England*, and finding a kind and generous Entertainment from the Protector and Nobles, ſtay'd the whole Year to inform himſelf of the Cuſtoms, and enjoy the Pleaſures of the Country. (*q*) In the time of his Abode here, there happen'd a fierce and mighty Quarrel between the Protector and the Rich Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Henry Beaufort*, the King's Great Uncle, the *Engliſh* Pope, who in his Magnificence and Grandure ſeem'd ſo much to out-ſhine the Protector himſelf, tho' on the Throne almoſt, that he drew his *Odium* and Hatred upon him, which was ſo increaſed by the haughty Spirit of the Biſhop, who being the Protector's Uncle and Pope's Legate, carry'd himſelf as if he were much above him both in Nature and Grace, that the Prote-

Prince of *Portugal* came into *England*.

A Quarrel between the Protector and Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

(*n*) He was not his Brother, but his Couſin. *Hol.* p. 1079.
(*o*) Who before had been his Miſtreſs.
(*p*) This Prince's Mother was the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Daughter, Great Aunt to *Henry* the Sixth.

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ctor could not endure his Pride, and ſo an implacable Enmity grew between them, and great Parties were raiſed on both ſides for each others Defence. The Biſhop's Dependances, Money and Church-Power making him able to contend with the Protector himſelf. The Duke of *Coimbra*, and the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* interpoſed themſelves to reconcile them, and were ſo zealous to heal this dangerous Breach, which would, if continued in, prove a fatal Damage to Church and State, that they went from the one Party to the other ten Times in one Day: but all proved to no purpoſe. No Mediations could pacifie the Mind of the Protector, and *Wincheſter* would yield no further than was becoming his Place and State, tho' he was willing for the Good of the Nation, that the Difference might be compoſed without Arms; and therefore wrote a Letter into *France* to his Nephew the Duke of *Bedford*, that he would come over and heal Matters between them. By the Copy of the Letter it may be diſcerned how great the Quarrel was, and how far it had proceeded; and withal how deſirous the Biſhop was to have it made up, though he counts himſelf not to blame, and therefore it is ſet down in the very Words, and Old Language it was written. (*q*)

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s Letter to the Duke of *Bedford*.

* *Right High and Mighty Prince, and my Right Noble, and after One, Leineſt* [*Earthly*] *Lord. I recommend me unto you* [*your Grace*] *with all my Heart. And as you deſire the Welfare of the King Our Soveraign Lord, and of his Realms of* England *and* France. *Your own weal* [*health*] *with all yours* [*with ours alſo*] *haſte you hither: For by my Troth, if* [*and*] *you tarry* [*long*] *we ſhall put this Land in Jeopardy* [*adventure*] *with a Feild; ſuch a Brother you have here, God make him a good Man. For your Wiſdome well knoweth, that the Profit of* France *ſtandeth in the Welfare of* England, &c. *The Bleſſed Trinity keep you. Written in great haſte at* London *on* All-hollowen-Even. *By your true Servant to my Lives end.*

Henry Wincheſter.

* The Words within theſe Marks [ ] ſhew the Difference in the Copies of this Letter

Duke of *Bedford* goes into *England* to reconcile them.

This Letter, which was ſent over to the Regent by his Chamberlin Sir *Robert Butler*, was received by him with no ſmall Grief, becauſe he knew the Advantage his Enemies would make of it, for a Civil War in *England* would utterly ruin the Conqueſt of *France*, and therefore reſolved with all ſpeed to paſs into *England* to put an end to it if poſſible. *Richard Beauchamp* the Famous Earl of *Warwick* was lately come into *France* with a Recruit of 6000 Men, which much favoured his Deſign, being a Perſon for his Courage and Fidelity every ways fit to be entruſted with the greateſt Charge: Whereupon he conſtituted him *Regent* of *France* in his Abſence, and took his Journey to *England*, with his Dutcheſs, and a Train of 500 Men. He arrived there on the Tenth of *January*. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* with a numerous Train met him at his Landing, and attended him towards *London*. At *Merton* he was met by the Mayor and Citizens of *London*, who joyning with the other Company honourably conducted him to *Weſtminſter*, where he was lodged in the King's Palace, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* in the Abbot's Lodgings. The next Day the Mayor preſented the Regent with a pair of Silver Baſons gilt, and in them a Thouſand Marks of Gold from the City, which he accepted very kindly. But theſe Ceremonies were uneaſie to the Regent, who came over upon a more important Matter, and therefore as ſoon as Decency would permit, he obtain'd that a Council of the Nobles might be called to examine and determine the Cauſes of the Differences between theſe two great Men, and accordingly it met on the 21ſt of *February* at St. *Albans*, where were many hot Conteſts between both Parties, but nothing being concluded it was adjourned to *Northampton*, and there met, but to as little purpoſe; whereupon it was put off to the Meeting of the Parliament, which was appointed to be on *March* the 25th following at *Leiceſter*.

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A. D. 1426.

Fourth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

The Meeting of the Parliament drawing nigh, when it was uſual for the Lords to come with great Numbers of Servants and Attendants, and it being feared, that the great Trains of the Protector and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* might fall into open War one with another, if no Reſtraint were laid upon them: It was therefore thought fit, that the King ſhould ſtrictly forbid any Perſon coming to it with Swords, or other Warlike Weapons; Which Order though it was literally obſerved, yet the Lords Attendants came with Batts, or great Clubs on their Shoulders, from whence this Parliament was called, *The Parliament of Batts*, but this, as ſoon as it was taken Notice of, was alſo Prohibited. In this Parliament little was done for the Publick, only an Act paſſed for granting the People Liberty to tranſport Corn into all Places beyond the Seas, unleſs to the King's Enemies, with ſome other of particular Concern for Sheriffs and Juſtices, becauſe it pleaſed the whole Aſſembly to look into the Diſſention between the Protector and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, which was grown ſo high, that no leſs Means could pacifie them, and the Authority of this Court was irreſiſtible; wherefore they were allow'd to debate all Cauſes of Quarrel between them fully and freely. The Protector was the Perſon aggrieved as he pretended, and therefore he brought a large Accuſation in Six Articles againſt the Biſhop, and the Biſhop was allow'd to give his particular Anſwer to them; which becauſe they were thought not unworthy of the Parliament's Notice, may not be beneath the Reader's Peruſal, and are as follows.

(*q*) The Letter is in *Holinſhed*, p. 591.

The

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The ARTICLES *of Accuſation preſented to the Parliament by the Duke of* Glouceſter, *againſt* Henry, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *with his* ANSWERS *to them ſeverally.*

I. THAT *Richard Woodvile*, Eſq; Keeper of the *Tower* of *London*, did by the Inſtigation and Encouragement of the ſaid Biſhop of *Wincheſter* deny Admittance to him the ſaid Duke of *Glouceſter*, then being Protector of the Kingdom, into the *Tower* contrary to Reaſon and Duty, and in Derogation to the King's Authority.

To this Article the Biſhop anſwer'd, 'That 'while the Duke of *Glouceſter* was gone into '*Henault*, it happen'd, that many Pamphlets 'and Reports being diſperſed up and down the 'City of *London* tending to Rebellion, it was 'order'd by the Lords of his Maieſty's Council, 'that *Richard Woodvile*, Eſq; ſhould with a ſufficient Number of arm'd Men have the keeping of the *Tower*, and ſhould not permit any 'Man to come into the *Tower* ſtronger than 'himſelf without the ſpecial Commandment 'of the King, by the Advice of his Council. 'After this ſtrict Charge the Duke of *Glou'ceſter* returning out of *Henault*, and not approving the fortifying the *Tower*, told the 'Citizens, who were diſſatisfied at it, *That had 'he been in* England *it ſhould not have been ſo*, 'and immediately going to the *Tower* demanded 'Admittance, but *Woodvile* not daring to give 'him Entrance came to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* 'for Advice, who told him, *That the Duke of* 'Glouceſter *took upon him greater Authority than 'he ought, and that before he admitted him into 'the* Tower, *he ought to provide himſelf a ſufficient 'Warrant of the Council and King for his ſo doing 'contrary to the former Order.*

II. That my Lord Biſhop of *Wincheſter* without the Advice and Conſent of my Lord Duke of *Glouceſter*, or of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, contrived and purpoſed to lay Hands of his Majeſty's Perſon, and to have remov'd him from *Eltham*, the Place that he was then in, to *Windſor*, there to put him under the Government of ſuch Perſons as he pleaſed.

The Biſhop's Anſwer to this Article was, 'That he never could propound to himſelf any 'Advantage by removing the King, or taking 'him into his Cuſtody or Charge, nor did ever 'intend to mettle with any Thing about the 'King's Perſon without the Advice of the Pri'vy-Council, as in Time and Place he could 'prove.

III. That my Lord Biſhop of *Wincheſter* knowing, that the Duke of *Glouceſter* had reſolv'd to prevent his Deſign of ſeizing the King's Perſon at *Eltham*, laid wait for him, by placing arm'd Men at the End of *London-Bridge*, and in the Windows of the Chambers and Cellars in *Southwark* to have kill'd him, if he had paſſed that way, all which is againſt the King's Peace, and Duty of a true Subject.

The Biſhop's Defence to this heavy Charge was this, 'That true indeed it is, that he did 'provide a certain Number of arm'd Men, and 'ſet them at the Foot of *London-Bridge*, and 'other Places, without any Intention to do any 'bodily Harm to the Duke of *Glouceſter*, but 'merely for his own Safety and Defence, being 'inform'd by ſeveral credible Perſons, that my 'Lord Duke of *Glouceſter* had purpoſed bodily 'Harm to him, and gather'd together a company of Citizens for that End.

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IV. That the late King *Henry* the Fifth told him, That when he was Prince, a Man was ſeized in his Chamber, who was hid behind the Hangings, and confeſſed after his Apprehenſion, that he was ſet at Work by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to kill the Prince in his Bed. He was deliver'd to the Earl of *Arundel*, who drown'd him in a Sack in the *Thames*.

To this Accuſation the Biſhop reply'd, 'That 'he was ever a true and faithful Subject to his 'Soveraigns, and never purpoſed or contrived 'any Treaſon againſt any of their Perſons, and 'eſpecially againſt his Soveraign Lord King 'Henry the Fifth. And this he thought was 'ſufficiently evident to any that conſider'd the 'great Wiſdom and Courage of the ſaid King, 'and the great Truſt he repoſed in him ſo long 'as he remain'd King, which he would not have 'done had he found him Guilty of ſuch Unfaithfulneſs to him while he was Prince.

V. That the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* in the Sickneſs of King *Henry* the *Fourth*, adviſed his Son Prince *Henry*, to aſſume the Government of the Nation before his Father's Death, as the ſaid Prince himſelf told him.

The Biſhop reply'd, 'That this was mere 'Calumny, which could not be prov'd, and 'he hop'd the Parliament would appoint them 'Judges, that he might vindicate his Honour, 'or elſe leave him to ſue out his Right before 'ſuitable Judges.

VI. That my Lord Biſhop of *Wincheſter* had in his Letter to the Duke of *Bedford* plainly declared his malicious Purpoſe of aſſembling the People, and ſtirring up a Rebellion in the Nation contrary to the King's Peace (*r*).

The Biſhop's Anſwer to this Accuſation was, 'That he never had any Intention to diſturb 'the Peace of the Nation, or raiſe any Rebel'lion, but ſent to the Duke of *Bedford* to come 'over in haſte to ſettle all Things that were 'prejudicial to the Peace; and though he had 'indeed written in the Letter, *That if he tar'ry'd, we ſhall put the Land in Adventure by a Field*, 'ſuch a Brother ye have here, he did not mean 'it of any Deſign of his own, but concerning 'the Seditious Aſſemblies of Maſons, Carpenters, Tilers and Plaiſterers, who being diſta'ſted by the late Act of Parliament againſt exceſſive Wages of thoſe Trades, had given out 'many ſeditious Speeches and Menaces againſt 'the great Men, which tended much to Rebel'lion, and yet the Duke of *Glouceſter* did not 'uſe his Endeavour, as he ought to have done 'in his Place, to ſuppreſs ſuch unlawful Aſſem'blies, ſo that he fear'd the King and his good 'Subjects muſt have made a Field to withſtand 'them: To prevent which he chiefly deſir'd the 'Duke of *Bedford* to come over.

(*r*) The Copy of theſe Articles is in *Holinſhead*, p. 591. but they are only Five in Number, the Sixth and Laſt mention'd by this Author is not in *Holinſhead*'s Copy.

A. D. 1426. Reg. 4.

This Charge, and the Anſwers to it being thus deliver'd into the Parliament, the further Examination of it was by the Houſes devolv'd upon a ſelect Number of Lords, *viz. Henry*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas*, Duke of *Exeter*, *John*, Duke of *Norfolk* (*s*), *Thomas*, Biſhop of *Durham*, *Philip*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *John*, Biſhop of *Bath*, *Humphrey*, Earl of *Stafford*, *Ralph*, Lord *Cornwal*, and Mr. *Alnwicke*, Keeper of the Privy-Seal, who having thoroughly examin'd all Matters, acquitted the Biſhop, and by a formal Award enjoyn'd them to be firm Friends for the future, and by ſuch Inducements wrought upon them, that they ſhook Hands, and parted with all outward Signs of perfect Love and Agreement, which gave a mighty Satisfaction to all People both of the Clergy and Laity. And the King by the Advice of his Council made a magnificent Feaſt at *Whitſuntide* to rejoyce for this happy Reconciliation. At this Feaſt the Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of *France*, Knighted King *Henry*, who immediately made *Richard Plantagenet*, Earl of *Cambridge*, Duke of *York*, and reſtor'd *John*, Lord *Mowbrey*, Earl-Marſhal, Son of *Thomas*, Duke of *Norfolk*, who was baniſh'd by *Richard* the Second, to the Title and Stile of Duke of *Norfolk*, and made above Forty others Knights. After this the Parliament ſat till *June* the 15th following, but did nothing more than raiſe a Supply of Men and Money to carry on the Conqueſt of *France*, which were gather'd out of the great Cities and Towns of the Kingdom chiefly.

The Pretector and Biſhop of *Winchester* made Friends.

Duke of *Bedford* knighted King *Henry*.

The Parliament being diſſolv'd, the King now about Five Years of Age, went to *Killingworth-Caſtle*, and the Nation remain'd in great Peace. Several remarkable Accidents happen'd after it. *Henry Chichely*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* founded a College at *Higham-Ferrers* in *Northamptonſhire* of Eight Fellows, Four Clerks and Six Choriſters, and an Hoſpital for poor and impotent Folks of the ſaid Town, for which he alſo obtain'd many Immunities and Priviledges. His Two Brethren, *Robert* and *William Chicheley*, Aldermen of *London*, afterward gave very conſiderable Revenues to the ſaid Foundations. This *Summer* alſo died that wiſe and faithful Stateſman *Thomas*, Duke of *Exeter*, great Uncle to King *Henry*, at his Mannor of *Greenwich*, and was buried at St. *Edmunds-bury* in *Suffolk*, whither he was carry'd with great Ceremony to be interred, and not long after him the ſaid Duke's half Siſter the Lady *Elizabeth*, own Siſter to King *Henry* the Fourth, who had been married to the Lord *John Holland*, Duke of *Exeter*, and after to the Lord *Fanhope*, died and was buried in the *Black-Fryers* in *London*. *John Fortham*, ſometime Treaſurer of *England*, and Biſhop of *Durham* and *Ely* at the ſame time died, and Pope *Martin* put into the See of *Ely Philip Morgan*, tranſlated from the See of *Worceſter* thither. The King and Nobility had recommended to the Choice of the Convent *William Alnwicke*, Doctor of both Laws, Keeper of the Privy-Seal, and the King's Confeſſor, but they neglecting that Propoſal, elected *Peter* the Prior of *Ely*: The Pope ſeeing this Diſagreement between the King and Convent, ſet up his own Uſurpations, and put in *Philip Morgan*. While the Regent continu'd in *England* the Earl of *Warwick* was very active, and carry'd on the *Engliſh* Victories in *France* with great Succeſs, for he entred into the Country of *Main*, and beſieged, and took ſeveral Places of Importance, as *Chaſteau de Loire*, of which he made *Matthew Gough* Captain, the Caſtle of *Maiet*, into which he put *John Winter*, Eſquire, with a ſufficient Number of Men, the Caſtle of *Lade*, which he gave to *William Gladeſdale* Gentleman, the Caſtle of *Mountdublean*, which he committed to the Lord *Willoughby*, by which Atchievements his Name became a Terror to the *French*, inſomuch, that when the *French* in the Country of *Beauſſe* were gather'd into a Body to have ſet on the *Engliſh*, the very Fame of his Approach cauſed them to diſperſe themſelves. And ſo having no Enemies to oppoſe him: He return'd to *Paris* full of Honour and Victories.

Several remarkable Accidents.

Earl of *Warwick*'s Actions in *France*.

A. D. 1426. Reg. 4.

Reg. 5.

On *Saturday* being the *Eve* of St. *Michael* in the Morning between Two and Three a Clock began a very dreadful Earthquake, which being accompany'd with *Thunder* and *Lightning* ſtruck Terror into all Creatures. It continu'd in great Violence for Two Hours, and as it was afterwards found, was general over the whole World, ſo that Men thought the World would then have been at an End, and the Judgment have follow'd according to the Prognoſticks our Saviour himſelf hath given us. The Beaſts of the Field were terrified with this unuſual Motion, and roaring for Fear drew near to the Towns and Houſes to protect them: Nor were the Birds of the Air inſenſible of it, who by their Shreeks and Cries ſhew'd their Fears of it. By ſo great a Judgment did God endeavour to awaken ſecure Men, that if they did not repent even the Birds and Beaſts might witneſs againſt them, and condemn their Hardneſs and Impenitency. About the ſame time was *John Rainwell* Fiſhmonger choſen Mayor of *London*, a Perſon of a publick Spirit, a good Magiſtrate, and a great Benefactor to the City; for he gave certain Lands and Tenements for the Uſe and Benefit of Three Wards in the ſaid City, *viz. Biſhopſgate* Ward, *Dowgate* Ward, and *Aldgate* Ward, to pay the Parliament-Taxes for the poor Houſe-keepers of the ſaid Wards for ever (provided they did not exceed Three Fifteens in One Year:) He alſo began the Building of the *Tower* at the *Draw-Bridge* of *London*, Works both of great Charity and general Uſe.

A violent Earthquake.

John Rainwell choſen *Mayor*.

The Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of *France* yet remaining in *England*, the Duke of *Burgundy*, now diſaffected to the *Engliſh*, but ſtill pretending a ſtrict Alliance and Friendſhip with them, made his Requeſt to the Regent to permit the Duke of *Alenzon*, who had been taken at the Battel of *Verneuil*, to be redeem'd, and by his Intereſts obtain'd, that upon the Payment of Two Hundred Thouſand Crowns (or as others, Scutes) or Fifty Thouſand Marks, he ſhould be releaſed. The Regent and Protector were very fearful of the ill Conſequence of his Liberty, being a zealous Promoter of King *Charles*'s Intereſts, and an experienced and valiant Commander, and therefore required, that he ſhould firſt acknowledge *Henry* the Sixth, the rightful and lawful Heir and King of *France*, but he abſolutely refuſed it, which might have been ſufficient Cauſe to have continu'd him Priſoner in *England*, but becauſe it was thought neceſſary to gratifie the Duke of *Burgundy*, who pretended himſelf a firm Friend to the *Engliſh*, and had been long at Enmity with the Duke of *Alenzon* about his Father's Death, and by this extraordinary piece of Kindneſs might gain ſo much upon his Affe-

The Duke of *Alenzon* releaſed from his Impriſonment.

(*s*) *John*, Lord *Mowbrey* was not made Duke of *Norfolk* till after the Reconciliation of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and the Biſhop of *Winchester*.

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A. D. 1426. Reg. 5.

ctions, as to incline him which Way he pleaſed, therefore he was diſmiſſed, and upon the Payment of ſo ſmall a Sum, (t) ſent Home, but to the great Damage of the *Engliſh*, to whom he proved a fatal Enemy, as afterward will more fully appear.

A. D. 1427.

Duke of *Bretagne* and his Brother relinquiſh the *Engli* Intereſts.

The Regent having kept his *Chriſtmas* with the King, prepared for his Return into *France*, where ſome Changes, to the no ſmall Diſadvantage of the *Engliſh* had hapned in his Abſence; for tho' nothing was wanting in the Earl of *Warwick*, either of Vigilancy, Care, or Courage, yet the Alliance with the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, began now to be broken by the Departure of the Duke of *Bretagne*, and his Brother *Arthur* of *Richmond*, over to the *French* King's Intereſts, of whom they were joyfully received; and the latter was made Conſtable of *France*. This Change was a great Loſs to the *Engliſh*, and required a ſpeedy Care to prevent the ill Conſequences of it. The Regent therefore about *Candlemas* departed *England*, and landed at *Callis*, *Feb.* 5. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* accompanied him, and at *Callis* in our Lady's Church, received a Cardinal's Hat from the Pope. The late King *Henry* V. who foreſaw what a Prejudice the Pride and Covetouſneſs of this Prelate would prove to the Nation, if he were put into that Dignity, withſtood his Promotion, and prevented it all his Life; but now the King himſelf being young, and the Duke of *Bedford* his Friend, he was at Liberty to obtain his ambitious Purpoſe, which by the Pope's Legate, he was enſtated in at *Callis* on the Feaſt of the *Purification*; and ſoon after purchaſed himſelf a Bull-Legantine, by which he was made the Pope's Legate in this Nation, and by his Authority as ſuch, raiſed ſuch a Maſs of Money out of the Spiritualities of the Kingdom, that he became almoſt the only wealthy Man in the Nation, and was commonly upon that Account called, *The rich Cardinal of Wincheſter*. The Regent ſtayed a while at *Callis* to ſee this Ceremony over, and honour the Biſhop with his Preſence at his Inauguration, which being ended, the Regent taking him by his Right-hand, conveyed him with mighty Reſpect to his Lodging, and there gave him and the Lords with him a magnificent Banquet, and then within a few Days left *Callis*, and paſſing thro' *Picardy*, went to *Paris*. His Arrival put an End to the Authority of the Earl of *Warwick* in *France*, but brought him the News of a more honourable and greater Charge, which the Nobles and Council of *England* had thought fit to impoſe upon him, *viz.* to be Governour of the Perſon of King *Henry* in the Place of the Duke of *Exeter*, lately deceaſed. This Service the noble Earl could not refuſe; but the Revolt of the Duke of *Brittain* having occaſioned ſome Troubles to the *Engliſh*, which he was about to remove before the Regent arrived, he reſolved firſt to ſee them ſettled before his Departure. The greateſt Moleſtation this way, was by the Fortifying of *Pontorſon*, a Town on the Confines of *Brittain*, into which the Lord of *Ruſtignan*, Marſhal of *Brittain*, with a Body of a 1000 Men was put to defend it, and ravage the adjoining Country of *Conſtantine*, which they did without Mercy; but at length being encountred by the Garriſon of *Auranches*, a City in the Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, they were after a long Fight put to flight, and forced into the Town with Loſs, the Captain himſelf being taken Priſoner. The Duke of *Bedford* hearing of this, and knowing, that tho' the *Engliſh* had the better in this Skirmiſh, yet how prejudicial the Garriſon would be to their Territories, if not reſtrained, he ſent the Earl of *Warwick* and Lord *Scales*, with an Army of 7000 Men to beſiege it, who ſo ſtreightly beſet the Town, that none could go into it, or out. The Beſieged held out very valiantly a long time in hopes of Relief from the *French* King as was promiſed them, ſo that Proviſion began to be very ſcarce in the *Engliſh* Camp, and they were forced to ſeek Forage in the adjoyning Parts with much Loſs and Hazard from the Garriſon of St. *Michael's* Mount. The *French* King at laſt ſent the Lord *Raix*, his Lieutenant-General, with an Army of 3000 Men to relieve it, who in his March took two ſmall Caſtles, *Malicorn* and *Lude*; but when they came, hearing that the Earl of *Warwick* and the *Engliſh* were reſolved to fight him, if he attempted to raiſe the Siege, he drew off his Men, and returned to King *Charles*, whereupon the Beſieged came to a Capitulation to reſign the Town upon Condition, that they might have Liberty to depart with Horſe and Arms only; which being granted, the *Engliſh* had Poſſeſſion of the Town given them, and the Earl made the Lord *Roſſe* and Lord *Talbot* Governours of it, with a convenient Garriſon, and then returned to the Regent to *Paris*. This Succeſs of the *Engliſh* brought the Duke of *Bretagne* again to a Treaty with the Regent, in which he agreed not only not to moleſt the *Engliſh* for the future, but to demoliſh the Town of *Pontorſon*, and St. *James de Beauron*; and ſo the Duke of *Bretagne* was made, if not a Friend, yet afraid to be longer an Enemy; and the *Engliſh* for the preſent were eaſed of his Oppreſſion, which would have proved very troubleſome.

Duke of *Bedford's* Return into *France*, and Biſhop of *Wincheſter* made Cardinal.

The Earl of *Warwick* made Governour of the King.

Pontorſon beſieged and taken.

Duke of *Bretagne* brought to a Treaty with the *Engliſh*.

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The Regent having thus removed this new and unexpected Enemy, turned his Arms again into the old Current to ſubdue all the Towns, that ſtill adhered to *Charles*, the pretended King of *France*; and ſent his Captains out to ſubdue ſuch Places, as refuſed Subjection to the *Engliſh*; and reduced ſeveral of them. For, *Chriſtopher Hanſon*, *Philip Gough*, and *Martin Godfrey* took the Caſtle of St. *Laurence de Montuis* by Surprize. Sir *H. Falſtaffe*, the Governour of the Countries of *Anjou* and *Maine*, having aſſembled a ſtrong Body of Men, got by ten Days Siege the Caſtle of St. *Owen Diſtais* near the Town of *Laval*. Then he laid Siege to the ſtrong Caſtle of *Gravile*, and aſſaulted it twelve Days, at the end of which, the Garriſon came to a Compoſition, and gave Pledges to reſign it upon a certain Day, if it were not relieved by the *French* King. Sir *John* immediately ſignified this Agreement to the Regent, who raiſing a great Force of 20000 Men, came attended with the Earls of *Mortaign* and *Warwick*, the Lords *Roſſe* and *Talbot*, to encounter the *French*, if they ſhould attempt the Reſcue of it; but they dare not appear, tho' they were ſent for that Purpoſe, becauſe they were afraid of the *Engliſh* Army, whereupon the Regent immediately ordered Sir *John Falſtaffe* to require the Delivery of the Caſtle; but the Beſieged having furniſhed themſelves with Proviſion and Ammunition, and well mann'd it in the Time of Truce, refuſed to ſurrender it, and ſo the Hoſtages were brought out, and hanged in their Sight. After this the Lord *Talbot* was made Governour of *Maine* and *Anjou*, and Sir

Several Places taken by the *Engliſh*.

(t) 200000 Crowns was no ſmall Sum in thoſe Days.

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John Falstaffe removed to another Charge. This Lord being of as great Courage as Birth, carried on the *English* Conqueſt ſo faſt in theſe Parts, that his very Name became a Terror to the *French*, and his Fame ſpread almoſt over the World. The Duke of *Bedford* alſo hearing that the Town of *Montargis* in the County of *Orleance*, was but weakly furniſhed, and carelеſly kept, ſent the Earl of *Suffolk*, his Brother Sir *John Pool* and Sir *Henry Biſſet*, with an Army of 6000 Men to beſet it by Land, and the Earl of *Warwick* with a good Number of Men of War to ſtop up the Port by Sea, (*u*) that no Aſſiſtance of Men or Victuals ſhould come into it; but they found the Places ſtrongly fortified, and provided that they held out 2 Months and more, ſo that the *French* had time to provide for its Relief; and accordingly, *Arthur*, Earl of *Richmond*, Conſtable of *France*, coming ſuddenly upon a Party of the Beſiegers in the Night, defeated them without Reſiſtance, killing above 1500, Sir *John Pool* and Sir *Henry Biſſet* hardly eſcaped themſelves, and ſo cauſed the Siege to be raiſed. This Victory was received with great Joy by the *French* King's Party, and had been triumphantly magnified, had not their Loſſes upon the Coaſts of *Brittain*, by a Party of *Engliſh*, under the Command of Sir *Nicholas Burdet*, ſent by the Duke of *Somerſet* thither, equalized at leaſt, if not ſurmounted the Advantage they had at *Montargis*, ſo that the *French* had little Reaſon to rejoyce at the Succeſſes mixed with ſo much ill Fortune.

Duke of *Alenzon* takes *Mans* by Treachery of the *Engliſh*.

The Duke of *Alenzon* lately come out of his Impriſonment in *England*, after ſome Months Converſe in *France* to learn the Eſtate of the *French* King's Affairs, and ſettle his own, now enters upon the Stage of Action. The good Opinion that the *French* had of his Abilities and Experience put new Life into their Cauſe, and drooping Minds, and ſo much the more, becauſe he began with an Action, which had very much of a promiſing Advantage, as well as Succeſs in it, which was the Recovery of the City of *Mans*. Several of the Chief of the Inhabitants of that City, as well as of the chief Magiſtrates as Clergy, being well affected to the *French* King, entered into a Conſpiracy to betray the City to him, which they ſignified to him by Letters conveyed by certain Friers. The *French* King immediately ſent 500 Men under the Command of the Lords *De la Bieth* and *Faiet* to take poſſeſſion of the Town, which was accordingly delivered up to them by the Conſpirators, and the *Engliſh* Guards at the Gates, were all ſlain. The *French* being thus Maſters of the Town, fell upon the *Engliſh*, and ſlew many of them, ſcarce any of them underſtanding the Matter, but only ſuppoſing that the Citizens had in general roſe up againſt them. The Earl of *Suffolk*, the Governour of the Town, had gotten knowledge of the Matter by ſome that had eſcaped; and with what *Engliſh* he could get into the Caſtle then under the Command of *Thomas Gower*, Eſq; but they were ſo crowded, that they could make little or no Defence for themſelves, wherefore they ſent a Meſſage to the Lord *Talbot* then at *Alenzon*, to deſire his ſpeedy Aſſiſtance, declaring their Caſe to him. The Lord *Talbot* being as diligent a Commander as valiant, immediately attempts their Relief in the Night, and with 700 Men marches to *Mans*, where finding the *French* ſecure, he falls upon them, recovers the Town, releaſes the *Engliſh*, takes above 400 *French* Gentlemen Captive, and returns again to *Alenzon*. The Earl of *Suffolk* being thus reſettled, made a ſtrict Search and Enquiry into the Authors of this Treaſon, who being found to be 30 of the chief Citizens, 20 Prieſts, and 15 Friers, were all upon Conviction hanged, and ſo received the juſt Reward of their Merits. *Mans* being thus happily recovered, and the *Engliſh* every ways on the winning Side, Fortune's Frown ſoon clearing up into Smiles on them, the Earl of *Warwick*, whoſe Valour would not ſuffer him to leave his Country-Men in any Danger, began to think of Returning into *England* to take care of the King, whom the Nobles had committed to him. He had done ſo much in *France* the laſt Year, that the Council did not think that Nation could be kept without a Man of equal Value in his Place, and therefore *Thomas Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*, commonly called in *England*, *The good Earl*, was ſent into *France* with 6000 choice Men well accoutred, to ſupply his Room, and ſecure thoſe Places with equal Valour, with which he had gotten them.

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Earl of *Warwick* returns into *England*.

Soon after the Earl of *Salisbury*'s Arrival at *Paris* with his freſh Men, the Regent called a great Council of all the Nobles and Commanders of the *Engliſh* Army, and entred into a long Conſultation, how they ſhould proceed for the moſt ſpeedy and effectual Way of ſubduing *France*; and the Earl of *Salisbury*, who was a Perſon of both approved Judgment, as well as Valour, propounded to them the Siege of *Orleance*, as a certain Step to it, it being the principal City which adhered to the *French* King, and by the Conqueſt of it, would probably let them into all the reſt, and particularly to *Bourges*, the *French* King's Reſidence. Some Debates were in the Council about the Difficulty of the Enterprize, but at length they all yielded, and the Siege of *Orleance* was reſolved on. The Earl of *Salisbury* himſelf was thought by all of them, to be the fitteſt Perſon to command at the Siege, and accordingly was ſent, accompanied with the Earl of *Suffolk*, and Lord *Talbot*, and an Army of 10000 Men well furniſhed with Artillery, Proviſion, and Ammunition for ſo great an Attempt. While Preparations were thus making, the *French* had got Intelligence of the Deſign of the *Engliſh*, and put in a ſtrong Garriſon of *French* and *Scots* under the Command of the Baſtard of *Orleance*, and the Biſhop of the City, who not only made ſtrong Fortifications about the Town for their own Defence, but deſtroyed all the Suburbs, in which were 12 Pariſh-Churches, and 4 Monaſteries for as many Orders of Friers; and cut down all the Vines, Trees and Buſhes within 5 Leagues of the City, that the Enemy might find no manner of Support or Refuge in the Country. But all this did not diſcourage the *Engliſh*, tho' it made the Siege more difficult, yet nothing ſeemed impoſſible to ſuch brave Minds as thoſe of *Salisbury* and *Talbot*, who, notwithſtanding marched towards it, and ſate down before it in the Beginning of *September*, and planted the Siege on the one Side of the River *Loire*. Both Parties were full of Courage and Reſolution, becauſe the Fate of *France* depended upon this Siege, as was thought, whoever got *Orleance*, got all *France*. The *Engliſh* made ſeveral fierce Aſſaults, and the *French* as ſtrictly repulſed them. Three Weeks paſſed without any conſiderable Advantage on

Orleance determined to be beſieged.

Orleance beſieged, and a Fort taken by the *Engliſh*.

(*u*) *Montargis* an inland Town ſeated on the little River *d'Oſtaine*, between *Chartres* and *Orleans*, and above an 100 Miles from the Sea.

either

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either Side; but at length the Baſtard of *Orleance* making a vigorous Sally out of the Gate of the Bridge, was after a ſharp Diſpute beaten back with great Loſs, and purſued ſo cloſe, that the *Engliſh* entred the Gate with him, and took the great Bulwark upon the Bridge, with a Tower ſtanding at the End of the ſame, which by its advantageous Situation, was a great Help to take the Town, becauſe from it was a free Proſpect into all Parts of the City, ſo that the *Engliſh* Commanders might eaſily obſerve the beſt Places for their Aſſaults, which they were not wanting to improve; for the Earl of *Salisbury* cauſed ſeveral Bulwarks to be raiſed round about the Town, planting Ordinance, where he could perceive any likelihood to batter down the Walls. The *French* within were as buſie to defend themſelves, and make good the Walls againſt the *Engliſh* Guns, raiſing Guns againſt Guns, and Forts againſt Bulwarks, and making new Rampiers as ſtrong as might be. The *French* King, who knew how much his Welfare depended upon the Succeſs of this Siege, was extreamly troubled at this firſt Advantage gotten by the *Engliſh*, fearing now the Loſs of all, and deſpairing almoſt of any future Succeſs, and tho' the Town held out well, yet he looked upon his Deſtruction not leſs certain, tho' longer in coming, and could almoſt have wiſhed the Fates to haſten his Ruin, the Fears of which were as great a Torment to his Mind, as the ſuffering it ſelf could be. But while he remained in this deſpairing State of Mind, Providence was pleaſed not only to give the Beſieged at *Orleance* ſome Advantage, but to raiſe them up (as the *French* Hiſtorians ſay) a ſpecial inſtrument of Deliverance, by inſpiring *Joan D' Arc*, afterwards commonly called *Joan* of *Orleance*, both with a certain Perſwaſion of Reſtoring him to his Kingdom and Throne, and with a manlike Courage to effect it, and ſo revived the fainting Hopes of that King, whoſe Courage and Patience was almoſt invincible. And indeed, as if Divine Juſtice had taken ſufficient Vengeance upon the *French* Nation for their former Sins, he began to give them ſome glympſe of his Favour again, by the Misfortunes of the *Engliſh*, and Succeſs of the *French*, which began to ſhew it ſelf in the Death of the Earl of *Salisbury*, a Perſon of that Wiſdom, Courage and Conduct, that the Fortune of the *Engliſh* Armies ſeemed to live and dye in him. He was both the Adviſer and chief Actor in this Siege, and knowing perfectly, that the Fate of *France* depended upon the Succeſs of this Attempt, he was very diligent to improve, and carry on all Advantages for the effecting of it, and cared not to entruſt almoſt any Man without his own Preſence, leſt they ſhould Miſcarry. The Tower, which the *Engliſh* had taken on the Bridge, was much made uſe of by him, for obſerving where the Town might moſt ſucceſsfully be aſſaulted, and in an upper Room, where the Proſpect of the City lay from a Window, he often entered into Conſultations with his Commanders about Taking the Town. The Citizens were ſenſible of it, and had taken notice, that there was much looking out of the Window, and had thereupon planted a great Gun full upon it, to ſhoot at an Advantage, and a Gunner always attended upon it to diſcharge it as Occaſion ſerved. On the Nine and Fiftieth Day after the Siege began, the Earl of *Salisbury*, Sir *Thomas Gargrave* and *William Glaſdale*, with divers others, were in a deep Conſultation in the ſaid Room, and being obſerved by the Gunner frequently to look out at the Grate, he fired his Gun at them, which Shot ſo ſhattered the Bars of the Window, that one of them ſtruck the Earl of *Salisbury* on the Face, and put out one of his Eyes, and ſtruck off a part of his Cheek; Sir *Thomas Gargrave* alſo was ſo grievouſly bruiſed and wounded, that he died within Two Days. The Earl of *Salisbury* was convey to *Meun*, on the *Loire*, and all poſſible Care taken for his Recovery; but his Wound was paſt Cure, ſo that he died at the End of 8 Days; and his Body was ſoon after carried with much Solemnity into *England*, and buried by his Anceſtors at *Biſſam* in *Barkſhire*. He left only one Daughter, who was married to *Richard Nevil*, Son to *Ralph*, Earl of *Weſtmorland*, who was after Earl of *Warwick*. The Loſs of this great Man, was received with much Grief by all the *Engliſh*, but by none ſo much as by the Duke of *Bedford*, who was more ſenſible of his Worth, while living, and ſo of the Damage to the *Engliſh* by his Death; yet he would not ſeem to want him, and therefore appointed the Earl of *Suffolk* to be his Lieutenant, and Captain of the Siege; and with the Lord *Scales*, Lord *Talbot*, Sir *John Falſtaffe*, and ſome others, to carry it on with all Vigour and Courage poſſible; who accordingly left nothing unattempted that Policy could deviſe, or daring Boldneſs archieve. But the Town being ſtrong of it ſelf, and filled with a good Garriſon, held out till *Lent* was almoſt paſt without any Signs of Yielding, putting the *Engliſh* Camp to very great Streights for Proviſion, which they were forced to fetch as far as *Paris*, becauſe the Country round about them was depopulated and deſtroyed. At length the Beſieged beat for a Parley, and came to a Treaty to ſave themſelves. The *Engliſh* accepted it, but the Beſieged would not agree to reſign it to the Duke of *Bedford*, but only to the Duke of *Burgundy* to be kept for the Duke of *Orleance*, or his Brother the Duke of *Angoleſm*, hoping either to obtain more Favour from their Country-Man if it were granted, or if not, to beget a private Grudge between them, which indeed came to paſs; for when he had ſent to the Duke to ſignifie the Conditions, upon which the Town offered to yield, tho' he was adviſed to agree to the Conditions, and ſuffer it to be reſign to the Duke of *Burgundy*, yet the Regent would by no means, but returned Anſwer, 'That it 'was neither convenient nor honourable, that 'a City ſo long beſieged by the King of *Eng-* 'land, and defended with ſo much Obſtinacy 'and Reſolution, ſhould be ſurrendred upon 'their own Terms, or to any other than King 'Henry himſelf, or his Deputy, and therefore 'would not aſſent to any other Terms. This Anſwer the Duke of *Burgundy* took very ill from the Regent, conceiving that the *Engliſh* envied his Honour and Intereſt, and kept it deeply laid up in his Mind.

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The Earl of *Salisbury* mortally wounded, and dies in Eight Days

The Siege of *Orleance* continued.

Orleance ſeeks a Treaty, and is accepted.

The Regent refuſing to accept the Propoſals of the Beſieged the Surrender of the Town was delay'd, and by that Means gave time for the wonderful Deliverance, which after follow'd after this manner. A young Maid nam'd *Joan D' Arc*, the Daughter of *James D' Arc* and *Iſabel* his Wife, a poor Country-Man, who inhabited in a ſmall Village in *Berry* call'd *Domremy*, aged about Eighteen Years, aſſerted with great Zeal and Confidence, 'That ſhe had a Revela- 'tion, that ſhe ſhould deliver King *Charles* from 'his preſent Troubles, and drive the *Engliſh* 'from *Orleans*, and having cauſed him to be 'crown'd at *Rhemes* reſtore the whole King- 'dom

The Story of *Joan D' Arc*, who pretended to be ſent 'by God to 'deliver 'France.

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'dom to its Ancient Peace and Happineſs. This Revelation ſhe firſt diſcover'd to her Father and Mother, and Neighbours, and after was perſwaded to relate it to the Sieur *Baudricourt*, Provoſt of *Vaucouleurs*, which ſhe did with a great deal of Serioufneſs and Reſolution. The Provoſt being a ſage and diſcreet Perſon, and knowing, that Pretences of Revelation were not eaſily to be credited at firſt, look'd upon her to be poſſeſſed with a deep Melancholy, and told her, 'That it was very unlikely, that ſhe being a Woman ſhould be an Inſtrument of their 'Deliverance, when all the Attempts of their 'moſt illuſtrious and brave Perſonages had pro'ved in vain: But when he ſaw her unmovable Reſolution, and conſider'd the Gravity and Prudence of her Diſcourſe, he thought fit to carry her to the King for his own Diſcharge, who lay then with his Court at *Chinon*. She was brought into that Town *March* the 6th, and the News of her Arrival was receiv'd by the King and his Council with much Pleaſure, and becauſe ſhe had always been educated in the Country, and had never ſeen the King, it was contriv'd, that the King ſhould put on a Country-Man's Habit, leſt ſhe ſhould know him by his Regal Ornaments and Diadem, and by this Experiment try, whether ſhe were inſpir'd or no. When the young Woman was brought into the Chamber ſhe went directly to the King, though in Diſguiſe, as if ſhe had been brought up in the Court all her Life. The Courtiers that ſtood about her, told her, that ſhe was miſtaken, but ſhe conſtantly averred, that it was he, though ſhe had never ſeen him before, and then immediately began to diſcourſe with him and aſſure him, That ſhe had a ſpecial Command from the God of Heaven to revive the ſinking Fortune of the King and Kingdom. This Action turn'd their Scorn into Admiration, and what they derided at firſt, they began to believe, ſo that now her Words were thought worthy of more ſerious Conſideration, and that there might be no Miſtake about ſo great a Matter, it was referred to the Judgment both of the King's Council, and of the moſt eminent Divines of his Party, who after many Debates reſolv'd, 'That in Caſes deſperate the Provi'dence of God did often make uſe of extraor'dinary Remedies, and in like Revolutions of 'State, when the Courage of Men was loſt, he 'raiſed up Women for its Deliverance, as *De'borah* and *Judith*, who by their Valour reſcu'd 'the People of *Iſrael* from the Tyranny of two 'Heathen Kings, *Jabin* and *Nebuchadnezzar*: 'That Neceſſity made it lawful to uſe all ſorts 'of Remedies for their own Defence and Re'covery, and ſo to try whether what this Maid 'has ſo confidently aſſerted, be true, yet with ſo 'much Caution as to run no Hazzard. Theſe Reſolutions being aſſented to by the King, all Things were ſubmitted to her Conduct, as far as was Safe and Convenient, which ſhe eaſily yielded to, being as modeſt and reaſonable in her Actions, as in her Propoſals. The News was no ſooner brought to her, but ſhe began the Work, which ſhe ſaid ſhe had a Command from God to execute, and as inſpir'd by God manfully entred upon thoſe Actions, which a mere Womaniſh Valour would not dare to think on. She arm'd her ſelf with all Warlike Habiliments, and mounted her Horſe as a Man. The Spear which was laid up in *Touraine* in a Place call'd St. *Catherine de Fierbois* was given her upon her Requeſt, and the Admiral of *France* and Marſhal, who were with a ſufficient Strength to carry a Supply of Victuals into the Town, had a ſpecial Charge given them to take care of her Safety, and conduct her without Hazzard into it. She being thus arm'd and equipp'd took her Leave of the King with a Deportment befitting a great Captain, and in *April* the 12th left *Chinon*, and arriv'd ſafely at *Orleans*, where ſhe was receiv'd as a Meſſenger ſent by Heaven for their Deliverance, with ſuch a Joy as People reviving from Deſpair do ſhew, having Faith to believe, as much as ſhe could promiſe them, becauſe in God's Name. *Joan* being gotten ſafe into the Town behav'd her ſelf without any Inſolence or extravagant Boaſting, making Propoſals of Peace, before ſhe would begin any Warlike Enterprize, and to that End ſent this following Letter to the Chief Commanders of the *Engliſh* Army by a Trumpet.

The Judgment of the *French* Divines about her.

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King of England,

'GIve an Account to the King of Heaven 'for his Royal Blood. Surrender up to 'the Virgin the Keys of all the good Towns 'which you have taken by Force. She is come 'from Heaven to vindicate the Royal Blood of '*France*, and is very ready to make Peace, if 'thou wilt ſubmit to reaſonable Terms, and '(as Equity and Juſtice requires) reſtore what 'thou haſt taken from him. King of *England*, 'if thou wilt not do thus, I am the Captain of 'the Wars, and in whatſoever part of *France* I 'ſhall find any of the *Engliſh* Nation, I will 'drive them out whether they will or no; but 'if they will ſubmit, I will take them to Mer'cy? I am come from the King of Heaven to 'expel you out of *France*, and if you will not 'obey, I will make ſuch a ſlaughter and ſtir 'among you as hath not been this Thouſand 'Years in *France*. Believe me, The King of 'Heaven will give me and my Forces ſuch irre'ſiſtible Courage and Strength, as you ſhall not 'be able to oppoſe. Go in God's Name into 'your own Country, and be not obſtinate to 'your own Opinions, for ye ſhall not hold '*France* of the King of Heaven, the Son of the 'Virgin *Mary*, but *Charles* the true Heir of it 'ſhall again poſſeſs it and be King of it, for 'God hath given it him, and he ſhall enter *Pa'ris* with a goodly Train. You *William Pawlet*, 'Earl of *Suffolk*, *John*, Lord *Talbot*, *Thomas*, Lord 'Scales, Lieutenants of the Duke of *Bedford*, 'and you Duke of *Bedford*, who calleſt thy'ſelf Regent of the Kingdom of *France*, be ſpa'ring of innocent Blood, and give *Orleans* its 'Liberty. If you will not do Juſtice to thoſe 'whom you have wronged, the *French* will do 'the nobleſt Exploit that ever was done in 'Chriſtendom. Mind this wholeſome Advice gi'ven you by God and His Virgin.

Joan's Letter to the *Engliſh* to tender them Peace.

This Letter being carry'd to the Earl of *Suffolk* was receiv'd with great Laughter, and King *Charles* and his Council were derided, as Perſons tranſported with an Extravagant Folly, who would make uſe of ſuch irrational Means for their own Defence, and the *Engliſh* from this Time began to promiſe themſelves a certain Victory, ſince the *French* had no better ways to ſecure themſelves, than ſuch groundleſs Projects. The Trumpeter, who brought this Letter was impriſon'd, which though the *French* complain'd of, as contrary to the Laws of Arms, yet the *Engliſh* juſtified it by the madneſs of the Meſſage, and thought ſuch an Enthuſiaſtick Defiance ought not to be treated in the common Methods. *Joan* the Virgin ſeeing her Letter diſregarded, and no way left to carry on her Work but by open force of Arms,

Joan's Letter derided by the *Engliſh*.

adviſes

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adviſes the Chief Governours of the Siege, the Earls of *Dunois*, *Pothon* and *Xantrails* to prepare for an Aſſault, and to ſally out upon the *Engliſh* with all their Force, ſaying: 'God is for 'us, and the *Engliſh* cannot eſcape our Hands. 'Let us but put on an anſwerable Courage to 'the Aſſiſtance God intends us, and we ſhall 'defeat all the Raſcals of that Army. The Commons, who putting Confidence in her had flock'd about her in great Numbers, promiſed themſelves mighty Succeſs in the Attempt, and readily attended her Motions; but the Commanders had little Hopes of a Victory againſt thoſe Enemies, which ever conquer'd them, yet reſolv'd to follow her Advice for once, as an Oracle. All Things therefore being well prepared, the Beſieged with *Joan* in the Head of them made a vigorous Sally at the Gate of *Burgundy*, and firſt ſet upon the Fort of St. *Lupe* adjoining to it, which was defended by 400 *Engliſh*. The *French*, as inſpired with an unuſual Courage, aſſaulted it with ſuch Fury, that no Oppoſition the *Engliſh* could make, could keep them from Scaling it, which ſo affrighted them, that they left the Caſtle to the *French*, and fled, but were ſlain many of them, and others taken Priſoners. This ſucceſsful Beginning raiſed the Opinion of the Virgin in the Minds of all, and the People at her Return to her Lodging ran in Flocks to meet her, crying, *Bleſſed be the Holy Virgin ſent by God to deliver us.* Victory ſeem'd to be now come over to the *French*; and though the *Engliſh* Generals did all they could to keep up the dying Courage of their Soldiers, yet the *French* every Day got ſome Advantage of them, and at length on *May* the 8th, obliged them to raiſe the Siege, which they did in good Order, and retreated part under the Earl of *Suffolk* to *Jurgeaux* the next *Engliſh* Garriſon, and part under the Lord *Talbot* to *Mehun*. The *French* fluſh'd with this Victory had no ſooner put *Orleans* into a Poſture of Defence, but they purſu'd the *Engliſh* to *Jurgeaux*, and after a ſhort Siege made themſelves Maſters of it *July* the 12th, taking the Earl of *Suffolk* and his Brother Priſoners, with many others.

Siege of *Orleans* raiſed by *Joan*'s Conduct.

Fifth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

While the Siege of *Orleans* was thus carry'd on, little was done in *England*, ſave that about the 14th of *October* in the beginning of this Year a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, and provided for the good of the Nation by enacting ſeveral Laws, and for the Defence of it, by giving a large Tax for carrying on the War with *France*. The Acts were of good Benefit to the Publick: As,

1. That whereas by reaſon of the quick Return of *Capias*'s in the *King*'s *Bench*, *Exigents* were granted and awarded, whereby divers Perſons being by baſe and fraudulent Practices outlaw'd, their Goods and Chattels were immediately ſeiz'd, as forfeited to our Lord the King, and ſo divers of the King's faithful Subjects were utterly undone, as by the Complaints of the Commons in Parliament doth appear. Before any *Exigents* ſhall be granted for the future, every *Capias* ſhall be directed to the Sheriffs at leaſt ſix Weeks, and if upon the Return the Judges ſhall think fit to grant an *Exigent*, they may proceed as formerly, but if any be granted before the Return of the *Writ*, it ſhall be void.

2. That Sheriffs ſhall be oblig'd under the Penalty of Forty Pounds to deliver to all Plaintiffs, Tenants or Defendants a true Copy of their Pannels ſix Days before the Aſſizes, when they ſhall be ſo requir'd by the ſaid Plantiffs or Defendants.

3. Whereas Sheriffs by corrupt Juries were wrongfully endicted to the Juſtices of Aſſize for making falſe Returns of the Knight choſen in their ſeveral Sheirs to ſerve in Parliament, by which Means the Sheriffs were liable to pay an Hundred Pounds Forfeiture, and the Knight loſt their accuſtom'd Wages in Parliament without Remedy; therefore it was enacted, That Sheriffs and Knights againſt whom any Inqueſts or Offices of undue Elections are found ſhall for the future have their Anſwer, and traverſe to ſuch Inqueſts and Offices, and ſhall not be endamag'd till duly convicted.

4. By this Parliament alſo it was appointed that ſeveral Commiſſions of Sewers ſhould be iſſu'd out by the Chancellor of *England* into all Parts of the Realm to cleanſe and repair all Walls, Ditches, Gutters, Bridges, Wears, *&c.* to prevent the great Inundations of the Sea and Rivers which had happen'd in divers Parts of the Nation. And a Form of Commiſſion was compoſed on purpoſe, that it might be the more effectual, which is annex'd to it, and an Order, that for Ten Years next enſuing they ſhould be ſo ſtrictly executed, that all Water-courſes ſhould be cleanſed, and the Nation freed from the Prejudices it had ſuffer'd a long time by frequent Inundations.

This Parliament in Conſideration of the King's Expence in carrying on the War in *France*, which grew very dubious, and more chargeable, granted very large Taxes, *viz.* a Subſidy of Three Shillings by the Tun for all Wine imported, and Twelve Pence by the Pound for all Merchandize, except Wool, Wool-fells and Cloth, which had a Tax before laid upon them. But beſides theſe a kind of Poll-Tax, tho' not general was laid upon ſeveral Pariſhes, *viz.* In every Pariſh where the Living was worth Ten Marks *per Annum*, it was enacted, That Ten of the chiefeſt Pariſhioners ſhould pay Six Shillings and Eight Pence *per* Head; and in ſuch Pariſhes as the Living was worth Ten Pounds *per Annum*, a like Number of the chief Inhabitants ſhould pay a Mark; and in all Corporations it was order'd, that every Perſon worth above Twenty Shillings beſides his Houſhold-Goods and Apparel, ſhould pay Four Pence by the Head to the King, and ſo proportionably for every Twenty Shillings all Perſons were worth, by which means the Tax was much increaſed in Cities and Boroughs.

Wickliff condemned by the Council of *Conſtance*, and his Bones burnt.

In this Sixth Year of the King, *Wickliff* and his Memory was ſolemnly condemn'd at the Council of *Conſtance* (or rather *Sienna*) held under Pope *John* after this manner. Proclamation being firſt made, and Commandment given, that if any Perſon or Perſons could or would defend *Wickliff* or his Memory, they ſhould immediately appear and be heard; none daring to be his Advocate, the Council proceeded to examine ſeveral Witneſſes, whom they had brought to prove, That *John Wickliff* in his Life-time held and taught many Heretical and Heterodox Doctrines, contrary to the receiv'd Tenets and Practices of the Chriſtian Church in all Ages, and that he dy'd in an obſtinate and wilful Impenitency of thoſe Opinions, for which he ought to be condemn'd and curſed by the Church: Whereupon the Synod at the Requeſt of the Steward of the Pope's Treaſury proceeded to give Sentence againſt the ſaid *Wickliff* and his Memory. 'That the ſaid *John Wickliff* being 'a notorious obſtinate Heretick, and dying in 'his Hereſie, his Body and Bones, if they might 'be diſcern'd from the Bodies of other faithful 'People, ſhould be taken up out of the Ground,

'and

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' and thrown away far from the Burial of any ' Church, according to the Canon-Laws and De- ' crees. The Execution of this Sentence which was approv'd by the whole Aſſembly, was committed to the Biſhop of *Lincoln* (x) *Richard Flemming*, in whoſe Dioceſſe the Pariſh of *Lutterworth*, of which *Wickliff* was Parſon, and where he lay buried, was. The Biſhop as zealous as the Council againſt what they call'd Hereſie, as ſoon as he had received his Orders, ſends his Officers, *viz.* his Arch-Deacon, Officials, Commiſſaries, and other Servants to *Lutterworth* to take up *Wickliff*'s Bones, and remove them out of Chriſtian Burial, who were ſo far from coming ſhort of their Commiſſion, that they exceeded; and having taken his Bones out of his Grave one and forty Years after his Burial, burnt them, and caſt them into a Brook adjoyning, call'd *Swift*, which carrying them into the Sea was a Preſage of the ſpreading of Doctrine into all Parts of the World.

Reg. 7.

Biſhop of *Winchester*'s Return into *England*, oppoſed by the King.

About the Beginning of *September* the Biſhop of *Winchester* lately made Cardinal of St. *Euſebius* in *France* return'd into *England*, and in his Journey to *London* was met by the Mayor, Aldermen, and many of the Chief Citizens of it on Horſe-back, and by them honourably conducted unto his Palace in *Southwark*; but his Return with ſo great Dignity, and a Legantine Power, was not at all pleaſing to the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who by this Time underſtood of how ill a Conſequence his Promotions might prove to the Nation, being a Man of a very inſolent and high Temper, and very rich, which would make him troubleſome, and intolerable. And to prevent the ill Effects of them, as ſoon as he heard he was landed, he cauſed an Inſtrument to be publiſhed in the King's Name, declaring, ' That whereas the moſt Chriſtian ' King *Henry* VI. and his Progenitors, Kings ' before him of this Realm of *England*, have ' been heretofore poſſeſſed time out of Mind ' with a ſpecial Priviledge and Cuſtom uſed and ' obſerv'd in this Realm from Time to Time, ' that no Legate from the Apoſtolick See ſhall ' enter this Land, or any of the King's Domi- ' nions without the Calling, Petition, Requeſt, ' Invitation or Deſire of the King; and foraſ- ' much as *Henry*, Biſhop of *Winchester*, and Car- ' dinal of St. *Euſebius* hath preſum'd to enter as ' Legate from the Pope, being neither call'd nor ' deſir'd by the King; therefore the King by ' his Procurator *Richard Caudray* doth proteſt by ' this Inſtrument, that it ſtandeth not with the ' King's Mind or Intent by the Advice of his ' Council to admit, approve or ratifie the Com- ' ing of the ſaid Legate in any wiſe in Deroga- ' tion of the Rights and Cuſtoms of this Realm, ' or to allow and aſſent to any Exerciſe of his ' Legantine Power, or to any Acts attempted ' by him contrary to the ſaid Laws. This Proclamation being only intended againſt his Power as Legate, the Biſhop ſeem'd for the preſent to wave his Authority in that Kingdom, and kept on his way homeward without any Oppoſition farther from the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who was willing to wink at any Submiſſion thro' the fear of diſpleaſing the Pope, who certainly would have thunder'd aloud if he had ſeen his Authority openly reſiſted, tho' in the Cardinal's Hands.

Fox, Act. and Mon. *Pag* 649.

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The *French* King having Fortune now on his ſide ſummon'd a Council of his great Lords to his Court to conſult, how, and by what Methods they ſhould purſue their Victories (for this Occaſion was not to be ſlipped) and at laſt it was reſolv'd, that it would be moſt for his Advantage to recover ſuch Places from the Hands of the *Engliſh*, as were ſituate upon the River *Loire*, and to that end it was thought fit, that a large Army ſhould be raiſed, and marching to *Orleans* ſhould from thence purſue the good Fortune which had firſt began there. *John de Valois*, Duke of *Alenzon*, was made the King's Lieutenant in this Expedition, and had the Conduct of an Army of 14000 Men under the Command of the Duke *De Vandoſme*, a Prince of the Blood, *Joan* the Virgin, *Guy de Laval*, Marſhal *Loeac* his Brother, *Chivagnes de Tonr*, and *Vidame de Chartres*. The firſt Thing that they attempted was the Siege of *Mehun* or *Mean*, which tho' a ſmall Town, was an Annoyance to them in their March from *Orleans*; whereupon they beſieg'd it, till they had taken the Bridge and Caſtle, by which means being freed from any Trouble from it: After they had put in a *French* Garriſon, they march'd forward to *Beaugences* a more important Place, where they were met by *Arthur* of *Brittain*, Conſtable of *France*, accompany'd with the Lord *D' Albret*, *Beaumenoir*, Marſhal of *Brittain*, and many others, who brought them a Reinforcement of 1200 Horſe, and 1500 Foot, who joyning with them they moſt ſtraitly beſieg'd the Place. The Lord *Talbot* in the mean time was as buſie for the Advantage of the *Engliſh*, as the *French* were for their own, and took *Laval*, a Town formerly in Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, but upon the good Succeſs of the *French* at *Orleans* it had Revolted, and ſet up King *Charles*'s Standard. *Talbot*'s Courage would not endure their Inconſtancy, and therefore falling upon it with Scaling-Ladders made his way directly into the Town and took it with a rich Spoil. The Caſtle ſtill held out againſt him, and though it could not hope to ſtand out long, yet was *Andrew Laval*, Lord of *Loeac* ſent to maintain it, if poſſible, till they could gain an honourable Compoſition, which at length he obtain'd, *viz.* ' That all that were ' in the Caſtle, himſelf not excepted, ſhould ' pay for the Ranſom of their Lives 25000 ' Crowns, and he remain a Priſoner among the ' *Engliſh*, till it was either actually paid, or ſuf- ' ficient Security given for the Payment of it. The Lord *Talbot* immediately placed a ſtrong Garriſon in it to keep the Inhabitants in Subjection, and went forward to the Regent to *Paris*, but could make no ſtay there, becauſe the News of the Siege of *Beaugences* being brought thither ſoon after his Arrival, the Regent diſpatch'd him, and the Lord *Scales* with an Army of 4000 Men to the Relief of it. Theſe Lords fear'd no Attempts, though never ſo Deſperate or Hazardous; but coming to *Beaugences*, they found it ſo ſtraitly Beſieged, and the Army of the *French* ſo ſtrong, that Prudence engag'd them not to hazzard themſelves and Men to no purpoſe, and ſo they retir'd towards *Mehun*, intending to force the Bridge and Caſtle there, and ſecure themſelves in that Town. *Beaugences* by the Departure of the *Engliſh* ſeeing their Hopes of Succour gone yielded upon theſe Conditions, ' That the Garriſon ' ſhould march out with their Arms, Horſes ' and Baggage (but the *French* Hiſtorians ſay, ' That they were to pay a Mark a Man for the ' laſt) and that the *Engliſh* Soldiers ſhould not ' bear Arms for Ten Days againſt the King of ' *France*. The *French* being thus Maſters of the Town, and ſeeing their Army ſo much greater than the *Engliſh*, purſu'd them with all ſpeed,

A. D. 1429. Reg. 7.

Duke of *Alenzon* beſieges *Mehun*.

The Lord *Talbot* takes *Laval*.

The *French* takes *Beaugences*.

(x) This Biſhop *Flemming* had been formerly a zealous *Wickliviſt*.

and

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and before the *Engliſh* could affect their Deſign at *Mehun*, overtook them, and forced them to leave it. They endeavour'd to recover *Janvile*, but were ſo cloſely follow'd by the *French* Horſe, that they were oblig'd to make a ſtand at *Patay* in *Beauſſe* to guard themſelves with Stakes againſt their Aſſaults, but before they could do it the whole Army came upon them, and they were forced to engage in fight, tho' very unequally againſt them, the *French* being at leaſt four times their Number. *Talbot* ſeeing the Neceſſity of a Battel encourag'd his Men with all the Arguments he could to conquer or die bravely, and gave them command to keep themſelves cloſe together, leſt being ſurrounded by the Enemy, they ſhould open a Gap to their own Ruin. The *French* aſſur'd of Victory fell on them very furiouſly, and the *Engliſh* as reſolutely for Three Hours maintain'd their Ground againſt them, but at length their brave Captain *Talbot* having receiv'd a dangerous Wound upon his Back, and thereby being ſo diſabled, that he could make no Reſiſtance, fell into the Hands of his Enemies, and was made their Captive. This unfortunate Accident ſo diſheartned the reſt of the Army, that they betook themſelves to Flight, but were ſo cloſely purſu'd, that they were almoſt all ſlain, the *Engliſh* Garriſons not daring to receive them, becauſe they were mingled with ſo many of their Enemies, that they had been in Danger of falling into the Hands of the *French* to ſave them. The Lords *Scales* and *Hungerford*, and Sir *Thomas Rampſtone*, with ſome others of leſs Note, were taken. Sir *J. Falſtoff*, tho' a Perſon of great Valour, yet ſeeing the inevitable Fate of this Battel, withdrew without giving or receiving a Blow (as judging it mere Raſhneſs to fight at ſuch a Diſadvantage) but the Regent was ſo incenſed with him for it, that he took from him his *George* and *Garter*, which he had given him but the Year before for his former brave Actions; but thro' much Mediation of Friends, and his own alledging of ſome Excuſes (which were at that Time judg'd reaſonable) they were again reſtored to him, tho' much againſt the Lord *Talbot*'s Will and Conſent. This Victory cauſed great Triumph among the *French*, chiefly becauſe they had gotten their braveſt Captain and Commander, without whoſe Conduct they believ'd the *Engliſh* would not be able to do any thing of Conſequence in *France* for the future; yea, and the *Engliſh* themſelves diſpair'd of any of Fortune's Favours hereafter, ſince the Two great Pillars of their Cauſe were loſt. And indeed they had no ſmall reaſon for their Fears, becauſe ſeveral of their Towns yielded themſelves up to King *Charles*, viz. *Gergeau*, *Baugence*, *Janville*, *Meun*, and all *Beauſſe*, ſo that by a ſudden turn of Fortune, they loſt in a few Days, what they had been getting many Months at a great Expence of Blood.

The *Engliſh* routed at *Patay*, and the Lord *Talbot* taken.

Sir *John Falſtoff* left the Lord *Talbot* in this Battel.

Orleans being thus deliver'd according to *Joan*'s Promiſe and Prediction, ſhe preſs'd for the Coronation of King *Charles* at *Rheimes*, which according to her Train of Prophecies, was next to follow in order to the compleat routing the *Engliſh* out of *France*. Many of his Nobles, who were tender of his Safety, were extremely againſt it, alledging, 'That a Coronation is but 'a mere Ceremony, and did neither add to, nor 'take from a King's Title to his Crown. All 'the Uſe of it was only to make the King known 'to his People, which the War had ſo fully 'done, that none of his Natural Subjects were 'ignorant of his Perſon or Title. But if it were 'neceſſary in it ſelf, yet the preſent Time, and 'the deſign'd Place where ſo inconſiſtent with 'the King's Safety, that it was in no wiſe to 'be attempted: For beſides, that *Rheimes* was 'in the Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, there were ſo 'many *Engliſh* Garriſons on both ſides the way 'thither, *viz.* on the one ſide *Auxerre*, *Troyes* 'and *Chaalons*, and on the other ſide *Layon* and '*Soiſſons*, that it was almoſt impoſſible to get 'thither: So that at leaſt the Ceremony ought 'to be forborn for a time; and ſo much the 'rather, becauſe the *Engliſh* had not yet thought 'it neceſſary to crown King *Henry*. Theſe Reaſons, tho very rational and certain, yet ſatisfied not *Joan*, as being contrary to One of the Three Things which were pretended, that ſhe had a Commiſſion from God himſelf to execute, and therefore inſiſted upon the Performance of it without delay, aſſuring them, *That theſe imaginary Difficulties would vaniſh in the Attempt.* King *Charles* having ſeen the Succeſs of the Former, was eaſily ſway'd to comply with the Latter; and therefore reſolv'd to proceed to his Coronation at *Rheimes*. All his Nobles, tho' with unwilling Minds, attended him in his Voyage, except *Arthur* of *Brittain* the Conſtable, and Count *Fedriac* his Friend, whom *Tremville* was unwilling to be troubled with; but leſt thro' ſome Diſcontent they ſhould diſturb the Proſperity of their Affairs, he cauſed the King to ſend them, one with a ſufficient Force to defend the Frontiers of *Normandy*, and the other to be his Lieutenant in *Guienne*, which Stations they accepted without any ſeeming Diſlike, though not inſenſible of *Tremville*'s Artifices. Things being thus ſettled, *Charles* took his Way with an Army of 12000 Men towards *Rheimes*, and with little or no Difficulty arriv'd there; for the *Engliſh* Garriſons fearing a Siege, demanded only Time for Succour, which not coming they ſurrendred. *Troyes* indeed ſtood out Twelve Days, or as others ſay, but Two Days, the *French* partly making fierce Aſſaults, and the *Engliſh* under Sir *Philip Hall* thro' Famine making little or no Reſiſtance. *Chaalons* and *Rheimes* were forced by the Inhabitants to ſurrender to King *Charles*, who thereupon made his ſolemn Entry into the City, and was crown'd there in the Preſence of the Dukes of *Lorrain* and *Barr*, and all his Nobles. This ſucceſsful Voyage raiſed *Joan*'s Reputation very much; and tho' a Woman of no good Credit, yet confirm'd their Belief of her, as a Perſon ſent by God for their Deliverance, which ſupported their Courage. And indeed the Ceremony, tho' of no Value in it ſelf; yet produced ſuch real Effects, as if it had been a material Circumſtance by the Divine Decree in the Relief of *France*; for it was no ſooner over, but the People who judge by Appearance only, flock'd to him to do him Homage, and many Cities, as if that Action had conferred a juſt Right upon him, which before he had not, own'd him for their lawful and only Sovereign. *Laon* ſent Deputies to him to do him Homage, and *Soiſſons*, *Chaſteau Thierre* and *Province* yielded to him with many adjoining Towns.

A. D. 1429. Reg. 7.

Charles the *French* King crown'd at *Rheimes*

The Effects of *Charles*'s Coronation.

The Duke of *Bedford*, a wiſe and experienc'd Governor was not an unconcerned Spectator of all theſe Actions, and with no ſmall Grief of Heart revolv'd with himſelf the ill Succeſs of his Party. Every Revolt was a Wound to him, but he knew not how to ward off the Strokes of an inevitable Fate. Something he knew was to be done, but he was long in doubt what would be beſt. At laſt he reſolv'd to try another Field-Battel, and ſtop the Current by force, and to that end leaving *Paris* with an Army

A. D. 1429. Reg. 7.

Duke of *Bedford* Challenges the *French* King to fight.

of 10000 *Engliſh*, and ſome *Norman* Troops march'd into the Country of *Brie*, from whence he ſent a Challenge in Writing to King *Charles* by an Herald to this Purpoſe, 'That whereas, 'he had contrary to the final Concluſion made 'between his noble Brother King *Henry* V. and 'his own Father King *Charles* VI. and the King-'dom of *France*, by the Allurement of a De-'viliſh Witch, taken upon him contrary to all 'Laws and Right, the Name, Title and Dig-'nity of King of *France*, and had by Murder, 'Stealing, Craft, and other deceitful Means 'violently gotten, and wrongfully kept divers 'Cities and Towns belonging to the King of '*England* his Nephew, pretending a rightful 'Claim to them, which he utterly deny'd, He 'was come down from *Paris* with his Army 'into the Country of *Brie* to prove by dint of 'Sword and ſtroke of Battel his Challenge, and 'Cauſe true, requiring him to appoint the 'Place of their Meeting, and would not fail 'to come to decide this Controverſie with him. The *French* King was now come from *Rheimes* to *Dampmartin*, where the Herald found him, and deliver'd his Writing to him. *Charles* was not a little aſtoniſh'd at it, but putting on a brave Reſolution, told him, *That his Maſter ſhould not need to come to him, nor invite him to a Battel, for he was determin'd with all ſpeed to ſeek out his Maſter, and by Battel put an end to all Diſputes between them.* The Duke of *Bedford* hearing this, kept on his March towards him, and at length (tho' the *French* King declin'd meeting as much as in Honour he dare) met his Army at a Town near *Senlis*, which, notwithſtanding it was much bigger than his own, he was reſolv'd to fight almoſt at any Diſadvantage, yet to ſecure his Rear from the *French* Horſe, he encamp'd himſelf as ſtrongly as he poſſibly could, and put his Archers in the Forefront of the Battel. The *French* King alſo drew up his Army by the Advice of his Captains into very good Order, and faced the *Engliſh* two Days without any Action, except a few Skirmiſhes between Parties. On the third Day it was debated in the *French* Camp, whether they ſhould aſſault the *Engliſh* or no, *Joan* was irreſolv'd, and would by no means encourage them as at other times, which made the greateſt part of the Soldiers, who look'd upon her Determinations as Divine, againſt a Battel. The other Commanders thought it very irrational to hazard their former Victories by one Battel, which if unfortunate, might utterly ruin them, and 'twould be folly to tempt their kind Fortune by venturing needleſly. Theſe Arguments ſo prevail'd with King *Charles*, that in the dead of the Night he broke up his Camp, and withdrew to *Bray*. The Duke of *Bedford* had much ado to keep his Army in the Morning from purſuing the *French*; but becauſe he fear'd the Fidelity of the Citizens of *Paris*, he was afraid to give them Liberty to do it, and ſo he return'd thither again to wait another Opportunity.

Biſhop of *Winchester* provides to go againſt the *Huſſites* in *Bohemia.*

While theſe Things were tranſacting in *France*, Pope *Martin* V. who having excommunicated the Followers of *Wickliff* in *Bohemia*, commonly call'd *Huſſites*, from their Chief Preacher *John Hus*, at the Council of *Florence*, ſent his Bull into *England* to the Rich Cardinal *Henry Beaufort*, Biſhop of *Winchester*, imploring him by the Wounds of Chriſt, his Zeal to the Church, and as he tender'd his own Salvation, to contribute his utmoſt Aſſiſtance to extirpate theſe Hereticks, which had ſo long withſtood the Arms of the Emperor, and other Princes of *Europe*, and to encourage him to be induſtrious in the Undertaking, he made him his Legate in the Army, which he ſhould raiſe for that End, and gave him the Tenth Part of every Dignity, Benefice and Promotion in the Kingdom. The Cardinal's Ambition, or, if you will, Zeal, made him very active in his Work, and that he might proceed with the greater Succeſs he propounded the Letters of the Pope to the Parliament, and obtained their Approbation, either out of the ſame Principle of Hatred to the Hereticks, or perhaps rather, becauſe they would rid the Kingdom of this turbulent Prelate, who was to be the Captain of the Army in ſo Religious a War. But whatever was the Reaſon, the Cardinal glad of this publick Ratification of his Commiſſion, proceeded with all Expedition to gather the Money of the Clergy, (who notwithſtanding the Goodneſs of the Cauſe, were not a little diſcontented at it, having been much impoveriſh'd of late with Tenths and other Taxes for the Wars of *France*) and with it he raiſed an Army of above 4000 Men, whom having well furniſh'd with all Things for the War, he about the Beginning of *June* intended to have tranſported into *France*, and ſo march'd into *Bohemia*; but when he had drawn them up to *Dover* for that end, Letters came with all ſpeed from the Duke of *Bedford* to his Brother the Protector, to ſend him over ſome Recruits forthwith, becauſe the *French* King's Affairs were come to that Ripeneſs, that unleſs a ſpeedy ſtop were put to his Victories (which he had not Men enough to do) he would ſoon become Maſter of all *France*. The Duke of *Glouceſter*, ſtartled at this Meſſage, was very ſollicitous to anſwer his Brother's Deſires, but not being able to do it ſo ſoon as was requir'd, and really neceſſary, he earneſtly intreated the Cardinal to aſſiſt his Brother in *France* with his Army for the preſent, and ſo ſoon as he could provide other Supplies he ſhould be diſmiſſed to proceed on his Journey. The Cardinal very unwillingly hearken'd to the Protector's Requeſt, tho' next to a Command; but being no impolitick Perſon, and conſidering, that if the King's Affairs in *France* ſhould miſcarry thro' any neglect of his, it was not the Zeal he had for Religion, nor the Pope's Command could excuſe him, either to his own Conſcience, or to the King and Parliament for thus forſaking the Kingdom's Intereſts; whereupon he immediately tranſported his Forces into *France*, and join'd them with the Regent. With this Reinforcement the Regent march'd out again with a Reſolution to fight his Enemy the *French* King, who (as he had receiv'd late Intelligence) was marched into *Champaigne* and *Beauvais*, where having many Friends, he hop'd to have had many of the Towns of thoſe Countries yielded to him; but e're he could arrive there, the Regent, who purſu'd him with great ſpeed, overtook him, and found him encamped upon Mount *Piliol* between *Senlis* and *Champaigne*, himſelf pitching between *Senlis* and *Monmaur* at a convenient Diſtance from them. The *French* being thus in proſpect of a daring Enemy, tho' much the greater Number, yet would not venture to aſſault the Camp of the *Engliſh*, and the Regent not thinking it ſafe, upon better Thoughts, to fight them at ſuch Diſadvantages, as the Place and their Numbers gave them, they waited ſeveral Days to come to a fair Battel, but at length, being both tired with Expectation, they retreated, the one to *Creſpie*, and the other to *Paris*, and ſo nothing was done, ſave that in ſome ſmall Skirmiſhes the *Engliſh* and *Normans*

A. D. 1431. Reg. 7.

Biſhop of *Winchester* in his way to *Bohemia* aſſiſts the Regent of *France.*

had

1429. Reg. 7. His Success in *Bohemia.*

had much the better. The Bishop of *Winchester* having waited with some Impatience for a Battel in vain, and finding his Delay unnecessary, went forward with the Regent's Leave into *Bohemia* with his Army, but having had ill Fortune there against the Hereticks, he returned Home soon after with as little Honour as Gain; and the Pope being not well pleased with his ill Success or bad Management, recalled his Legantine-Power, and put Cardinal *Julian* into his Place, to the no small Vexation of the Cardinal, who, tho' unfortunate in his Atchievements, yet expected a better Requital for his Zeal and Charge.

Reg. 8. King *Henry's* Coronation.

King *Henry* being now entred upon the Ninth Year of his Age, and shewing a great Pregnancy of Wit and Parts, it was thought fit to admit him, as it were, into his Regal Dignity by a Coronation, which was accordingly performed upon St. *Leonard's* Day, *Nov.* 6. in St. *Peter's* Church at *Westminster* with great Solemnity, and a Joy suitable to the Occasion. *Robert Fabian* in his Chronicle, gives a very particular Account of the magnificent Feast made in *Westminster*-Hall, when it was ended, to which I refer the Curious. At this Coronation the King made 36 Knights of the *Bath*, and in the Conclusion of it, Resolutions were taken by his Council, for his Coronation in *France* in the Spring, and in the mean Time all necessary Preparations were ordered for his Journey thither.

Fab. Chro. P. 365, 366.

The *French* take several Places, and court *Burgundy* his Friendship.

King *Charles* being freed from the Molestation of the *English*, kept on his March slowly in those Countries about *Crespy*, and was received into the Towns of *Compeign*, *Senlis* and *Beauvais*, by a submissive Surrender to him, as their lawful Sovereign. The Castle of *Aumerle* stood out, but was surprized by the Lord *Longuevile*, who slew all the *English* which he found in it. The *French* also took *Castle-Galliard* from the *English*, and found the Lord *Barbason* kept close Prisoner in a Dungeon in it, enclosed within a Grate of Iron like a little Chamber. He was thought to have been long dead, and there was found with a Joy as great almost, as if he had been raised from the Grave, by his Countrymen, who immediately broke open the Grates for his Deliverance: But he was made a faster Prisoner by his Oath to the Captain, one *Kingstone*, by which he engaged himself to be his *true Prisoner*, than all Iron grates and Shackles could make him; insomuch, that he would not come out of the Dungeon, until the *French*-Men had sent to the same *Kingstone* (who was departed out of the Castle upon the Covenants agreed on for the Surrender) and obtained from him a Discharge from his Oath. But all this Success was not enough to satisfie the *French* King, so long as the Friendship of the Duke of *Burgundy* with the *English* continued; for as he had found by Experience, that it was that, which had settled the *English* Power in *France*, so he did not doubt, but if he could break it, and bring over the Duke to his Natural Duty and Allegiance, it would be a Means to rout the *English* totally out of the Kingdom; and if he could not effect it, his Success hitherto would come to nothing. He resolved therefore to send Ambassadors to that Duke, who excusing the Death of his Father, might represent to him, how misbecoming it was for a Prince of his Quality, and of the Blood-Royal, to joyn with the Enemies of the Regal Dignity and Kingdom, to which himself, or his Posterity might, thro' a Failure of Succession in the nearer Branches, ascend; and offering him what Conditions he pleased, if he would submit to him. But *Philip* being a very politick Prince, and sensible that neither Party could well subsist without him, as he was courted by both, answered them only in general Terms, which gave them little Hopes, yet did not quite deprive them of them, and made some Demands of Things impossible to be granted, yet with such an Indifferency, as shewed he stood not so much upon his Will as his Advantage, which he sought from both Sides, and would accept the biggest of either; and so dismissed them to their Master. The Regent being certified of these Things by the Duke of *Burgundy* himself, who at the same time let him know, he resented his Denial that *Orleans* should be resigned to him, 'gave him many Thanks for 'his kind Notice, promising him, that his 'Fidelity for the Future should be more fully 'rewarded by him, because he had so firmly 'withstood the insinuating Proffers of his Natu-'ral Soveraign, and had not suffered any former 'Disobligations to draw him from his League 'with the *English*. However, he could not but observe, how fast the *French* King pushed forward the Ruin of the *English*, and with Policy seconded his Fortune, which put him upon the Use of such Means as might prevent, if possible, the worst, and if he could not keep all *France*, might at least secure *Normandy*, which was a Province that of Right belonged to the Crown of *England*, and lay the most convenient for it of all the rest; wherefore leaving the Bishop of *Terrowen* and *Ely*, *Lewis* of *Luxenburgh* then Chancellor of *France*, for King *Henry*, with a competent Number of *English*-Men to defend and guard *Paris*, he went into *Normandy*, and being arrived at *Roan*, called a Parliament of the three Estates of the Dutchy, and declared unto them, 'That tho' he was 'confident, that the Inconstancy of their 'Neighbours in Revolting to the *French* King, 'contray to their Oaths and Allegiance due to 'King *Henry*, was detestible to them in it self, 'yet left bad Example should infect them, he 'thought fit to let them know, how much it 'was their Interest, as well as their Duty to 'continue firm to the *English*: That as to the 'former, so long as a firm Friendship continued with *England*, their Freedom would be 'enlarged, and their Riches increased every 'Day; for as *England* would be always ready 'to receive their Wines and Linnens, so on the 'other hand it would be continually importing 'to them their Wool, Lead, and other staple 'Commodities; whereas on the contrary, if 'they revolted, they could hope for nothing 'but Slavery from the Arbitrary Power of '*Charles*, the *French* King, and continual War 'from the *English*, who would very unwillingly lose the Dutchy, being the Inheritance 'of the *English* Crown, for tho' other Parts of '*France* might of Right be thought to belong 'to King *Charles*, yet *Normandy* was undisputably his Nephew King *Henry's*, being descended to him in a direct Line from the first 'Duke of *Normandy*, *Rollo the Hardy*; wherefore since both Right and Interest concurred 'together to joyn their Loyalties to King *Henry* VI. he hoped that no Temptation would 'be able to allure them from their Faith and 'Allegiance so often sworn and promised to 'King *Henry* V. his Brother, in which so long 'as they persevered, they might be assured 'of Protection and Defence from the *English* 'against all their Opposers. The *Normans*

A. D. 1429. Reg. 8. *Burgundy's* Subtilty for his own Advantage.

Regent's Journey into *Normandy*, to confirm that Province in their Loyalty.

A. D. 1429. Reg. 8.

hearing theſe Exhortations, declared their Loyalty to King *Henry*, to which their Intereſt and Duty did not more oblige them, than their Inclinations voluntarily ſwayed them; and with theſe Aſſurances he departed joyfully to *Paris*, whether he haſtned with the greater Speed, becauſe he had received ſome Information of King *Charles*'s Attempt upon it in his Abſence, which he did after this Manner: The *Pariſians* being repreſented to him by his Friends, as very much inclined to their lawful Sovereign, if they could have a fair Opportunity to declare for him with Safety to themſelves, King *Charles* thought the Regent's Abſence much favoured that Purpoſe, and therefore ſoon after his Departure, leaving *Senlis*, he marched with his whole Army to St. *Dennis*, which being yielded without Reſiſtance, he preſented himſelf before the Walls of *Paris*; but not meeting with the Reception he expected, which was to be admitted into the City by his Friends without Delay, he ordered an Aſſault to be made, and did not doubt of a ſpeedy Succeſs, becauſe *Joan* pretended a Revelation for the Taking of it. *John*, Duke of *Alenzon* immediately began the Aſſault, and the chiefeſt Part of the Army, which were lodged at *La Chappel*, levelled their Artillery againſt the Gate of St. *Honorius*, and took the Outworks of it. *Joan* alſo threw her ſelf reſolutely into the Ditch, contrary to the Advice of the Duke of *Alenzon*, and all the Reſt, and expected the Army ſhould follow her to take Poſſeſſion of the City, but the *Engliſh* Captains and Soldiers kept their Stations ſo firmly, and being aſſiſted by the *Pariſians*, defended the City ſo manfully, that they beat the *French*, and threw *Joan*, more forward than wiſe, into the Town-Ditch, full of the Filth and Excrements of the City, and had certainly taken her, had not a Servant of the Duke of *Alenzon* pulled her out. King *Charles*, ſeeing this unexpected Reſiſtance, ſounded a Retreat, and ſo with ſome Loſs, but more Diſhonour, left the City, not taking ſo much as his wounded Captains along with him, and marched by *Touraine* into *Berry*. The Duke of *Bedford* arrived at *Paris* ſoon after the *French* were gone, and underſtanding by his Soldiers, how faithfully and bravely the *Pariſians* had behaved themſelves in the Defence of the City, by which they had freed themſelves from all Suſpicion of Diſloyalty, he gave them publick Thanks for their good Service, and promiſed them all the Felicity which might be expected from the Favour of a Prince, who loved nothing more than the Good of his Subjects, and would ſtudy to reward the well Deſervings of a faithful People: Which grateful Return of their Services, the *Pariſians* took ſo very kindly, that they declared a perpetual Friendſhip and Subjection to the King of *England*, making publick Acclamations in theſe Words. *Friends to King* Henry, *Friends to the* Pariſians, *Enemies to* England, *Enemies to* Paris. But their after-Actions made the Sincerity of this Profeſſion queſtionable.

King of *France* attempts to take *Paris*, but is repulſed.

Joan very hardly eſcapes being taken.

A. D. 1430.

Not long after the Regent was come to *Paris*, *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy*, with a great Number of armed Men arrived; and the Regent, who was under ſome Diſturbance of Mind for the late Loſſes of the *Engliſh*, entred into a long and grave Conſultation with him, how to proceed moſt effectually to recover them; and it was at length agreed between them, that the Duke of *Burgundy* with his Men ſhould remain in *Paris* for the Defence of it, while the Duke of *Bedford* and his Army ſhould recover St. *Dennis*, and the adjacent Places which had lately revolted to the *French*. The Duke of *Bedford* therefore without Delay marched from *Paris* on this Expedition, and having regained St. *Dennis*, and the other adjoyning Fortreſſes, with as little Labour as they were loſt, he returned again to *Paris*, and ſent out ſeveral Parts of his Army to recover other Places which he feared would prove more obſtinate, *viz.* The Baſtard of *Clarence* to beſiege the Caſtle of *Torci*, a very ſtrong Fortification, as well for its Site, as for the Artificial Strength of it; but by the Valour of the *Engliſh*, it was taken after Six Months Siege. The Earl of *Suffolk* to take the Town of *Aumarle*, which had reſigned to King *Charles* a little before; *Monſieur de Romburris* was made Governor, who ſo reſolutely held it out, that the Earl of *Suffolk* made Twenty-five Aſſaults upon it, before it would yield, and then at laſt ſurrendred, not for want of Will, but Strength to oppoſe, all their Men being loſt. The Earl of *Suffolk*, who took it without Conditions, hanged 30 of the Chiefeſt of the Inhabitants upon the Walls of the City, for their Perjury and Treachery to King *Henry*; fined the Reſt of them, and ſent *Monſieur de Romburris* a Priſoner into *England*, who did not recover his Liberty till Six Years after, and then by Exchange. Sir *Thomas Kiriel* alſo about the ſame Time, iſſuing out of *Gourney* in *Normandy* with 400 Men, ravaged and waſted the Country as far as the very Suburbs of *Clermont*, which the Earl of that Country ſeeing with Sorrow, drew out the Garriſons of that Town, and the neighbouring Places to chaſtiſe his Boldneſs, and repreſs his Inſolency. The *Engliſh* retreated into an advantageous Ground near *Beauvais*, where the *French* Horſe could prove of no Uſe to them, and there pitching, reſolved to give them Battel. The *French*-Men being egg'd on with the ſeeming Flight of the *Engliſh*, and their ſmaller Numbers were eager to engage them, and becauſe their Horſes could do them little or no Service, the Earl commanded them to diſmount, and engage them on Foot. Upon this a very fierce Skirmiſh followed, and the Advantage was a long while dubious on which Side it would fall; but at length, by the Valour and Force of the *Engliſh* Archers, the *French* were forced to give Ground, and in the End fly, having loſt 300 of their Company. The Purſuit was cloſe, ſo that the *French* could not recover their Horſes again, but they falling into the Hands of the *Engliſh*, were made uſe of to overtake them, and ſo 200 of them were taken Priſoners, the Earl of *Clermont* himſelf, being ſaved only by the Swiftneſs of his Horſe. The *French* in the mean while were not unactive, and tho' they loſt in ſome Places, got in others; for they having laid an Ambuſh in the Night near the Town of *Laval*, and corrupted a Miller, whoſe Mill lying by the Town, he had often Admittance into it, got into the Town by his Advice and Notice, when the Gates were opened for him: All the *Engliſh* that they found in it, they put to the Sword, but ſeveral of them eſcaped over the Walls. A little after this, Sir *Stephen de Vignoills*, ſurnamed *La Hire*, took the Town of *Louviers*, in *Normandy*, by Surprize, and having ſworn the Inhabitants to be Loyal to King *Charles*, carried away with him a great Booty, and many Priſoners.

A. D. 1430. Reg. 8.

French gained ſomething.

The Regent recovers ſeveral Places taken by the *French*.

King *Henry*, according to the Determination of his Council for his Coronation in *France*, began his Journey thither early in the Spring,

K. *Henry*'s Voyage into *France*, and Coronation at *Paris*.

being

A. D. 1430. Reg. 8. being accompanied with the Two Dukes, of *York* and *Norfolk*, the Biſhops of *Bath*, *Ely* and *Rocheſter*, the Earls of *Huntington*, *Stafford*, *Warwick*, *Oxford*, *Devonſhire*, *Morton*, *Ew* and *Ormond*, and the Lords *Bouchier*, *Beaumont*, *Tiptoft*, *Fitzwater*, *Roſſe*, *Arundel*, *Awdley*, *Falconbridge*, *Gray* of *Codnor*, *Scroop* and *Wells*, with a large Retinue of armed Men, as well for his preſent Guard, as for a Recruit of his Army in *France*. On St. *George*'s Eve, *April* 23, he came to *Dover*; the next Day being *Sunday*, he landed at *Callis*, and after a (*y*) ſhort Stay, marched ſlowly to *Roan*, where he paſſed all the Summer.

Duke of *Burgundy*'s Marriage.

While King *Henry* remained at *Roan*, the Marriage of *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy* with *Iſabel*, Daughter of *John*, King of *Caſtile*, and *Philippa*, Daughter of *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter* (in Honour of which Marriage, the King (*z*) inſtituted the Order of the Knights of the Golden Fleece) was ſolemniz'd. And ſoon after, that the *Engliſh* might try their Fortune under his auſpicious Preſence, as well as ſignalize their Courage and Conduct to him, they undertook ſeveral advantageous, but hazardous Enterprizes. One Captain *Franquet*, or as the *French* Hiſtory, *Franchetto d'Arras*, made an Aſſault upon the Town of *Laignie*, wherein *Joan*, and divers other good Captains were, who ſeeing *Franquet*'s Men, but few, ſummoned the Garriſons adjoining together, and fell furiouſly upon them, reſolving to beat them down at the very firſt Onſet with their Multitude. *Franquet* was a Man of exceeding Courage, and his Company, tho' but 300, were reſolved never to deſert him in the greateſt Dangers, whereupon a long Conflict happened between them, and the *Engliſh* repulſed the *French* with great Loſs in the two or three firſt Onſets; but at laſt they were overpowered with Multitudes, and forced to give ground, but being unwilling to ſuffer the Shame of a Flight, they choſe to die by the Sword, and ſo were almoſt all ſlain. *Franquet* himſelf was taken, and preſented to *Joan*, as to a Commander in Chief in the Town; he was required to humble himſelf to her on the knee, which becauſe he refuſed to do, ſhe fell into a great Fury, and contrary to the Law of Arms and Reaſon, commanded his Head to be cut off, and all the *Engliſh* that were taken Priſoners with him to be ſlain. While this Enterprize was unſucceſsfully carried on, a greater was begun, which was the Siege of *Compeigne*. This was a great Town, and well manned, victualled and fortified, and therefore the Regent ſent his beſt Captains, the Duke of *Burgundy*, Earls of *Suffolk* and *Arundel*, and Lord *John* of *Luxenburgh*, to beſiege it with a Body of many Thouſand Men. In their Way thither, they took *Soiſſons*, which the *French* Hiſtorians ſay, was betrayed to them by a Captain of *Picardy*, who had the Command of it, and ſo having cleared their Way, ſat down before the Town. There was very little Hopes of gaining it by Force, and therefore theſe wiſe Captains raiſed Batteries, made Trenches, and built Forts round it, partly for their own Safety, and partly to neceſſitate the Beſieged, hoping by length of Time, and inward Streights, to force them to ſurrender. *William de Havie* was Governor of the Town, a very valiant and prudent Man, who by Sallies and Skirmiſhes kept the Beſiegers almoſt in continual Exerciſe, eſpecially after *Joan*, with a Reinforcement of 500 Men came into the Town from *Laignie*. On the Night of the Aſcenſion of our Lord, the Beſieged having Intelligence, that the Lord *Bawdo de Noielles*, who kept one of the Caſtles againſt them, was ſent out by the Duke of *Burgundy* to *Marigny* upon ſome ſpecial Service, *Poiton de Saintreilles*, and *Joan* the Virgin, with a Party of Six Hundred Men, made a vigorous Sally out of the Town by the Bridge toward *Montdidier*, intending to maſter it, but being perceived as they were in the Action by the Lord *John de Luxenburgh*, he came upon them with a ſtrong Force of *Engliſh* and *Burgundians*, as they were cutting down Tents, overthrowing Pavillions, and killing Men in their Beds, and beat them back again into the Town. In the Retreat, *Joan*, to ſave her Men, kept the Enemy in continual Skirmiſhes, being her ſelf one of the laſt that entred (*a*), but the Bars thro' which they got into the Town, being kept very ſtreight, leſt the Enemy ſhould enter with the Beſieged; *Joan* was left at laſt with a few, or as ſome relate, ſhut out on purpoſe by the Malice of the Governour, who envied her the Glory of Defending the Town, and ſo fell into the Hands of the Lord *John* of *Luxenburgh*, who ſold her to the *Engliſh* for (*b*) Four Thouſand Crowns in preſent Money, and an Hundred and Fifty Crowns annual Rent, who ſent her a Priſoner to *Roan*. After this Succeſs the Siege of the Town ſtill continued, and the Duke of *Bedford*, that he might haſten the ſpeedy Taking of it, ſent a Recruit of a Thouſand Archers, under the Command of the Earl of *Huntington*, and Sir *John Robſert*, Two Gentlemen as expert in all warlike Affairs, as valiant in all bold Attempts. Theſe Men were ſo active in carrying on the Siege, that there could be no doubt of gaining the Town in a ſhort time, had not the Death of *Philip*, Duke of *Brabant*, happen'd in the very Interval, by which the Duke of *Burgundy*, who was next Heir to his Dutchy, was obliged to leave the Siege, that he might go and take Poſſeſſion of it, before any Competition were ſtarted. The Lord *John*, of *Luxenburgh*, was by the Duke conſtituted General of the Siege, a Perſon of ſmall Valour, and as little Conduct, who being diſcouraged at ſome briſk Sallies of the Garriſon, and the Loſs of ſome of his Men, entertain'd Thoughts of raiſing the Siege, and propounded it to the *Engliſh* Captains; but they would by no means conſent to it, telling him, that the Town being ſo cloſely begirt outwardly, that no Relief could get in, and ſo afflicted within with Peſtilence and Famine, could not hold out many Days longer, or if it did, yet it would be a mighty Diſgrace to them, to leave the Place after ſo long a Siege. But no Reaſons would preval with him, he would hearken to no Intreaties, he would be gone, and accordingly he

Sieges of *Laignie* and *Compeigne*.

A. D. 1430. Reg. 8.

Joan taken Priſoner.

Siege of *Compeigne* raiſed.

(*y*) He ſtaid ſome time at *Calais*. *Hol.* p. 605.

(*z*) The Duke of *Burgundy* inſtituted the Order of the Golden-Fleece, and the Kings of *Spain* have no other Pretence to the Sovereignty of that Order, but as they are Lineally deſcended from *Charles the Bold*, Son of *Philip* the Second, Duke of *Burgundy*, of whom the Author is now ſpeaking.

(*a*) It ſeems ſhe did not inter.

(*b*) *Le Roſier*, a *French* Author, who wrote the Life of the *French* King *Charles* VII. ſays, the Price was 10000 Pounds Tournois, and 300 Pounds Rent. VVhich being reduced into *Engliſh* Money, (for theſe Pounds are only Livres) make about 838 Pounds Sterling down, and 25 Pounds a Year Penſion. Enough for the Head of a VVitch, or what is more probable a VVhore; as ſhe confeſt her ſelf when ſhe was condemn'd to be burnt, pretending ſhe was with Child to ſave her Life, but that was a Trick, and did not do her Buſineſs.

A. D. 1429. Reg. 8. he march'd off when the Town was reduced to Deſpair, to the great Diſgrace of the *Engliſh*, who went into *Normandy*, and left *Luxembergh* to provide for his Fears, who burnt his Hutts, and left his Artillery behind him, as if he had been forced to fly by the Enemy, when there was nothing leſs

Joan examined before the Biſhop of Beauvois.

Soon after the Siege of *Compeigne* was raiſed, the Regent being now a little at Leiſure, cauſed *Joan* the Virgin to be examin'd and try'd before *Peter Cauchon*, Biſhop of *Beauvois*, in whoſe Dioceſe ſhe was taken, being requeſted thereto by the Univerſity of *Paris*, who put up a Petition to King *Henry*, that ſhe might be deliver'd up to the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, becauſe ſhe had been a Cauſe of much Scandal among the People, to the Prejudice of Religion and the Catholick Faith. She was accuſed upon Seventy Eight Articles, the chief of which were theſe, *viz.* 'That tho' ſhe was indeed found a Virgin, yet 'ſhe had ſhamefully rejected her own Sex, imi-'tating a Man both in her Actions and Appa-'rel; That ſhe had like a faithleſs Wretch 'been a damnable Inſtrument of Slaughter and 'Blood-ſhed, partly committed by her, and part-'ly carry'd on by her Directions: That ſhe 'had greatly ſeduced the People, by pretend-'ing, that ſhe was ſent from God, and vending 'many falſe Revelations in his Name; That 'ſhe was a Sorcereſs and a Witch, foretelling 'Things to come by her Diabolical Arts and 'Skill; That ſhe had diſſwaded *Charles* the '*French* King from Peace with *England*, and ſo 'had been the Cauſe of the Wars for ſeveral 'Years; That ſhe had boaſted, that ſhe knew 'Things to come, and particularly had publiſh-'ed the certain downfal of the *Engliſh* Power 'in *France*; That ſhe had aſſerted, that the 'Saints converſed with her, and had been ſeen 'with her by the King of *France* himſelf, Duke 'of *Bourbon*, and two or three other Lords; 'That ſhe had ſo ſeduced the People, as that 'many abuſed by her Hypocriſy and fained De-'votion, worſhipped her as a Saint. To theſe Articles of Accuſation ſhe made her Anſwer, ſometimes very gravely and ſoberly, and ſometimes fooliſhly. Her chief Advocate, one *Giles*, a grave and prudent Man, ſaid, *That though in Viſions and Revelations ſhe had ſhewed her ſelf too Superſtitious, and in the Levity of her Anſwers had diſcovered the Weakneſs of her Sex, yet he could not think that the Siege of* Orleans *was raiſed, or King* Charles *brought to his Crown by any means of the Devil.* But neither this Man's Opinion, nor her own Defence, was ſufficient to clear her from the greateſt part of the Charge; which when ſhe ſaw was likely to fall heavy upon her, ſhe, with much ſeeming Sorrow, confeſſed her Wickedneſs, and begg'd Mercy, which the Judge willing to grant, mollified the Sentence, and only inflicted this Puniſhment on her for the preſent, *viz. That from thenceforth ſhe ſhould caſt off her unnatural wearing of Men's Garments and other Habiliments, and keep her ſelf to ſuch a Garb as is ſuitable and proper to her Sex: That ſhe ſhould abjure her pernicious Practice of Sorcery and Witchcraft, and all the other Evils, which ſhe had committed contrary to the true Religion; That ſhe ſhould be kept in perpetual Impriſonment, being fed with Bread and Water, that ſhe might, with a ſtrict Penance, bewail her former Miſdeeds.* This Sentence being much milder than what ſhe had reaſon to fear from an Enemy, to whom ſhe had done ſo much Miſchief, ſhe gladly ſubmitted to it, and took a ſolemn Oath punctually to perform it. But the Devil had too great a Power upon her, to be ſo eaſily vanquiſh'd: What ſhe had promiſed was only for fear of Suffering, not thro' Conſcience of her Wickedneſs; and therefore as ſoon as her Fear was remov'd, ſhe fell again to her old Tricks of pretending Revelations, and foretelling future Events, by the familiar Converſe ſhe had with Evil Spirits, which ſhe call'd by the Names of our Lady St. *Katherine* and St. *Ann*, who (as ſhe ſaid) brought her them from God. Theſe things being heard of by the Regent, he cauſed her again to be brought to the Biſhop and tried as a Perſon relapſed into the former Wickedneſs; of which being found guilty, ſhe was reſign'd to the Secular Power, and condemn'd to be burnt as a Witch. This unavoidable Sentence of Death fully diſcover'd the Falſeneſs of her Pretenſions to any Divine Inſpiration: For whereas ſuch Perſons have joyfully ſuffer'd Death rather than ſave themſelves by the leaſt Sin, ſhe did not ſtick to bely her ſelf, by affirming, that ſhe was with Child, and conſequently, (not being married) to be guilty of Whoredom, that ſhe might put off the Execution of ſo ſevere a Sentence. The Regent, tho' he look'd upon it as a falſe Pretence, which might have been eaſily remov'd by the common Methods, yet choſe rather to reſpite her Puniſhment for Nine Months, that this Lye being diſcover'd, he might convince the World, that ſhe being actuated by a lying Spirit all along, for ſo indeed it happen'd, that ſhe was not with Child: Whereupon at Eight Days end, her Sentence of Condemnation being again pronounced upon her, ſhe was in the Old Market-Place of *Roan* burnt to Aſhes, which being caſt up into the Air were diſperſed by the Wind. *Valeran Veran*, a *French* Poet relates two Miracles in her Death, which as he imagines clear'd her Innocency, *viz. That her Heart remained unburt in the Flames, and that a White Dove came out of her Aſhes and flew up towards Heaven*; but as they are not related by any Hiſtorian of Credit, either *French* or *Engliſh*, ſo they ſeem a mere Poetical Fiction, invented long after to juſtifie the Pope's Abſolution of her from the Sentence of Condemnation the *Engliſh* had laid on her, which K. *Charles* obtain'd of Pope *Calixtus* Twenty-Six Years after her Death, when the *Engliſh* were quite expell'd *France*, becauſe though her Actions were too Scandalous to bear a Canonization, yet he thought it not fit to let her lie under ſo ignominious a Brand, who muſt not be deny'd the juſt Praiſe, That ſhe was a brave and valiant *Amazon*, the Reſtorer of the *French* Monarchy, who if ſhe did not drive out the *Engliſh*, as ſhe vaunted her ſelf, yet certainly was the chief Cauſe that the *Engliſh* loſt *France*.

A. D. 1430. Reg. 8.

Joan condemn'd and burnt.

About *November* King *Henry* went from *Roan* to *Paris*, in order to his Coronation there, for which great Preparations had been making great Part of the *Summer*. Many Princes and Lords, as well *French* as *Engliſh* accompany'd him, of which the Chief were the Cardinals of *Wincheſter* and *York* (*e*) the Dukes of *Bedford*, *York* and *Norfolk*, and of the *French* the Dukes of *Burgundy*, and *Lewis de Luxenburgh*, Cardinal and Chancellor of the Kingdom, the Biſhops of *Beauvois*

Reg. 9. K. *Henry* crown'd at *Paris*, and returns into *England*.

(*e*) The Biſhop of *York* was not a Cardinal at this Time. There was then but one Cardinal of the *Engliſh* Nation, *Henry Beaufort*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *John Stafford*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, was not made Cardinal till three Years after, *Anno* 1424. and *John Kemp*, Arch-Biſhop of *York* had not that Honour till after *Stafford*. See *Thin's* Hiſtory of Cardinals in *Hol.* pag. 1167.

A. D. 1430. Reg. 9.

pais, *Paris* and *Noyon* (*f*) firſt Peers of *France*, the Earls of *Warwick*, *Salisbury*, *Oxford*, *Huntington*, *Ormond*, *Mortaigne* and *Suffolk*, the Counts *Longuerville*, *March* and *Vaudemont*, with a numerous Train of Gentry, and others of both Nations, and was met by the *Pariſians* with very great Reſpect and Pomp. He was crown'd in the Church of *Noſtre Dame* on the 7th or 17th Day of *December* by the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, which much diſguſted the Biſhop of *Paris*, who thought that honourable Office belong'd to him, as Biſhop of that Dioceſe. The King return'd to his Palace with the Crown on his Head, and Scepter in his Hand, another Crown and Scepter being born before him to ſignifie his Kingdom of *England*, and was there receiv'd with ſumptuous Feaſting. He ſtay'd no longer, than till the whole Solemnity was over, and the Noblemen of *France* and *Normandy* had paid their

A. D. 1431.

Homage, and then return'd to *Roan*, where he kept his *Chriſtmas*, and a little after by the Advice of his Council went to *Callis*, from whence after a ſhort Stay he took Ship for *England* and landed at *Dover*, *February* 11. In his Journey to *London* he was met by the Gentry and Commons of *Kent* on *Barham-Down*, which lies between *Dover* and *Canterbury*, who congratulated his happy Arrival, and conducted him thro' their County to *Black-Heath*, where he was met by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of *London*, who attended him thro' the City, which was adorn'd with many rich Pageants and ſhews to give him an hearty Welcome to his Palace at *Weſtminſter*.

Divers Skirmiſhes between the *French* and *Engliſh*.

While theſe Things were tranſacting at *Paris*, divers Things of Moment were perform'd by the *Engliſh* Soldiers in ſeveral Places in *France*. In *Normandy* Sir *Francis Surianes*, call'd the *Argoignois*, a Captain of the *Engliſh* Side, ſurpriz'd *Montargis*, by corrupting a Woman that belonged to Monſieur *De Villiers* the Governor of the Town, to whom he gave 2000 Crowns to reſign it to him, which ſhe accordingly did, and ſo he became Maſter of that Place by Policy, which he could not get by Force. The *French* troubl'd at the Loſs, ſent an Army under the Command of the *Meſſiers de Gravile*, and *De Vitry* to regain it, who took the Town, but not being able to obtain the Caſtle by a long Siege of ſix Weeks, they were forced to forſake the Town, and leave it to the *Engliſh*, who refortified it, and held it, till with it they were conſtrain'd to relinquiſh all thereabouts. About the ſame time the Earl of *Arundel* having received certain Intelligence that the Lord *Bouſac*, Admiral of *France*, was come to *Beauvois* with a Deſign to invade the Coaſts of *Normandy*, gather'd a Body of 2300 Men, and laid an Ambuſh near the Town, into which that he might train the *French*, he ſent a choice Troop of his Horſemen to brave them even at their Paliſadoes. The *French* not ſuſpecting the Snare laid for them, ſally'd out, and ſet upon the *Engliſh* with great Fierceneſs and Violence, but they retir'd and fled, as if they had been afraid and beaten, till they had brought them into the Ambuſh, which encompaſſed them ſo cloſe on every ſide, that they were almoſt all ſlain except ſome that fled back into the Town, and ſome few that were taken Priſoners, of whom the Valiant Captain *Ponton de Santrail*, Monſieur St. *Raigle*, and ſome others were the chiefeſt. The Lord *Talbot*, who was taken at the Battel of *Patay*, was exchang'd for the former of theſe, or as others ſay, for the latter. Before the Town of *Gourney* alſo *Richard Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick* met a Party of *French*, and after a ſharp Skirmiſh vanquiſh'd them, and having ſlain many of them took Forty Horſemen Priſoners, all of them Perſons of Name and Worth. About the ſame time there having happen'd a Quarrel between *Ranatus* of *Anjou*, Duke of *Barr*, Count *de Province*, and by his Pretenſions to the Kingdom of *Naples*, call'd King of *Sicily*, and his Kinſman *Anthony*, Count *Vaudemont*, who being Brother to *Charles*, Duke of *Lorrain* claim'd the Dukedom of *Anjou* for his own by Succeſſion. It cauſed a War between them, and to ſtrengthen themſelves one againſt the other, *Renatus* engag'd the *French*, and *Anthony* the *Engliſh* to their Aſſiſtance. *Renatus* was the more powerful of himſelf, and before *Anthony* could get ſufficient Forces to encounter him in open Field, beſieg'd *Vaudemont*; which *Anthony* being chiefly oblig'd to ſecure, left his Men to defend for the preſent with the Help of the Citizens, and fled to the *Engliſh* at *Paris* to beg their ſpeedy Aſſiſtance to raiſe the Siege. The Dukes of *Bedford* and *Burgundy* readily granted his Petition, and ſent with him 600 Archers under the Command of Sir *John Falſtoff*, and 1500 others under Sir *Anthony Toulongon*, the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Marſhal. *Renatus* hearing of this Deſign, and that Count *Anthony* was coming towards him to raiſe the Siege, he like a valiant Captain leaving a Part of his Army to carry it on, went to meet them, and encountred them at *Valleamont* not far from *Nanci*. The Battel was fierce and long, but at length the *Engliſh* Archers ſo gauled the *French* Horſe, that they were forced to give Ground, and at length fled. In the purſuit there were 3000 ſlain, and 200 taken Priſoners, among whom were Duke *Renatus* himſelf, the Biſhop of *Metz*, the Lord of *Roquedemaque*, Viſcount *Darcy*, and Sir *Everard de Salſeburg*, who were impriſon'd at *Braconés* upon *Salin*. This Defeat of Duke *Renatus*'s Men ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the reſt of his Army which carry'd on the Siege before the Town, that they immediately raiſed it, left all they had and fled away, but the Beſieged purſuing them, took many of them, ſlew many, and took others Priſoners. The whole Camp then became their Prey, which they ranſack'd; and being loaden with the Riches and Spoils of it, return'd into their City. Thus the *Engliſh* attended by a good Fortune, not only were Victorious themſelves, but made their Allies Succeſsful.

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Vaudemont beſieg'd.

Lord *Talbot* exchang'd.

Yet their good Fortune was not without ſome Mixture of Ill thro' their own Careleſſneſs and Security; for the Lord *Willoughby* and Sir *Matthew Gough* beſieging St. *Severine*, a ſtrong Caſtle in *Anjou*, in the Abſence of the Lord *Ambroſe de Lore*, who was the Governor of it, this Lord fearing the Skill and Courage of his Deputy made all the Haſte he could to the Relief of it, and King *Charles* ſent along with him certain Noblemen with a conſiderable Body of Men to raiſe the Siege, who not following him with the Speed deſired, the Lord *de Lore* tarry'd for them at *Beaumont*. The *Engliſh* about the Town having Intelligence of the Intentions and Motions of the *French*, Sir *Matthew Gough* was ſent with part of the Army to ſurprize *De Lore* and his Forces before the reſt came up to them, while the Lord *Willoughby* maintain'd the Siege with the other part of the Army. *Gough* marched with Expedition, and in the Night entred the

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St. *Severine* beſieg'd by the *Engliſh*.

(*f*) The Biſhop of *Paris* was not a Peer of *France* till very lately. *Meſſire Francois de Harley*, the late Arch-Biſhop was the firſt that had that Honour. *Robbe Geo.* part 1. pag. 88.

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the *French* Man's Camp, before they were perceived, the Watch being careleſs and ſecure. The *French* thro' the Confuſion they were in, made ſmall Reſiſtance, but diſpairing of Safety, fled towards the Noblemen, who were haſtning up with another Body of Men to *De Lore*. The *Engliſh* in the mean Time plundered the Camp, and having taken ſome Priſoners, among which was *De Lore* himſelf, were returning to the Town, but ſlowly, being loaded with Prey and Priſoners. The *French*, who were coming, hearing of the Defeat of their Fellows, haſtned up to their Relief, and tho' too late to preſerve them, yet they reſolutely purſued the *Engliſh*, and ſet upon them with great Fury, who being in Diſorder, and cumbred with their Baggage, were unable to reſiſt, and ſo fled to the Town, leaving their Captain, Sir *Matthew Gough*, and divers others in the Hands of the *French*, with all their Spoil that they had taken a little before, yet could not they recover *De Lore* again, but he ſtill remained in the Hands of the *Engliſh*. The Lord *Willoughby*, who lay ſtill before the Town, was much troubled at this Misfortune, and having loſt much of his Strength, thought it not ſafe to continue the Siege, and ſo he departed unwillingly from it, and in his Retreat was purſued ſo cloſe by the Beſieged, that he loſt many Men in his Rear.

The Pope endeavours to make a Peace between the *French* and *Engliſh*.

The Wars in *France* between the *Engliſh* and *French* thus holding on with almoſt equal Succeſs, and with ſmall hopes of a Concluſion, it much grieved the Pope, who was then *Eugenius* IV. to ſee and conſider of the great Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood made thereby, and therefore that he might put an End to ſo great Cruelties, and eſtabliſh a Peace, he ſent his Legate, *Nicholas*, the Cardinal of St. *Crucis*, or the Holy-Croſs, into *France* to make a Peace between them, but to little or no effect; for tho' the Cardinal was very earneſt and induſtrious to compoſe all Differences between the Two Parties, yet he found them ſo obſtinate in their Enmity one to another, that he could obtain no more of them by all his earneſt and long Importunities, than a Truce for Six Years, which being very unwillingly granted, laſted ſcarce ſo many Months, and ſo was never ratified; for the Baſtard of *Orleans*, lately made Earl of *Dunois*, having an Army of 3000 Men about him, ſurpriſed and took *Chartres*, a conſiderable Garriſon belonging to the *Engliſh*, after this manner. A Servant of one of King *Charles*'s Financiers had ſeveral Relations and Friends among the Inhabitants of *Chartres*, and among the Reſt, a Brother, who having obtained Liberty by his Means to buy Proviſions out of the Town, and ſell them to the Garriſon within, had a free Paſſage thro' the Gates with his Cart to carry it in, and becauſe he often gave the Keepers of the Gates ſome of his Proviſions *gratis*, could eaſily gain Admiſſion at any Seaſon. This Servant being inſtigated by the Baſtard of *Orleans*, to tempt his Brother by large Rewards to betray the Town to the *French*, by many Requeſts and Promiſes prevailed with him, that upon Pretence of carrying a Load of Fiſh into the Town freſh and fair, he might be admitted thro' the Gate at Midnight, and it was contrived, that with him an Hundred Men, whom he had laid ready in a Cellar, which he had hired near the Gate for a Ware-Houſe, ſhould ruſh in, and having killed the Watch, let in the Reſt of the *French* Detachment which lay in Ambuſh, and at a Sign given, were ready to fall in with them. This was all ſucceſsfully carried on, and the *Engliſh* Garriſon, which was no more than an Hundred and Twenty Men, becauſe they truſted to the Fidelity of the Inhabitants, ſeeing the Enemy in the City eſcaped out of the Gates that opens towards *Eureux*, and ſo ſaved themſelves. The Inhabitants, who having always ſided with the Duke of *Burgundy*, knew that they could expect no Mercy from the *French*, ſtood to their Defence, but being too weak, eſpecially in that Diſorder, to encounter ſo great a Force, were moſt of them ſlain, and among them the Biſhop, who with Eighty more, was killed upon the Stairs of his Cathedral Church. After this the whole City was treated as conquered, the Clergy, and chief Magiſtrates that ſurvived, were made Priſoners of War, never to be releaſed, but for large Ranſoms; their Goods were plundered and carried away, their Women were raviſhed, and all Perſons put to Death, who had acted as Magiſtrates, or Officers under the *Engliſh*. This Breach of the Truce ſo lately made much offended the *Engliſh*, and ſo much the more, becauſe the Baſtard of *Orleans* defended it, as lawful by the Law of Arms to ſteal or buy a Town without Invaſion. And ſo the War was again renewed with freſh Hoſtilities on both Sides. The *French* having been ſo ſucceſsful in taking the Town of *Chartres* by Treachery, made a like Attempt upon the Caſtle of *Roan*, by corrupting the Captain of it, one *Peter Andebeefe* with Promiſes of giving him the whole Revenue of the Caſtle; which, tho' *Andebeefe* did as much as in him lay to perform, yet partly thro' the Cowardize and Backwardneſs of the *French*, and partly thro' the Courage of the *Engliſh*, who made a brave Defence, tho' ſurprized, by reaſon of the Earl of *Arundel*'s Preſence, they miſſed of their Deſign, moſt of the *French* being either ſlain in the Attempt, or taken Priſoners. This ill Succeſs quelled the *French* a little, and the Truce took effect a while.

Chartres taken.

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In *England* there was great Rejoycing for the late Coronation of their King, yet; as if the poor Followers of *Wickliffe* were to be their Peace-Offering, the Biſhops perſecuted them with the greateſt Severity. *Richard Hoveden*, a Woolwinder, and Citizen of *London*, was burnt for Hereſie on *Tower*-Hill, and *Thomas Bagley*, Prieſt, Vicar of *Monenden*, or *Munden*, not far from *Maldon* in *Eſſex*, ſuffered the like Puniſhment in *Smithfield* for the ſame Crime. In the Dioceſe of *Norwich*, *Nicholas Canon* of *Eye*, and ſeveral others were forced to abjure their Opinions, and undergo Penance, and ſo in other Places of the Kingdom. Theſe Cruelties much incenſed the Commons againſt the Clergy, who were always the moſt zealous and forward in ſuch Proſecutions, and begat a Rebellion; for *William Mandevile*, Bailiff of *Abbington* in *Oxfordſhire*, a Man who favoured the Opinions of *Wickliffe*, and much diſliked the Cruelty of the Clergy to them, having a great Intereſt in the Commons, ſtirred them up to Revenge againſt them, and getting a Multitude of People about him, took upon himſelf to be their Captain, under the Name of *Jack Sharp* of *Wigmoreland*, in *Wales*, giving out, That he would make the Heads of Prieſts as cheap as Sheep's Heads, which were then Three, or as others ſay, Ten a Penny. Some Hiſtorians make his Deſigns to be levelling, and affirm, That he held, that Prieſts ought not to have any worldly Poſſeſſions, and that Chriſtians, whoſe

The Perſecution of *Wickliffe*'s Followers in *England* begets a Rebellion.

Jack Sharp, Captain of the Rebels.

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whoſe Profeſſion engages them upon a univerſal Charity, ought to enjoy no Properties, but to leave all things in Common. Theſe Opinions were at that Time thought to be diſperſed abroad by their Enemies, to make them more odious to the People, and 'tis not at all probable that he ſhould attempt ſuch an impoſſible Thing, as to take away all Title of Poſſeſſions. His Hatred was to the Clergy, and 'tis like, that as he would have deſtroyed many of that Order, if his Deſign had been ſucceſsful, ſo he would have made ſuch as ſurvived poor enough: But his ſeditious Attempt was no ſooner known, than it was ſuppreſſed; for the Duke of *Glouceſter*, a watchful and good Governour, having Notice of this Inſurrection, immediately ſent down a ſufficient Force to diſperſe the Rebels, which was ſoon effected, ſeveral of them were taken Priſoners, and among them the Captain himſelf, who being puniſhed with Quartering, the Reſt upon their Submiſſion, were pardoned and diſmiſſed.

Fifth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

About the Time of this Rebellion, the (*e*) Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, a warlike and politick Prelate, who had ſtaid behind in *France* to aſſiſt the Regent, in managing Civil Affairs, there came over into *England* for ſome freſh Recruits, both of Men, and Money to carry on the War, which by the late Breach of Truce was likely to be renewed. The Duke of *Glouceſter*, being ſenſible of the Neceſſity of a preſent Supply, immediately called a Parliament, which ordered, That in the firſt Place a ſufficient Number of Men and Money ſhould be raiſed, and tranſported with all convenient Speed into *France*, and after ſpent ſome Time upon other Affairs of State. The Principal Matters Enacted were,

1. That whereas under the Colour of Outlawries, ſued out againſt certain Perſons, Occaſion was taken to moleſt others of the ſame Name, and to ſeize their Goods and Chattels, eſpecially when they were dead, becauſe there was no Remedy at Common-Law for Executors to recover ſuch Seizures, wherefore it was enacted by this Parliament, in Favour of Executors, that in Defence of the Teſtator's Goods, a Writ called *Identitate Nominis*, ſhould be granted to them, and ſhould be as maintainable by them, as by any other Perſon living.

2. That whereas the *Welſh*-Men aſſembled in great Numbers, armed, and did in a riotous and rebellious Manner, intercept, and ſtop, the Boats, Trowes, Floats, called Drags, carrying Wares and Merchandizes to *Briſtol*, *Glouceſter*, *Worceſter*, and other Places, upon the River *Severn*, and broke the ſaid Veſſels, to the end, that the Traders might have their Boats and Veſſels of them only; therefore it was enacted, that all the King's Liege People ſhould have free Paſſage upon the ſaid River, to carry their Goods and Chattels as they pleaſe, without any Moleſtation from the *Welſh*, and if for the future they any Ways moleſted them in their Traffick, the Party or Parties aggrieved ſhould have their Actions according to the Courſe of the Common-Law. But that which made the greateſt Noiſe in this Parliament, was a Caſe of Baſtardy, alledged againſt *Elianor*, the Wife of *James*, Lord *Audley*, who claimed the Inheritance of *Edmund*, Earl of *Kent*, as being his Eldeſt Daughter, and a Legitimate Iſſue, or *Mulier*, by *Conſtance* his Wife; for which ſhe had gotten a Certificate from the Ordinary. Againſt this Claim, the other Daughters of the ſaid *Edmund*, Earl of *Kent*, put in their Petition to the Parliament, alledging, that the ſaid *Elianor* was a Baſtard, that her Mother *Conſtance*, the late Wife of *Thomas*, Lord *Diſpencer*, was never married to the ſaid Earl, and that the Certificate brought from the Ordinary was obtained by Fraud. This produced an Act of Parliament, and by which it was ordained,

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3. That in all Pleas, wherein Baſtardy is alledged againſt any Perſon, Party to the ſaid Plea, the Judge, or Judges of, or in the Courts where the ſaid Plea is depending, ſhall certifie it to the Chancellor of *England*, for the Time being, to the intent, that Proclamation be made in the ſaid Chancery, by Three Months, once in every Month, that all Perſons that have any Thing to object againſt the ſaid *Mulier*, or Perſon pretending himſelf a Legitimate-Iſſue, may put in their Allegations and Objections before any Certificate be given by the Biſhop.

A Peace made with the *Scots*.

In this Parliament alſo a Peace was concluded with *James*, King of *Scots*, who ſent his Ambaſſador to the Duke of *Glouceſter* to deſire it. The Duke not willing to determine ſo important a Matter without the Conſent of the Nation, referr'd it to the Three Eſtates, who after ſome Debates, ſettled a Peace with them, and then the Parliament roſe.

A Mutiny at *Callis*.

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who had all the Seſſion been very active to raiſe both the Men and Money appointed by the Parliament for the Service of *France*, was ready to paſs thither about the ſame Time, and accordingly departed. The Duke of *Bedford*, having accompanied the King to *Callis*, remained ſtill in *Picardy*, ready to receive the Cardinal; in the mean Time he having Information of a Mutiny among the Soldiers at *Callis*, partly becauſe the Staple of Wool was removed from thence, and partly becauſe in the Time of Truce they had been reſtrained from pillaging and ravaging the Neighbouring Countries, whereby their Prey grew too narrow to uphold their Extravagant Expences. The Regent knowing the dangerous Effects of ſuch Diſcontents among the Soldiers, haſtned thither, and having diligently examined the Matter, put Four or Five of the chief Mutineers to Death, and Caſhiered an Hundred and Ten more, baniſhing them from the Town and Marches of it, and ſo ſettled the Garriſon in Peace.

The Death of the Dutcheſs of *Bedford*, and the Duke his ſecond Marriage.

While the Duke of *Bedford* was in theſe Parts, his Dutcheſs, the Lady *Anne*, Siſter to *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy*, departed this Life at *Paris*. She had in her Life-time been the Cement of that firm Friendſhip and Love, which had ſo long continued between her Husband and Brother, by which the *Engliſh* Intereſts in *France* had been chiefly maintained and upheld, and by her Death it was much abated, and in a ſhort Time was utterly diſſolved by a ſecond Marriage, which this wiſe Duke not very prudently made, with *Jaquet*, the Daughter of *Peter de Luxenburgh*, Earl of St. *Poll* and *Niece*, to *Lewis de Luxenburgh*, Biſhop of *Turain* and *Ely*, and Chancellor of *France*, for King *Henry*, by whoſe Perſwaſion this Match was effected. *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy* had never embraced any Friendſhip with this Family, and had he been conſulted about the Marriage, would certainly have been againſt it, as being not only inferiour to the Duke of *Bedford*'s Greatneſs, but his own; beſides, he was not at all acquainted with it, contrary to the uſual Cuſtom among Princes, eſpecially of ſo great Intimacy, which he interpreted as a Contempt caſt upon him, and

(*e*) This Rebellion, the Calling of the Parliament, and the Cardinal's Return to *France*, happen'd all before the young King's Return to *England*.

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grew every Day more and more cold towards him, till upon other little Occaſions of Diſguſt offer'd, they became open and profeſſed Enemies, which was a chief Cauſe of loſing *France*. But however this was not diſcern'd till ſome time after, and the Duke of *Bedford* very well pleaſed with his New Spouſe paſſed into *England*, and tarry'd there among his Friends, from whom he receiv'd many Congratulations of Happineſs, and other Expreſſions of Love and Kindneſs, till the latter end of *Aug.* 1433. when he return'd again to his Charge in *France*.

The Dauphin's Soldiers break the Truce.

While the Duke of *Bedford* was Abſent and in *England*, the *Dauphin*'s Soldiers, who by reaſon of the Truce were almoſt ſtarv'd, having no Wags, and not being allow'd to live upon the Spoil of others, as they had done in the Time of the War, began again to plunder and rob both the *Engliſh* and *Burgundians* as they pleaſed, and taking many Priſoners would not releaſe them but upon great Ranſoms. Theſe open Breaches of the Peace being obſerv'd by the Duke of *Bedford* at his Arrival ſo awaken'd his Thoughts, and ſtirr'd up his Vigilancy, that he prepared an Army to repreſs the Inſolencies of the *French*, or to renew the War, as occaſion ſhould offer; for it ſeem'd to him unreaſonable, that the *French* ſhould under the ſhew of a Truce do King *Henry*'s Subjects as much Miſchief as they pleaſed, and make the War ceaſe in the *French* Dominions only. The News of the Duke of *Bedford*'s Preparations, tho' really no more than what was neceſſary, was receiv'd by the *French* as a Preſage of the Continuance of the War; and therefore having gotten a Pretence for their deſir'd Arms, they invade the *Engliſh* Territories immediately, before the Duke of *Bedford* could get an Army together, and by a ſudden Surprize took St. *Valery*, a Town in the Confines of *Normandy*, lying upon the Mouth of the River *Some*, and another Party of *French* under the Command of Sir *Ambroſe de Lore* waſted and deſtroy'd all the Country about *Caen*. The Invitation to this Attempt was the great Fair, which was kept on St. *Michael*'s Day in the Fields adjoyning to the Town, about St. *Steven*'s Church, which if they could ſeize upon without any Impediment from the Garriſon, would be a great Booty for them. *De Lore* therefore thus contriv'd the Buſineſs. He himſelf with 100 Croſs-bow-men, and 50 Horſe went between the Fair and the Town to beat back the Garriſon if they ſhould ſally out upon them, ſending a Party of 500 Men to ſeize the Booty in the Fair in the mean Time. The Garriſon of *Caen* had not the leaſt Suſpicion of this Attempt, and ſo came not forth to hinder them; whereupon the Merchants and Traders of the Fair became a Prey to the *French*, who took them all Captives with their Goods, and paſſed over the River *Orne* with them, where their Captain made a Scrutiny of the Priſoners, retaining ſuch only in their Hands as could pay a Ranſom, which were about 800, and ſuffer'd the Reſt to depart Home, being in Number about 2000. Theſe Hoſtilities of the *French* rouſed the *Engliſh*, who that they might draw them from their ravaging at a Diſtance, reſolved to beſiege the Town of *Laignie* upon the River *Marne*, which being a Place of Importance to the *French*, and a great Annoyance to the *Engliſh* in hindring their Commerce to *Paris*, would engage the *French* wholly upon its Defence, and accordingly ſent the Earl of *Arundell*, the Earl of *Warwick*'s Son, and the Lord *Liſle Adam* with 1200 Men, and all ſuitable Arms and Ammunition to beſiege it. *Laignie* was well ſtored and fortified with Men and Victuals, having 800 Men of Arms, beſides other Soldiers and Townſmen in it, ſo that they were of equal, if not greater Strength than the Beſiegers. This did not at all diſcourage the *Engliſh*, but counting it a greater Honour to conquer thoſe that were ſuperior in Strength, they made many fierce Aſſaults, and by their Cannon-ſhot broke down one Arch of the great Bridge laid over the *Marne*, and burnt the Ravelin; but *Winter* coming on, and the Beſieged making a Vigorous Oppoſition, they broke up the Siege for the preſent, and left the Town.

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The *French* rob the Fair at *Caen*.

The *Engliſh* beſiege *Laignie*.

A. D. 1433.

The Duke of *Bedford* diſappointed of his Deſign in beſieging *Laignie* reſolv'd in the Spring to attack it more vigorouſly in Perſon; and having gather'd an Army of choice Men for Courage put it under the Command of ſuch Captains as he counted moſt Valiant and Experienced, *viz.* *Robert*, Lord *Willoughby*, Sir *Andrew Ogard* his Chamberlain, Sir *John Salvain*, Bailiff of *Roan*, Sir *John Mongomery*, Bailiff of *Caux*, Sir *Ralph Nevill*, Sir *Ralph Standiſh*, and many others, by whoſe Conduct he did not doubt of Succeſs. The *French* were much terrified at the Approaches of this ſtrong Force, which to them as well as to all others ſeem'd almoſt irreſiſtable. The Duke led it in Perſon, and drawing near to the Town fortified himſelf in a Park adjoyning; and having made a Bridge of Boats over the *Marne* brought his Ordnance ſo near the Walls, that he might batter them down for an Aſſault ſpeedily, by which he intended with a full Reſolution to make himſelf Maſter of it. The Earl of *Dunois*, commonly call'd the *Baſtard of Orleans*, was not at all terrified at their Attempts; but having animated his Men to ſtand valiantly to their own Defence, repulſed the *Engliſh* with ſome Loſs ſeveral times, inſomuch that the Duke of *Bedford* not thinking it ſafe to conquer it by Force, which would coſt him the Lives of ſo many Men, choſe rather by Delays and Watchfulneſs to ſtarve it. The *French* King ſeeing the great Danger the Town was in, and knowing of what Importance it was to him to preſerve it, being as the Key to the three Territories, *Burgundy*, the *French* and *Engliſh* part of *France*, ſent the Count *Dunois* a Recruit of 6000 Men with Store of Victuals under the Command of Monſieur *de Rieux*, Marſhal of *France*, Monſieur *de Coulant*, Admiral of *France*, the Lords *Poiton*, *Le Hire*, and *Gawcourt* intended by this Force to raiſe the Siege, or elſe to Victual the Town ſo, that it ſhould not be reduced by Famine. This Army at their firſt coming breathed Revenge, and being equal to the Beſiegers aſſur'd themſelves of a Victory with the Help of the Beſieged. The Duke of *Bedford* was ſenſible of the Advantage the *French* had of him, being freſh Men, and kept himſelf cloſe in his Camp, which the *French* gave out they would aſſault, but the Regent's Courage would not ſuffer him to wait for that which would have been a Diſgrace to him, tho' he had repulſed them, and therefore *within* a Day or two of their Arrival ſent an Herald to them to bid them Battel, but they deny'd, maintaining only ſome ſmall Skirmiſhes with the *Engliſh*, till their Men convey'd thirty Oxen and ſome other Proviſions into the Town, and that with no ſmall Damage to themſelves; for in the Skirmiſhes the *French* loſt above fifty noble and valiant Men, among whom were the Lord *Saintreiles*, and the Lord *Gawcourt*'s Brother. The Town however having receiv'd ſome Relief, the Army remov'd in the Beginning of *Auguſt* to a Place call'd *Fort-under-yer*, and by a Bridge of

Laignie valiantly defended and held againſt the Duke of *Bedford*.

The Duke of *Bedford* raiſes the Siege.

A. D. 1433. Reg. 10.

of Boats paſſed into the Iſle of *France*, where meeting with no Reſiſtance they took many Caſtles and Towns. The Duke tho' very deſirous to get *Laignie*, which after the Departure of the Army could not hold out very long, yet conſider'd the various Diſpoſition of the *Pariſians*, and fearing leaſt that City ſhould revolt to King *Charles* when the Army drew near to them, raiſed the Siege in haſte, leaving all his Engines, Pavilions and Proviſions behind him: The Beſieged purſu'd him in his Retreat, ſlew ſome of his Men, and took others Priſoners; but the Neceſſities of War obliging him to ſave *Paris*, he was forced to undergo that Loſs rather than a greater. At *Paris* he ſent the *French* another Challenge to fight, but they anſwer'd, *They had done what they came for, and would fight him when they ſaw their own Time*; and ſo retir'd without Battel.

Reg. 11.

St. *Valery* regain'd from the *French*.

The *French* being retreated, the Regent ſent *Peter de Luxenburgh*, Earl of St. *Poll*, and *Robert*, Lord *Willoughby* with a ſufficient Force to beſiege and retake the Town of St. *Valery* which the *French* had gotten in the Beginning of the laſt Year; for the Regent was of that Diſpoſition, that he could hardly ſleep till all Loſſes ſuſtain'd by the *Engliſh* were regain'd. *Meſſieurs de Vaucourt*, *De la Torre*, and *De Verſeil* defended the Place, and did for three Weeks ſpace manfully and bravely maintain their Poſts againſt the Beſiegers, but at length yielded upon Condition, That the Garriſon might depart with their Horſe and Baggage. The Earl of St. *Poll* after their Departure put in a Garriſon of *Engliſh*, of the valianteſt and ſtouteſt Men, made Sir *John Aubmond* Captain of it, and then with the Lord *Willoughby* return'd to the Regent at *Paris*, where they were joyfully received by the Army.

A raging Peſtilence at St. *Valery*.

Not long after their Departure there happen'd a very terrible Peſtilence among the Inhabitants, whether by the Infection of the Air, or by any corrupt Victuals, which the Towns People during the Siege had eaten, is uncertain, but it raged ſo violently, that within a little Time it conſum'd two Parts in three of them. The Succeſs of the Earl of St. *Poll* in taking St. *Valery* was an Encouragement both to the Regent and himſelf to attempt other Places; and accordingly the Duke ſent him to beſiege the Caſtle of *Monchas*, which he readily undertook; but being in his March toward it he encamp'd near the Town of *Blangie*, where he was ſeiz'd with a very violent Diſtemper, of which de died ſuddenly, leaving his Title and Poſſeſſions to *Lewis de Luxenburgh* his Son and Heir.

The Death of *Peter de Luxenburgh*.

His Obſequies after his Death were ſolemniz'd with great Devotion both at *London* and *Paris*, becauſe he was Father-in-law to the Duke of *Bedford*; with him died the Deſign of the beſieging the Caſtle of *Manchas*, and the Town of *Rombarres*.

Sixth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

On the 8th of *July* the Parliament aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, and ſat till *Aug.* 1. when it was adjourn'd to St. *Edward's* Day, *Octob.* 13. and then compleated the Acts, which they had began before, in the former part of the Seſſion, and being moſt of them about Matters of great Uſe to the Publick, they may not be unworthy our Obſervation.

1. It was provided by an Act, That ſuch Perſons as were Keepers of the *Stews* or *Whore-Houſes* in *Southwark*, ſhould not be impanell'd upon any Jury, nor keep an Inn or Tavern in any other Places, leaſt Men of ſuch vile Conſciences and Practices ſhould corrupt Juſtice, and propagate their Villanies over the Nation.

2. It was enacted, That even Diſſeiſors ſhould not be put out of Poſſeſſion by any Colluſive Tricks of Law, as was then uſual, by making the Sheriff the Diſſeiſor, and then entering upon the Lands for the Default of the Tenant's not anſwering: Wherefore it was ordain'd, That all ſuch Writs ſhall be abated and quaſhed: And,

A. D. 1433. Reg. 11.

3. In the Behalf of the Perſon diſſeiſed wrongfully of his Lands, whereas before the Law was, that the Diſſeiſee might ſue the Diſſeiſor in his Life-time, if he took the Profits at the Time of the Suit commenced, which to avoid the Diſſeiſors, made over the Land by Feoffments to others, and ſo avoided the Suit: Whereupon it was enacted, That the Diſſeiſees ſhould have their Action as well againſt the Feoffee, as Diſſeiſor himſelf, if either of them take the Profits of the Land.

4. And becauſe divers Tenants of Lands for term of Life and Years, made over the ſaid Lands to other Under-Tenants to the End that they might not be liable to Writs of Waſte, for the Damages done upon the ſaid Lands by their Order and Connivance before the Grant of the ſaid Leaſes; It was hereupon enacted, That the Tenant in Reverſion might have his Action againſt the Tenant for Life or Years, for the Damages done, as well before as after the Leaſe made to any Under-Tenants, and recover treble Damages for the ſaid Waſte, provided that it were prov'd, that the ſaid Firſt-Tenants took the Profits of the Land to their own proper Uſe at the Time of the Waſte done.

5. Whereas divers Suits and Inducements as well for the King as his Subjects were diſcontinu'd by making of new Commiſſions for the Peace, to the great delay of Juſtice, and wrong of the Subject, it was enacted, That no Pleas, or Proceſſes ſhould be diſcontinu'd by any new Commiſſions, but the Juſtices ſo made ſhould have Power and Authority to continue all Pleas depending and determine the ſame.

6. An Abuſe alſo being crept into the Nation about Meaſures contrary to the Statutes, and Purveyors, Bakers, Merchants, and Buyers of Corn, taking Nine Buſhels for the Quarter; it was enacted, That the Statutes for Weights and Meaſures ſhould be proclaim'd in every Market-Town, and that there ſhould be a Buſhel, common Balance and Weights in every Market-Town, City and Borough kept by the Mayor and Juſtices according to the Standard in the *Exchequer*; and if any Perſon ſhall preſume to Sell or Buy by any other Weights or Meaſures, they ſhall forfeit Five Pound to the Perſon that ſhall ſue for it, and Five Pound to the King.

7. Recogniſors having found out a way to defeat the Executions of ſuch Perſons as they were indebted to by Recognizance, by bringing their Writs *De Corpus cum cauſa* out of *Chancery*, and giving Sureties to the King only, are deliver'd out of Priſon, and their Creditors are defeated of their Debts; it was therefore ordain'd, That Sureties ſhould be given as well to the Party as to the King, that their Debts may be ſurely paid.

Other Acts alſo of leſs Importance were alſo made this Seſſion, as about the Meaſure of certain Cloths, call'd *Streights*, for the puniſhing of ſuch as ſhall dare to aſſault any Perſon coming to the Parliament or Council by the King's Command: And laſtly, For ſetting a Price upon Wax-Candles, Images and Figures: But theſe Acts being only Temporary, and long ſince out of Uſe deſerve little Regard. We

A. D. 1433. Reg. 11. read not of any Taxes, that this Parliament gave the King, but perhaps it was becauſe the Duty of *Tunnage and Poundage*, which was given the King in his Third Year, was ſtill continu'd: And whereas before they were granted for certain Years only, they were now indefinitely given him for the Charge of the War, and from thence as *Stow* ſays, They received the Name of *Cuſtoms*, i. e. uſual and conſtant Payments.

Cuſtoms, why ſo called.

The Council of *Baſil*, which, tho' call'd by Pope *Martin* V. and after his Death confirm'd by his Succeſſor *Eugenius* IV. in the Year 1431. was ſcarcely ſettled by reaſon of the Turbulency of *Eugenius*, who took upon him to diſſolve it, and bring it to *Ferrara*, began now to aſſume a Power of acting without the Pope, and in their Eleventh Seſſion, *February* the 27th, made theſe Decrees or Canons.

The Council of *Baſil*, and its Decrees.

1. That the Biſhop of *Rome* ought under the Pain of Suſpenſion and Depoſition to be preſent, either by himſelf, or his Legates choſen by the Conſent of the Cardinals, at General Councils, with all other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons.

2. That the Pope cannot lawfully hinder any Man, not ſo much as a Cardinal from coming to ſuch a Council, but ought to give a Licenſe to all that deſire it; and that the Pope cannot call a Council, diſſolve it, or remove it from one Place to another, without the expreſs Conſent of the Council.

3. That the Council of *Baſil* cannot be diſſolv'd without the Conſent of all the Biſhops aſſembled at it.

And then they proceeded to conſult about Eccleſiaſtical Matters, and made divers Conſtitutions for the better ordering of the Church, *viz.*

1. That no Perſon ſhould be made a Biſhop, but ſuch as have been in Holy Orders a conſiderable time, are of fit Age, and are eminent for their Piety, Holineſs and Learning.

2. That Biſhops ſhould hold a Dioceſan Synod once a Year in their Dioceſſes about the *Octaves* of *Eaſter*, and diligently inſpect into the Manners of the Clergy, and amend all the Corruptions of their Dioceſſe.

3. That all Monks and other Religious Perſons ſhould carefully obſerve the Three Subſtantial Vows of their Profeſſion.

4. That in ſuch Places as the *Jews* inhabited, all Biſhops ſhould take a particular Care to ſettle ſuch Paſtors, as may be able to convince them of their Errors, and by their Authority draw them to hear the Word of God; with many Canons of like Nature: But the Three chief Canons which they moſt ſtrongly aſſerted againſt the Pope and deſir'd, to be believ'd by all, as the moſt infallible Truths, calling them, *Veritates Fidei*, were theſe, *viz.*

The Canons called, *Veritates Fidei.*

I. That a General Council is above the Pope, and any other Perſon.

II. That the Pope cannot diſſolve or remove a General Council lawfully call'd without their Conſent, by his own Authority, or at his own Pleaſure.

III. That whoſoever oppoſes theſe Aſſertions is an Heretick.

This Council ſat many Years after this, and ſtoutly maintain'd its own Power againſt *Eugenius*, who fought to diſſolve them, and by its Authority the Chriſtian World hath armed it ſelf againſt the Pope's Supremacy, as uſurped, and againſt the Word of God.

The Death of *Peter de Luxenburgh*, who after certain Funeral Ceremonies perform'd at *Paris* was ſent over into *England*, and interred with much Solemnity in St. *Paul's* Church in *London*, cauſing ſome ſhort Ceſſation of Arms on the *Engliſh* Part, gave an Opportunity to the *French*, who watch'd all Advantages, to commit ſome Outrages upon them and their Allies. Into *Burgundy* they entered with a ſtrong Body of Men, and burnt, took and deſtroy'd many Towns. The *Burgundians* much enrag'd at their Loſſes gather'd a great Army to revenge their Quarrel, and recover their Towns, and the Duke of *Bedford* being much troubl'd for the Loſs of his Friends, ſent the Lord *Willoughby* and Sir *Thomas Kiriell* with a good Force to their Aſſiſtance. Theſe joyning the *Burgundians* fell upon the Enemy in *Lymois*, and after a long Battel vanquiſh'd them, and recover'd all the Places to the Duke of *Burgundy*, which they had gain'd from him. *Le Hire* alſo accompany'd with many Gentlemen and 1500 Soldiers at the ſame time acted his Part with great Violence, taking the Town of *Somme*, and in it a great Number of Priſoners, by whoſe Ranſoms he maintain'd his Soldiers, better than by their Pay. He afterwards divided his Men into two Parts, ſending one of them into the County of *Cambray*, and conducting the other himſelf in thoſe Parts. The former being inform'd of a great Concourſe of People, met at *Haſpre* at a Feaſt, ſet upon them unawares in the midſt of their Mirth, took many of them Priſoners, (the reſt of them which were of better Condition ſaving themſelves by getting into a ſtrong Tower adjoyning) and having plunder'd the Town, and burnt the Church and Abbey, with many Houſes they retreated to Mount St. *Martin*, where *Le Hire* and his Men expected them, who in the mean time had not lain ſtill, but done as much or more Miſchief; for they burnt and plunder'd the Town of *Beaurevoir*, and *La Motta*, an Houſe of Pleaſure belonging to the Counteſs of *Laigni* near by it, ſecur'd all the Champion Country about it, and having gotten much Booty went to *Laon* to divide it; which done he diſmiſſed them to their Garriſons loaden with Spoil without the Loſs of ſo much as one Man, becauſe they met in all their March with no Oppoſition. *John de Luxenburgh*, Count *de Laigni*, to whom the Defence of thoſe Parts belong'd, being otherwiſe buſied at that Time by reaſon of the Death of the Old Count *Peter* his Brother. The Succeſs of *Le Hire* encourag'd *Pawnſach*, the Captain of *Laon*, who envy'd his good Fortune, to make the like Attempts, that he might enrich himſelf and his Garriſon; and to that end he march'd with 400 Soldiers towards *Marle* intending to ſurprize *Vervins*, a Town belonging to *Giovanna de Barr*, Daughter-in-law to *John* of *Luxenburgh* above-nam'd. Paſſing by *Marle* he burnt the Suburbs, and plunder'd them, but ſtay'd not to attack the Town, being mindful of his richer Booty at *Vervins*. *John de Luxenburgh*, who was before alarm'd at the Inſults of *Le Hire*; having now gotten to his Charge again, and rallied his Men, ſet upon them, and gave them Battel. The *French* ſcarce ſuſpecting any Oppoſition ſoon fled, leaving 160 of their Brethren ſlain upon the Place, and 80 Priſoners. It is ſaid, That *John de Luxenburgh* himſelf fought with that daring Courage and Reſolution, as if he would have conquer'd them alone, and ſlew many of them with his own Hands. He had with him in this Skirmiſh a young Nephew whom he was training up for War, for whoſe ſake he was the more venturous

A. D. 1433. Reg. 12.

The Lord *Willoughby* and Sir *Thomas Kiriell's* Acts in *Burgundy*.

Le Hire infeſts the *Engliſh* much.

Pawnſach's Deſign upon *Vervins*.

John de Luxenburgh routs him.

A. D. 1433. Reg. 12.

turous himſelf to give him a good Example of Valour, and the more glad of the Victory, as an Encouragement to his future Proceedings; and that he might embolden him the more in Warlike Atchievements, he cauſed him to ſlay ſeveral of the Priſoners then taken with his own Hands, which 'tis ſaid, he did with ſo much Unconcern and Readineſs, that he ſhew'd a natural Diſpoſition in him to be a Soldier; eſpecially, if that Maxim be true, *That a Man cannot be a good Warrior unleſs he be very Cruel.*

A. D. 1434.

The Lord *Talbot* lately come out of *England*, takes ſeveral Places in *France*.

Whilſt theſe Things paſſed in *France*, the Valiant Lord *Talbot*, who had been ſome time in *England* among his Friends, was very buſie in gathering a Recruit of freſh Men to carry with him into *France*, and having gotten a Body of Eight Hundred, march'd thro' *London*, *March* the 9th, in order to his Journey with them thither. He landed in *Normandy*, and took his Way by *Roan* to *Paris*, but the Active Spirits of both Captain and Soldiers could not be idle in an Enemy's Country; and therefore paſſing by a ſtrong Caſtle, call'd *Joing* belonging to the *French* King, and lying between *Beauvais* and *Giſors*, he beſieged it, and having taken it hanged up all the *French* he found in it, razed the Caſtle, and then proceeded directly in his Journey to *Paris*, in which he had an hearty Welcome from the Duke of *Bedford* and the *Engliſh*. The Lord *Talbot* having reſted himſelf and his Men at *Paris* a while, and conſulted with the Regent and other Nobles, which way it was beſt for him to proceed againſt the Enemy without prolonging Time, was at length ſent with the Lord *Liſle-Adam*, and 1600 Men in their Army to beſiege the Caſtle of *Beaumont* upon the River *Oiſe*, of which Sir *Amadour de Veignolls*, Brother to *Le Hire*, was the Captain: But whether the *French* were terrified at the News of the Approach of the *Engliſh* Forces, or whether they found themſelves too weak to oppoſe them is uncertain; for they had left the Caſtle, and were all withdrawn to the next *French* Garriſon at *Creil*. The Lord *Talbot* follow'd them thither and laid cloſe Siege to it; but Sir *Amadour* the Captain of it being ſlain by the *Engliſh* in a Skirmiſh, the Town and Caſtle ſoon yielded it ſelf upon a Compoſition, and the Terror of it ſo awed the adjoyning Towns, as *Pont St. Maxence*, *Neufville* and *Rouge-Maiſon*, that they all ſubmitted without any Reſiſtance at all. *Creſpi* in *Valois* made a ſmall Oppoſition, but was ſoon forced to ſurrender, and *Clermont* follow'd their Example; which Towns having been formerly ſubject to the *Engliſh*, but revolted, were uſed the more ſeverely by the Soldiers, who plunder'd many of the Inhabitants, with whoſe Spoils they return'd Rich to *Paris*.

The Earl of *Arundel* takes ſeveral Places.

The ſame Succeſs had the Earl of *Arundel* at the ſame time in propagating and enlarging the *Engliſh* Power, by taking ſeveral Towns then in the Poſſeſſion of the *French*; for he beſieged the Caſtle of *Bommolins*, and took it by Surrender, and leaſt it ſhould harbour the like Enemies for the future, he demoliſh'd it. From thence he march'd to *Orle* in the County of *Marne*, and after a ſharp Attack with his Cannon brought it to a Compoſition, which being put in Order he ſet forward toward St. *Selerine*, of which Town the Lord *Ambroſe de Lore* was Captain. This Man being a Perſon of ſignal Valour, and not willing to bring the Place to the Hazzard of a Siege, ſally'd out with a conſiderable Body of Men, and fell ſo eagerly upon the *Engliſh*, that he made them give back a Bow-ſhot; and as the *French* Hiſtory relates, ſlew about 100 Men, and got their Artillery, Victuals and Tents into his Poſſeſſion: But the Earl of *Arundel* encouraging the *Engliſh* Soldiers to return and retrieve their Honour by Fight, which would be irrecoverably loſt if their Artillery remain'd in the Enemies Hands, ſo raiſed their Courage, that they made Head again, ſlew a great Number of them, and drove them back into the City, recovering all they loſt in about an hour's Time. Though he reſolved to beſiege the Town, yet thinking it alſo convenient to take ſome Places adjacent, becauſe he thought it would coſt him ſome Time, he paſſed it by and beſieged *Louviers*. *Le Hire* and his Brother *Amadore de Vignolls* were Captains of it, and there were many other Perſons of Valour and worth in it, who defended it very bravely; but the *French* Hiſtorians ſay, the *Engliſh* Army was 12000, much too great for the Garriſon to grapple with, and therefore they yielded the Place; and the *Engliſh* being in the Poſſeſſion of it, broke down the Walls and Fortifications. Having reduced *Louviers*, the Earl of *Arundel* returned to St. *Selerine* and cloſely beſieged it; but the Beſieged defended themſelves ſo valiantly for Three Months together, though the Earl every Day almoſt attempted ſomewhat, that he was at laſt forced to take the moſt deſperate Courſes he could, and by Aſſault make himſelf Maſter of it. In entring the Town *John D' Almain*, and *William De St. Albin*, two of the chief Captains, and 800 Men of the Garriſon were ſlain. The Children of the Lord *De Lore* were taken Priſoners. The Earl put in a new Garriſon of the *Engliſh*, and made Sir *John Cornwall* Captain of it. This Succeſs ſtirred him up to try his Fortune further; and thereupon went to the Town of *Silly*, and pitched his Camp by it. The Terror of the Fate of St. *Selerine* had ſeized the Inhabitants ſo much, that they immediately offered him Hoſtages to ſubmit to him within thirty Days, if they were not relieved, their Lives only ſaved. This Agreement the Beſieged advertiſed the King of *France* of, that they might have Succour within the Time appointed, and were not only promiſed it, but as if that King had been as Zealous to ſave it, as the *Engliſh* were to take it; he appointed the Duke of *Alenzon*, *Arthur*, Earl of *Richmond*, *Charles D' Anjou*, and a Marſhal of *France*, who at the importunity of the Lord *De Lore* had gotten together a conſiderable Body of Men to ſuccour St. *Selerine*, but too late to undertake the Reſcue of *Silly*, and with all convenient haſte to march thither for that End. Theſe Orders were readily obey'd, and the *French* Army within the Time appointed preſented it ſelf before the Town, and incamped ſo near the *Engliſh*, that only a ſmall River parted the Camps. The *Engliſh* ſeeing this Bravery returned their Hoſtages and prepared for a Battel; but the *French*, though to reſcue the Town they ought to have refuſed no ſmall Dangers, finding the *Engliſh* poſted to Advantage, only entertain'd them a few Days with ſmart Skirmiſhes, and then in the Night broke up their Camp and departed. The Beſieged in *Silly* being mightily diſappointed of their Hopes immediately after their Retreat ſurrendred the Town to the Earl of *Arundel* according to their Agreement, and were well received by him, who reſtored them to their Houſes and Poſſeſſions, and leaving a Garriſon with them departed towards *Mans*, and in his Paſſage having taken the Caſtles of *Millay*, and St. *Laurence*, and clear'd the Country of *Main* of ſome ſtraggling Enemies which much infeſted it, as ſoon as he was arrived, diſmiſſed his Men

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St. *Selerine* taken by the Earl of *Arundel*.

Silly ſurrendred.

to

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to their Eaſe for a while in their wonted Garriſons. About the ſame Time the Lord *Willoughby*, and Sir *Thomas Kiriell* returned out of *Normandy* with Honour and Victories, and with their Men ſupplied *Louviers*, a Town lately brought into Subjection to the *Engliſh* with a ſufficient Garriſon and Ammunition.

A Rebellion in *Normandy*, ſuppreſſed by the Earl of *Arundell*.

While theſe open Hoſtilities were maintained by both Sides, one againſt the other, the *French* King was buſie Under-hand to diſturb the *Engliſh* Settlement in *Normandy*, and by his Inſtigation a raiſed formidable Rebellion there; for a great Number of the common People about the Sea-Coaſts, diſcontented at the *Engliſh* Yoke (and the *French* never could heartily love the *Engliſh*, or patiently live in Subjection to them) took Arms, and under the Conduct of the Marſhal *de Rochfort*, *Walter de Bruſack*, and *Charles de Mares* (who were laid with ſome Troops to joyn with them, and form them into ſome Military Order for their Enterprize) march'd to the *Engliſh* Garriſons, publiſhing and proclaiming it in all Places were they came, *That it was their Reſolution and Intereſt to expel the whole* Engliſh *Nation out of their Country and Coaſts*; and purſu'd this their Deſign ſo furiouſly at firſt, that in a few Days they took the *Engliſh* Garriſons of *Deip*, *Feſcamp*, *Harfleur*, *Monſtrevilliers* and *Tancbervile*, with all the Country of *Caux*, except *Arques* and *Caudebec*. This Succeſs increaſed their Boldneſs, and they went on to *Caen*, a chief City on the Sea-Coaſts, purpoſing to make themſelves Maſters of that Place, to the End, that they might not only increaſe their Numbers, but have a fit Rendezvous from whence to purſue their Enterprize. The Dukes of *Somerſet* and *York*, who commanded in that Province, and lay there with an Army, having Intelligence of their Proceedings, ſent the Earl of *Arundell* and the Lord *Willoughby* with 6000 Bow-men, and 1300 Horſe to lie in Ambuſh for them in their Paſſage. The Lord *Willoughby* accordingly with 2000 Archers, and certain Horſe-men went before, and lay with his Men in covert by the Way which they were to paſs, the Earl of *Arundell* purſuing them at ſome Diſtance behind with the reſt of the Forces, a Sign being agreed to between them, when they ſhould both ſet on them. The Rebels were ignorant of the Deſign, and ſecurely march'd toward *Caen*; but when they came at the Lord *Willoughby*'s Ambuſh, the *Engliſh* under his Command having ſhot off a Gun, which was the Signal for the Earl of *Arundell*'s Men, fell on the Rabble both behind and before with that Fury, that the poor Wretches unable to withſtand their Forces threw down their Arms and begged Mercy and Pardon. The Earl knowing them to be inſtigated to this Enterprize by other Heads, and much pittying their Ignorance gave command immediately to his Soldiers to ſtop their Hands from Slaughter, and apprehending ſuch as were thought the Incentives of this Rebellion, he permitted the reſt to depart to their Houſes; but ſuch was the Fury of the Soldiers, that before they could be recalled to their Standards they had ſlain above 1000 of the Rebels. The Authors of this Inſurrection being upon a ſtrict inquiry found out, were put to moſt cruel Torments, as their Crimes deſerv'd, and the Places which had been taken by them being badly treated by the Commanders, who were left in them, revolted, and recall'd the *Engliſh*, and ſo this Storm, which made an huge Bluſtering for the preſent, was ſoon blown over and quiet. The Earl of *Arundell* having thus ſucceſsfully ſettled the Diſturbances of *Normandy* return'd to the Earl of *Bedford* to give him an Account of it, who much fear'd the ill Conſequences of it, and by the good News of the Victory was ſo much refreſhed and pleaſed with the Earl, that as if the *Engliſh* Affairs could thrive in no other Hands, he immediately diſpatch'd him upon another Enterprize of almoſt equal Importance, *viz.* the Recovery of the Fort of *Rue*, lately taken by *John de Breſſay*, Lieutenant to the Marſhal *de Rieux*. This was a Loſs of very great Conſequence to the *Engliſh*, becauſe the Garriſon put into it by the *French* very much annoy'd the Countries of *Ponthieu*, *Artois* and *Bolonnois*, and therefore the Recovery of it was abſolutely neceſſary. The Earl of *Arundell* willingly undertook it, and with 800 Men began his March to beſiege it; but being come as far as *Gourney* he alter'd his Reſolution for a little time, upon this Reaſon. There was an Old Fort near *Beauvais*, call'd the Caſtle of *Gerberoy*, which had been lately diſmantled and demoliſhed, but being obſerv'd by the *French* King to ſtand very commodiouſly for a Garriſon againſt the *Engliſh* on thoſe Frontiers, he commanded Sir *Stephen de Vignolis*, commonly call'd *Le Hire*, to repair and newly fortifie it. The Earl of *Arundell* in this Expedition taking Notice of the Building, and knowing that it would be very prejudicial to the *Engliſh*, reſolv'd to diſpoſſeſs the Enemies of it immediately; thinking, that in ſo ſhort a Time as it had been built, it could be in no Condition of Defence, or if it were, it would be eaſier and better gained now than hereafter. Upon this Preſumption, which was badly grounded, he march'd up to it only with 500 Horſe, leaving his Foot behind him to follow him at Leiſure, and queſtion'd not to take it with ſmall Reſiſtance, but it prov'd a very fatal Miſtake; for *Le Hire*, who was there himſelf in Perſon, and had a Body of 3000 Men, which the Earl was ignorant of, obſerving, that the Earl's Force was ſmall, and his Horſes tired, reſolve to ſet on them before they could refreſh themſelves, or the Foot could get up to them to their Aſſiſtance, and to animate them in the Attempt, he ſent out to them Fifty Horſe, as if there had been no more in the Caſtle. Sir *Ralph Standiſh* with an Hundred Men was ſent by the Earl to encounter them; but before the Battel between them was begun, the reſt iſſued out of the Caſtle, and having ſlain Sir *Ralph* and his Men, they ſet upon the Earl and the Horſe-men about him, who fought very manfully in their Defence; but *Le Hire* ordering three Culverins to be diſcharg'd in the midſt of the *Engliſh* as they were fighting, many were ſwept away by that means, and at the ſecond ſhot was the Earl's Leg broke a little above the Ankle, which ſo pain'd him, that he fell from his Horſe in a Swoon, and the *French* purſuing the Advantage, put the *Engliſh* to Flight, taking the Earl himſelf, Sir *Richard Woodvile*, and 120 other Priſoners with their Horſes, 200 were ſlain, and the reſt eſcaped. The Earl himſelf was carry'd to *Beauvois*, where he dy'd within a few Days of his Wound, and was buried in the Church of the *Friers-Minors*. His Death was much lamented by the *Engliſh*, being their Glory in preſent, and Hope for the future. He was the Fifth Earl of the Noble Family of *Fitz-Allen*.

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The Earl of *Arundell* ſent to recover the Fort of *Rue*.

The Earl of *Arundell* in taking the Caſtle of *Gerberoy*, and is ſlain.

The Rebels ſuppreſſed by the Earl of *Arundell* and Lord *Willoughby*.

About the Beginning of *June*, *John*, Duke of *Bourbon* and *Auvergne*, who had been taken Priſoner at the Battel of *Agincourt* Eighteen Years before, was admitted to pay a Ranſom of 18000 *l.* Sterling, and be freed from his long Im-

Duke of *Bourbon*'s Captive in *England* 18 Years, dies there.

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Impriſonment and Captivity; which being done, he made all Haſte to return into his Native Country, *France*, again; but Providence had order'd he ſhould never ſee it; for, upon the Day appointed for his Departure, he was ſeiz'd with a violent Diſeaſe, of which he died in *London*, and was buried in the Church of the *Gray-Friers* in that City.

The Breach between the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Burgundy*.

With this Year concluded the long Friendſhip and Confederacy between thoſe Two Great Princes, *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, and *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy*, which had been ſlacken'd for ſome time before by the Death of the Duke of *Bedford*'s Lady, and new Marriage, but at this Time was quite diſſolved by many freſh Diſtaſtes and Grudges taken one at another, which had been raiſed and fomented to ſo high a Pitch by the Tales of Court-Paraſites, that they both thought it diſhonourable for them to hold any League or Amity longer one with another: But ſome there were, who being ſenſible how fatal this Breach would prove to *England*, as well as mindful of King *Henry* the Fifth's Charge given to his Lords upon his Death-Bed, *viz. That by all means they ſhould be very careful to retain the Duke's Friendſhip and Amity*; uſed their utmoſt Endeavour to make up the Breach, by bringing them to an Interview, that by producing the Cauſes of their Diſpleaſure, they might, if poſſible, be removed, and they made Friends. St. *Omers* was the Place appointed; a Town, which being in the Dominions of the Duke of *Burgundy*, might ſeem a Condeſcention, and an Earneſt of the Duke of *Bedford*'s Deſire to be reconciled, for him to meet at it. The Duke of *Burgundy* ought in Compliance, when the Duke of *Bedford* had ſtoop'd thus low, to have viſited him firſt, and gave him a Welcome into his Dominions, ſince it hath been always accounted Rudeneſs to affect Priority in our own Houſes and Territories; but *Burgundy*'s Mind was ſo inflamed, that he would be firſt viſited, as the Lord of the Town, and Sovereign in that Place, a *Punctilio*, which when the Duke of *Bedford* conſider'd, he began to think with himſelf, that he was not only the Son, Brother and Uncle of Kings, but being Regent of *France*, he ſuſtained the Perſon of one of the greateſt Monarchs of *Europe*, and 'twould be a Diſgrace for his Maſter, if not to himſelf, to ſtoop to the Humour of a petty Prince, eſpecially ſince he had obtain'd *Henault*, *Holland*, *Zealand* and *Friſland*, by the Aid of the *Engliſh* only; and for theſe Reaſons he would not give him the firſt Viſit. *Burgundy* was not inſenſible of theſe Reaſons, yet would not bend: However, to end the Diſpute, propounded, that the Matters in Difference might be diſcuſs'd by Three Perſons, which the Duke of *Bedford* not hearkening to, they departed without the Sight one of another in great Anger and Diſcontent, and lived ever after it, as if there never had been any Affinity or Friendſhip between them, in the moſt inveterate and implacable Enmity, which though indeed it had been *Bedford*'s Prudence and Policy, by any Acts of Condeſcention, to have prevented, (and that he did not do it was thought highly blame-worthy) yet it may bear a Diſpute, whether any thing would have prevail'd, ſince that Duke had given many wide Proofs of his good Inclination to the *French* Side, by allowing his Brother-in-Law, the Earl of *Richmond*, to be Conſtable of *France*, and conſenting that *his Siſter Agnes* ſhould marry the Duke of *Bourbon*, a great Friend of King *Charles*; ſo that it is to be thought, the Breach was unavoidable.

Dukes of *Bedford* and *Burgundy* quarrel.

While this Treaty was on Foot between the Dukes, the Earl of *Dunois*, commonly called the Baſtard of *Orleans*, the Lord *Rochfort*, Marſhal of *France*, and ſome others, having had Information from one *Reginold de S. John*, a Gentleman born in the Iſle of *France*, but a Soldier in S. *Dennis*, with whom they had a Correſpondence, how they might ſurprize the Town, ſent Captain *Deinville* with a ſufficient Number of Troops thither, who ſcaled the Walls by Night, and made himſelf Maſter of it, turning out the *Engliſh* Garriſon, commanded by Sir *Matthew Gough* and Sir *Thomas Kiriel*. This Action is interpreted by ſome, as if the Duke of *Burgundy*, tho' he pretended a Willingneſs to be reconciled to the Duke of *Bedford*, never really intended it, becauſe the King of *France* at that Time ſo highly courted the Duke of *Burgundy's* Favour, that he would never have permitted ſuch an hoſtile Action in the Time of Treaty without his Leave, tho' this may be allowed only conjectural, yet 'twas ſuſpicious in the Duke of *Bedford*'s Abſence. However that be, 'tis certain the Loſs was very great to the *Engliſh*, being upon the very Gates of *Paris*, and if kept by the *French* King, it would be a perpetual Moleſtation to that City, eſpecially, ſince the *French* would be obliged to keep a very ſtrong Garriſon in it. Theſe Thoughts induced the *Engliſh* to reſolve upon the ſpeedy Recovery of it, which Sir *Matthew Gough* and Sir *Thomas Kiriel*, whoſe Honour was much impaired by the Loſs of it, were ready to undertake, and accordingly did by the Aſſiſtance of the *Pariſians*. The Baſtard, who yet continued at St. *Dennis*, had Notice of the Deſign of the *Engliſh*, and being ſenſible it was as much the Intereſt of his Maſter to keep it, as of the *Engliſh* to regain it, left the Marſhal *De Rieux* to defend it, if the *Engliſh* beſieged it, while he went himſelf to raiſe greater Forces for the Relief of it. The *Engliſh* ſoon after his Departure began the Siege under the Command of the Lord *Talbot*, Sir *Matthew Gough*, Sir *Thomas Kiriel*, the Lord *Liſle Adam*, and others, with a full Reſolution to take it; and tho' the Baſtard joining with the Forces of the Counties of *Champeigne* and *Valois*, took the Towers of *Houdan*, and *Montmulan* (*f*) to draw them from it, yet the *Engliſh* held on the Siege, and would not be drawn from it. The Conſtable of *France*, the Baſtard of *Bourbon*, *Monſieur de Loheac*, and others were ſent with a great Army to raiſe the Siege, but ſeeing the Reſolution of the *Engliſh*, they dar'd not to ſet upon them, which when Marſhal *de Rieux* ſaw, he yielded up the Town to them upon as honourable Conditions as he could: *Reginald de S. John*, who had betrayed the Place, and *Dionegius de Vaucourt*, a Perſon of great Valour and Conduct, upon whom the Governours chiefly relied in the Siege, were both ſlain. The Walls of the Town were all beaten down, unleſs on the Side next the Abbey, and the Tower *de Veneno*, which remained all the while in the Cuſtody of *Simon de Morier*, Son to the Provoſt of *Paris*, with the *Engliſh* Soldiers with him, and ſo the *Engliſh* recovered but a very ſhattered Place of it.

A. D. 1434. Reg. 12. Reg. 13. S. *Dennis* taken by the *French*

But retaken by the *Engliſh*.

October the Tenth in this Year, (as *Fabian* relates, but our Statute-Books place this Parliament

Seventh Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

(*f*) *Pont Meulan* it ſhould be. This Town was taken by Surprize: Two Fiſhermen entred it at a Common Privy ſtanding on the Wall, and open'd the Gates to the *French*.

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A. D. 1434. Reg. 13.

ment in the Fourteenth Year of King *Henry* the Sixth, by Miſtake) the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, and continued till the latter End of *December*. The Buſineſs of this Seſſion ſeems to be only to regulate ſome Abuſes of other Acts of Parliament, or interpret them, for it was therein enacted,

1. That the Judges in their Circuits, ſhall have Power to give Judgments in all Caſes of Felony and Treaſon, as well upon Perſons acquitted as attainted, and award Executions according to that Judgment.

2. That all Wools and Woolfells, that ſhall be ſhipped to be tranſported, ſhall be carried to *Callis* only, and no Licenſe ſhall be granted to the contrary, but by the King, with the Advice of the Council.

3. That the Juſtices of Peace in *Cumberland* ſhould hold their Seſſions Quarterly at *Carliſle* only, and in *Middleſex* only twice a Year, becauſe of the Terms.

4. That all Wool and Woolfells, and other Merchandizes of the Staple, which ſhall be ſhipped in any Creeks or Ports, clandeſtinely to cheat the King of his Cuſtoms, and Subſidies, ſhall be forfeited to the King.

5. That all Perſons, who ſhall dare to diſturb any Foreigners, in ſelling Fiſh, or other Victuals, either by Whole-ſale or Retail, ſhall forfeit Ten Pounds, one Moiety to the King, and the other to the Perſon, that ſhall ſue for the ſame.

Theſe Acts being finiſhed, the King had a Fifteenth given him to carry on his Wars with *France*, and they were diſſolv'd. During the Sitting of this Parliament, on the Eve of St. *Katherine*, *November* the 24th, began a Froſt, which laſted to the Feaſt of St. *Scholaſtica*, *February* the 10th, and held with ſo great Violence, that the *Thames* was frozen over, ſo that the Merchandizes and Proviſions brought to the *Thames*'s Mouth, were conveyed to *London* by Land thro' *Kent*.

A great Froſt, by which the *Thames* was frozen over.

A. D. 1435.

In the Council of *Baſil*, which ſtill continued Sitting, there was a Motion made by *Sigiſmund*, the Emperor, and aſſented to by the Reſt of the Chriſtian Princes, who were all preſent to compoſe the Difference between the Sciſmatical Popes, *Felix* and *Eugenius*, That a Mediation ſhould be made for a Peace between *France* and *England*, ſince ſo much Bloodſhed among Chriſtians was a great Scandal to their Holy Profeſſion, and this they had a great Encouragement to do, becauſe the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had been the Support of the Quarrel from the Beginning, was now willing to be reconciled to the *French* King upon honourable Terms, provided that it could be ſo managed, as that it might ſeem not ſo much his own, as that King's Deſire. The Settling a Peace at this Juncture between Two ſuch great Nations, was indeed a Work worthy the Endeavours of the Council, and the great Danger that all *Chriſtendom* was in, from the Arms of the *Turk*, whoſe Emperor, *Mahomet* the Firſt, having not many Years before made *Adrianople* in *Thracia* his Royal Seat, left *Amurath*, his Son, an ambitious and aſpiring Prince, to propagate his Victories further into *Europe*, made it neceſſary, if poſſible, for all the Chriſtian Princes to unite among themſelves, and join againſt this common Enemy: And to this End, *Nicholas D' Albergat*, a *Carthuſian* Frier, Cardinal *de Sancta Cruce*, or the *Holy Croſs*, and *Hugh de Laſignan*, a *Cypriot*, Biſhop of *Præneſte* in *Italy*, were ſent to the Princes at Difference, to come to a Conference in order to a Peace, and obtained by their earneſt Sollicitations, that they would ſend their Ambaſſadors to an Aſſembly at *Arras*, a Town in *Artois* to conclude all Matters in Controverſie between them. The Commiſſioners ſent by *Henry*, King of *England*, were *Henry Beaufort*, Cardinal and Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *John Kemp*, Archbiſhop of *York*, *William de la Pool*, Earl of *Suffolk*, *John Holland*, Earl of *Huntington*, the Biſhops of *Norwich*, St. *Davids*, and *Lyſieux*, with divers other Knights and Gentlemen. For the *French*, came *Charles*, Duke of *Bourbon*, *Arthur* of *Brittain*, Conſtable of *France*, *Lewis*, Earl of *Vendoſme*, the Archbiſhop of *Rheims*, Chancellor of *France*, for the *French* King, with many other Perſons of Note. The Emperor, the Kings of *Cyprus*, *Portugal*, *Caſtile*, *Sicily*, *Navarr* and *Poland*, ſent alſo their Ambaſſadours to aſſiſt at it, and further the Agreement, as Occaſion ſhould offer. *Nicholas* alſo Cardinal of the *Holy-Croſs* was ordered by the Biſhop of *Rome*, to perſwade an Union in the Name of his Maſter the Vice-gerent of the Prince of Peace. The Duke of *Brittain* had alſo his Deputies, the Earls of *Alençon* and *Barr*. But the Duke of *Burgundy* was there in Perſon, attended by the Duke of *Guelders*, his Chancellor, the Biſhop of *Chambrays*, with divers other Earls, and Barons, and a gallant Train of Courtiers. The Cardinal of *Holy-Croſs* opened the Aſſembly with a pathetick Speech to the Parties in Difference, repreſenting to them the great Miſchiefs that had redounded to all *Chriſtendom*, by the continual Wars between Two ſuch potent Kingdoms, and exhorting them by the Honour of God, and for the Love they had to Religion, that they would lay aſide all Enmity one to another, and embrace ſuch a Peace and Union, as might be for the Glory of God, and the eternal Advantage of their Souls; which Speech being ended, Conſultations were entred into by the ſeveral Ambaſſadors to bring in their Demands and Propoſals. The *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors brought in their Demands firſt, and urged, 'That King *Charles* ſhould lay down 'his Pretences to the Kingdom of *France*, and 'ſhould enjoy no Part of it, but what the King 'of *England* ſhould out of his mere Favour allow him, and thoſe ſhould hold of him, as 'his Homager and Feudary. The *French* Ambaſſadors on the contrary, as poſitively 'Demanded the whole Kingdom of *France*, as their 'Maſter's Right, and required, that the King 'of *England* ſhould lay aſide the Name, Arms, 'and Title of the King of *France*, and relinquiſh *Paris*, and all the Towns which he 'held in *France*, being content with the Dukedoms of *Aquitain* and *Normandy*, with ſuch 'Part of *Guienne* as they were now in Poſſeſſion 'of, yet to pay homage for them to the King 'of *France*, as the Supream Soveraign of them. Theſe Propoſitions ſeeming more to incline to a War than Peace, the Cardinal of *S. Croſs* endeavoured to mitigate them on both Sides, and bring them to more near Terms, but all proved in vain; and becauſe he ſaw, it would be next to impoſſible to make a Peace between them, he offered them reaſonable Conditions for a Truce, but this was alſo rejected on both Parts, and the *Engliſh* diſpleaſed with the great Demands of the *French*, whoſe Spirits they ſuppoſed to have been more humble, departed to *Callis*, and ſo returned into *England*. The Cardinal *de Sancta Cruce*, ſeeing all Hopes of Concluding a Peace between *England* and *France* to be to no Purpoſe, turns all his Endeavours to work an Accommodation between the *French* King and the Duke of *Burgundy*, which he did with

The Council of *Baſil* endeavours to make a Peace between *England* and *France*.

A. D. 1435. Reg. 13.

The King of *France* and Duke of *Burgundy* made Friends, and upon what Terms.

A. D. 1435. Reg. 13.

with no great Pains, the former being ready to ſtoop almoſt to any Terms to win him, and the latter ready to embrace any Thing honourable and advantageous, ſo that a Peace was immediately agreed on upon theſe Conditions, *viz.*

I. That King *Charles*, tho' he excuſed himſelf from the Murther of the Duke of *Burgundy*, his Father, yet ſhould make Satisfaction for his Death, by puniſhing all that were found guilty of it, if they could be diſcovered and apprehended, by Death, if not, by perpetual Baniſhment, and ſhould build a Church in *Monterra*, with a Monaſtery of Twelve Monks, and a Superior, which he ſhould endow with a ſufficient Maintenance, to pray for his Soul for ever.

II. That King *Charles*, ſhould pay to the Duke of *Burgundy* 50000 Crowns for the Jewels, that were taken from his Father at his Death, and ſhould have Liberty to recover thoſe that were not named, particularly the Fleece, which was of a very great Value, from any, in whoſe Poſſeſſion they were found.

III. That the following Countries, Cities, and Towns, with all their Præeminencies and Juriſdictions, ſhould be immediately delivered up to *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy*, and ſettled upon him and his Heirs, whether Male or Female, *viz.* *Maſcon* in *Xantoigne*, the City of *Auxerres*, with the Juriſdiction of *Barr* upon the *Seine*, the City of *Caſtel*, with the Lay-Patronage of the Church and Abbey of *Leuxeule*, pretended to, but never poſſeſſed by the Dukes of *Burgundy* before, the Cities of *Montdidier*, *Peron*, St. *Quintin*, *Corby*, *Amiens*, and *Abbeville*, the County of *Pontian* and *Poictou*, with the Outbounds of *Champaign*.

IV. That in Caſe the King of *England* ſhould make War upon the Duke of *Burgundy* and his Subjects, King *Charles* ſhould aſſiſt him both by Sea and Land, as in his own Cauſe, and ſhould not make Peace with him, unleſs he included him in it; and that if King *Charles* ſhould not fully keep to this Agreement, his own Subjects ſhould not be bound to obey him, but being freed from all Oaths of Allegiance to him, might aſſiſt the Duke of *Burgundy* againſt him.

V. Laſtly, That *Charles*, Count *Caroloix*, Son to Duke *Philip*, ſhould marry the Lady *Katherine*, King *Charles* the Third's Daughter, and have with her in Portion 120000 Crowns; but this Marriage was not conſummated till Four Years after, by reaſon of their tender Age, not being above 7 Years old.

By theſe Articles the *French* King may ſeem to have bought the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Friendſhip dear, but he being the Hinge upon which the Kingdom of *France* turned, nothing could be too much to gain his Friendſhip, which being obtained, all muſt ſoon follow, as indeed it did.

Duke of *Burgundy*'s Excuſe for his Alliance with the King of *France*.

The Duke of *Burgundy* being thus united again with the *French*, to whom he had a long time born a good Affection, knew very well that the News of it would be very ſurprizing to the *Engliſh*, his old Confederates, and would certainly produce ſome ill Effects, if they were not pacified with ſome palliating Excuſes, whereupon he ſent *Toiſon d'Or*, his chief Herauld, into *England*, to give an Account of this new Confederacy, and his Motives to embrace it, which were, 'Not any real Diſaffection to 'the *Engliſh*, but merely to ſatisfie his People, 'and in Compliance with the earneſt Entreaties of the general Council at *Baſil*, the Pope 'and other Princes of *Chriſtendom*. For by the 'Continuance of the Wars, his own People 'with bitter Lamentations complained to him, 'That they were utterly ruined and impoveriſhed, and the whole Kingdom of *France* in 'a manner deſtroyed, which becauſe all Men 'laid upon him as the Cauſe of it, he thought 'it his Duty to yield to the Exhortations of ſo 'many grave Perſons, to unite with King '*Charles*, and ſo avoid the Guilt of ſo much 'Bloodſhed, as would elſe be laid to his Charge. 'And theſe Reaſons he thought ſo ſtrong, in 'reference to King *Henry*, that he could not 'but heartily wiſh, he would accept of a Peace 'upon honourable and reaſonable Terms, that 'ſo theſe cruel Wars, which were ſo diſpleaſing to God, and prejudicial to both Nations, 'might have an End, and Peace be eſtabliſhed 'amongſt them. This Meſſage, which was delivered by Letter to King *Henry*'s Council, was very amazing, and ſo much the more, becauſe the Superſcription was very unuſual. For, whereas before he uſed in his Writings to ſtile King *Henry*, *King of* France *and* England, *his Lord and Maſter* (g), now he entitled him only, *The High and Mighty Prince*, Henry, *by the Grace of God, King of* England, *his Well-beloved Coſin*; as if he had been no longer King of *France*, and the Duke by joining with *Charles*, had utterly diſowned his old Maſter. This Letter being read, and conſidered on well by the Council, raiſed ſuch Indignation in them againſt the Duke, that they would not let the Meſſenger ſee the King, but ſent him back to his Maſter without any Letters, telling him, that the Duke was *a perjured Traitor*, whom they could not think worthy of Anſwer. But the News of this Peace was received with much greater Diſguſt by the Citizens of *London*, who were more heady and furious, and becauſe they could not revenge themſelves upon the Duke himſelf, fell heavy upon his Subjects, who for Traffick ſake reſided in, or about their City, and ſlew many of them. King *Henry*, whoſe mild Temper better qualified him for Mercy, than Revenge, was much troubled for the Outragious Facts of his Subjects, and put out his Proclamation, ſtrictly charging all his Subjects, under ſevere Puniſhments, to forbear the like Diſorders for the future; which ſtopp'd their Hands from Bloodſhed, but did not reſtrain their Tongues from charging *Philip* with the groſſeſt Perjury, Treachery and Hypocriſie, who, contrary to all his repeated Oaths and Promiſes to obey King *Henry*, as his lawful Soveraign, had deſerted him, and reconciled himſelf to his Enemy, in which, tho' the Pope's Legate had given him Abſolution to pacifie his guilty Conſcience, yet that was but a deluſive Salve for ſo foul a Breach of Fidelity in the Sight of all the World; but *Burgundy* had ſerved his Turn by Siding with the *Engliſh* to revenge his Father's Death, and now had another Game to play, which was to raiſe his own Greatneſs, which he did effectually by making up with *France*, whereby he gained many large Countries and Territories, which his Anceſtors had no Title to, nor could he himſelf by any other Means have gained, and for this Reaſon he held firmly ever after to the *French* Intereſts.

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King *Henry*'s Council angry with the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the *Londoners* ſlay the *Burgundians*.

Reg. 14.

Seven Days after the Concluſion of this Peace, between *Charles* King of *France*, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, *John* Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of *France*, died at *Roan*, *September* the Fourteenth, a wiſe and warlike Prince, who by his Courage,

Duke of *Bedford*'s Death and Burial at *Roan*.

(g) He uſed to ſtile him his *Soveraign Lord* only, Lord and Maſter not being uſual from Feudatary Princes to their Superiors.

A. D. 1435. Reg. 14.

and prudent Conduct had kept up the *Engliſh* Power in *France* almoſt alone, it is thought, that the Proſpect of the Change which would inevitably follow upon the League between the *French* King and Duke of *Burgundy*, was a Means of haſtening his Death; for he eaſily foreſaw, that their Union would root the *Engliſh* out of *France*. He was buried in the Cathedral Church of our Lady in that City, with all Funeral Solemnities, on the North-Side of the High-Altar, under a ſumptuous and coſtly Monument, which remaining whole and entire many Years after, in the Reign of *Lewis* XI. Son of King *Charles*, ſome of his Courtiers adviſed him, being then at *Roan* to demoliſh it, becauſe his Memorial was a Shame to *France*. But King *Lewis* generouſly reply'd, *God have his Soul, and let his Body lie now at Reſt; who, when he was alive, would have made the proudeſt of us to tremble. As for his Tomb, it is not ſo decent and convenient, as his noble Atchievements deſerved; and I am ſorry it is no more ſtately, that its Richneſs might anſwer his Worth.* The News of his Death cauſed great Grief in *England*, not only for the Loſs of ſo excellent and great a Perſon, but for the Danger *France* was in by his Death, there being ſcarce any Man left behind him equal to him in Courage and Wiſdom, and none of Experience to manage ſo difficult a Station; but Neceſſity required, that one ſhould immediately be put in his Place; and therefore K. *Henry*'s Council proceeded to an Election (*b*). The Dukes of *Somerſet* and *York* became Competitors for it, both of them nearly related to the Crown, and therefore might be thought to have an equal Zeal for the Support of it. *Somerſet* was moſt deſirous of it, but *York* had the Votes of the Council, becauſe he had the faireſt Pretences to the Crown, and ſo he was elected; yet with ſo great Offence to *Somerſet*, that he ſought all Ways to obſtruct his Commiſſion, and hinder his ſpeedy Paſſage thither, which though it might prove the common Loſs, yet he thought would turn to *York*'s Diſgrace with the Commons, who, not knowing the ſecret Cauſes, hate or love for what appears. And, indeed, *Somerſet* was not out in his Politick Deſign; for before the Duke of *York* could get his Diſpatch into *France*, *Paris*, and many other chief Towns, for want of a Governour, were revolted to the *French* King; and though he was not really in Fault for it, he was forced to bear much of the Blame, upon the Account of his Delays. The Duke of *York* was not inſenſible as well of the Cauſe, as of the Effect, and tho' he would not at preſent ſeem to reſent it, yet he laid it up in his Memory, that when Occaſion ſhould offer, he might revenge it upon the Duke of *Somerſet*, who bearing an equal Hatred to him, they wrought each other's Deſtruction in a few Years, and entailed the Quarrel upon their Poſterities, to the Ruin almoſt of both Families.

Duke of *York* choſen Regent of *France*.

In the ſame Month with the Duke of *Bedford*, died *Iſabel*, late Queen of *France*, Mother of *Charles*, the preſent King, and *Catherine*, Queen of *England*, at *Paris*; and was buried by her Husband at St. *Dennis*, without any Funeral Pomp or Solemnity, the Times not permitting ſuch Ceremonies. She died hated by the *French*, and not much regarded by the *Engliſh*; for tho' indeed ſhe had been the main Inſtrument of the Succeſs of the *Engliſh* in *France*, and their Eſtabliſhment there, yet they being ſenſible, that what ſhe did for them was not out of any real Love to them, but out of an inſatiable Deſire of Revenge upon her Son *Charles* the *Dauphin*, could not affectionately requite the Kindneſſes they received, becauſe they were intended chiefly to gratifie her own Malice, and the *Engliſh* were uſed but as Inſtruments for her unnatural Cruelties.

Iſabel, Queen of *France*, died.

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The Death of the Duke of *Bedford* was no ſooner known in *France*, but, as though he had been the only Reſtraint upon the *French* to yield Obedience to the *Engliſh*, they began almoſt in all Places of the *Engliſh* Dominions to think of a Revolt to their natural Prince. *Normandy* began firſt to ſhew its Inclinations to King *Charles*; and having given Intelligence of their Deſign, invited his Army to come among them, under the Command of Marſhal *de Rieux*, *Charles de Mareſt*, Meſſieurs *de Bauſack* and *Longueville*, to whom they immediately ſurrender'd *Deipe*, *Roan* (*i*), *Bois de S. Vincennes* (*k*), and ſeveral other conſiderable Places; in which though there were *Engliſh* Garriſons, yet either being overpower'd, or betray'd by the treacherous Inhabitants, they were forced to relinquiſh them, and ſhift for themſelves as well as they could; but ſome were taken Priſoners; and the Citizens, who had been for the *Engliſh*, were either plunder'd of their Goods immediately, or made to take an Oath of Fidelity to the *French* King. This Succeſs drew Multitudes to them. The Lords *Sentraglie*, *Eſtouteville*, and many other Lords, brought an Army of between 3 and 4000 to join with them; and one *Kernier*, a Captain of the Rabble, follow'd them with 6000 Commons, who all readily took the ſame Oath; ſo that *Charles*'s Party became very ſtrong, and able to take the remaining Towns by Force, if they ſhould ſtand out againſt them, which it could not be thought that many would do, ſince the ſtrongeſt Towns had ſubmitted. *Feſcamp* yielded it ſelf on *Chriſtmas-Eve*, without Aſſault, and the Captain of it, Monſieur *Villiers*, a *Gaſcoigne*, was ſo zealous for his new Maſter, that he aſſaulted *Harflure* on St. *Stephen*'s Day to reduce it. The Garriſon repulſed him at firſt valiantly, and beat him off at the Onſet with the Loſs of Forty of his Men; but while he was putting himſelf in Order for a Second, the Inhabitants capitulated to ſurrender the Town to the *French*, upon Condition, that the *Engliſh* Garriſon, which conſiſted of 400 Men, ſhould be ſuffer'd to depart peaceably with all their Goods; which being granted and accepted, many other Towns follow'd their Example, as, *Beureſpin*, *Tancherville*, *Gomeſſeule*, *Loges*, *Vallemont*, *Gravile*, *Longevile*, *Nenevile*, *Lambervile*, and many others, into which the *French* having put Garriſons, became almoſt abſolute Maſters of *Normandy*.

The *French* in many Places revolt from the *Engliſh*.

A. D. 1436.

Feſcamp ſurrender'd.

Things being thus ſettled here, *Charles* caſt an Eye upon *Paris* it ſelf, which being kept only by 2000 Men, a weak Garriſon, under the Command of the Lord *Willoughby* and the Biſhop of *Turwin*, was eaſie to be recover'd, the Citizens, as he was inform'd, being well affected to him, and willing to ſubmit; whereupon he commanded the Conſtable, *Arthur* of *Brittain*, the Earl of *Dunois*, the Lords *de la*

(*b*) He was appointed by Parliament to be Regent of *France*. Hol. p. 613.

(*i*) *Roan* was not yielded to the *French* King till Twelve Years after, *Anno* 1447. as will be ſeen in the Courſe of this Hiſtory.

(*k*) *Bois de St. Vincennes* is no Part of *Normandy*.

Roche

A. D. 1436. Reg. 14.

Roche and *Liſle Adam*, with a good (*l*) Body of *Burgundians* and *French* Men, to preſent themſelves before it, hoping to get the Poſſeſſion of it without much Labour; but when they arrived, they found their Friends ſo carefully watch'd by the Garriſon, that they could not betray the City to them, as was deſigned; and therefore they retreated to St. *Dennis*, which they beſieged. The *Engliſh* Garriſon there was 400 ſtrong, but the Place weak, being wholly diſmantled, unleſs it were on the Abbey-Side; yet they withſtood a very powerful Aſſault, wherein they loſt 200 Men, and were forced to flie into the Abbey and Tower *Venin*, in which they only kept themſelves, till they could gain a Compoſition to render up the Place with the Safety of their Lives.

St. *Dennis* taken.

The Lord *Beaumont*, who was lately come out of *Normandy* with 600 Men, hearing what Danger St. *Dennis* was in to be loſt, but not knowing that it was yielded, ſallied out of *Paris*, with ſome Addition to his Forces, to obſerve the Poſture of the Enemy, and if they could relieve the Place; but being diſcover'd by the *French* Army, they ſo encompaſs'd him on every Side, that though both himſelf and his Men defended themſelves valiantly, yet 300 were ſlain, and himſelf, with Eighty of his Men taken Priſoners; the reſt fled, but were cloſely purſued to the very Gates of *Paris*.

This Loſs on the *Engliſh* part not only weaken'd the Garriſon, but made the Citizens, who ſtood in Fear chiefly of the Lord *Beaumont*, to reſolve upon a Revolt, which having acquainted the Lord *Liſle Adam* with privately, and obtain'd an Aſſurance of him and the Conſtable, That their former Offences ſhould be pardon'd, and their ancient Liberties and Privileges confirm'd to them, on their part they promiſed to receive them into the Town. The Conſtable delay'd no Time, but drawing up his whole Army, preſented himſelf before the City, diſplaying the Charter of their Pardon to the View of the Citizens, and requiring them, as it were, to open their Gates. The *Engliſh* Garriſon, ſuſpecting the Treaſon, endeavour'd all they could to keep them ſhut; but the Citizens had drawn up the Chains in every Street, and oppoſed them not only themſelves in Armour, but even their Wives and Children from their Houſe-Tops ſo annoy'd them with Stones and Scalding-Water, which they pour'd upon them, that they could not prevent their Deſign; ſo the *French* Army partly got Admiſſion at the Gates of St. *Dennis* and St. *James*, and partly ſcaled the Walls. The *Pariſians* in a great Tumult meeting them, cry'd out with Joy, *Long live King* Charles, *and the Duke of* Burgundy. The *Engliſh*, ſeeing all Oppoſition in vain, retired into the Street of St. *Anthony*, where they remain'd ſafe for the preſent under the Cannon of the *Baſtile*, which they victualled as much as they could in ſo ſhort a Time, and then betook themſelves to it for their Defence. The Conſtable and his Forces purſued them to their Fortreſs, and cloſely beſieged them; but they defended themſelves very bravely for Ten Days, in Hopes of Relief; their Victuals failing at the End of that Term, and no Aſſiſtance appearing, they agreed to yield up the Place, their Goods and Lives being ſaved, and ſo they were ſafely conducted to *Roan*.

Paris betray'd to the *French* King, and the *Engliſh* driven out.

Thus the Capital City of *France* ſubmitted to King *Charles*, Sixteen Years after the Duke of *Clarence* had placed a Garriſon in it for the *Engliſh*; but not by the Valour of the *French*, but by the Perjury of the Citizens, who contrary to their frequent Oaths and Promiſes of Fidelity to Two Kings, moſt treacherouſly revolted from them, ſhewing themſelves a falſe and inconſtant People.

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The *Engliſh* being gone, the *French* ſeized on and ſhared ſuch Goods of theirs, as they found in the City, and confiſcated the Eſtates of ſuch of the Citizens as had ſided with them, diſplacing all the Officers and Governours that had not further'd their Attempt, and putting new ones in their Places.

While Fortune thus proſper'd the *French* in ſome Places, the *Engliſh* were not unactive in others to recover their Loſſes, or, if that could not be, to endamage them ſo, that they might not be ſo great Winners. The Garriſon of *Calais* iſſued out, and made a ſudden Aſſault upon *Bullen*, and had almoſt taken the Lower Town, but failing of it, they burnt many of the Ships that were in the Haven, and paſs'd from thence into the Confines of *Gravelin*, and deſtroy'd all the Country round about it. The furious People, impatient of their Loſſes, got together, and took Arms to oppoſe them, but being unskilful and undiſciplin'd, were ſoon routed by the *Engliſh*, 400 of them being ſlain, and 120 taken Priſoners, the reſt flying into the Country for Safety, while the *Engliſh*, with their Spoil and Priſoners, return'd to their Garriſons.

The *Engliſh* annoy the *French*.

Other Advantages the *Engliſh* had in other Places againſt the *French*, which ſomething abated the Glory of their Victories; for at the Siege of the Town of *Crail* upon *Oiſe*, Sir *William Chamberlin*, Governour of the Town, iſſued out of it with 500 Men upon the *French*, who aſſaulted it, and, after a long Fight, routed them, ſlew 200, and took a great Number Priſoners, the reſt flying into *Champaign*, and the adjoining Countries. Nor was *La Hire* more fortunate at *Giſors*, which Twelve of the Burgeſſes had betray'd to him for a Sum of Money; for tho' he got a quiet Poſſeſſion of the Town by their Treachery, yet the *Engliſh* Garriſon, who had fortified themſelves in the Caſtle, and ſent to the Lords *Talbot* and *Scales*, who lay at *Roan*, with a good Force, to aſſiſt them, ſtood out firmly againſt all the *French* Forces, in Hopes of Succour, which coming timely to them, while the Enemy were in the Heat of their Oppoſition, freed the Caſtle, drove away the *French* with Loſs, recover'd the City, and puniſhed the Traitors.

Giſors recover'd with Loſs to the *French*.

While theſe Things were doing, the Duke of *York*, though later than he would, landed in *Normandy* with an Army of 8000 freſh Soldiers, being accompanied with the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Suffolk*, the Lord *Falconbridge*, and ſeveral other famous Captains. It was no ſmall Trouble to the new Regent to hear of the Loſſes of the *Engliſh* in this Vacancy of the Government, and therefore upon his Arrival he doubled his Diligence to regain as much of them as he was able. The Earl of *Salisbury* he diſpatched to beſiege the Caſtle of *Chambois*, which he ſoon regain'd by Surrender. The Lord *Scales* and *Hoo*, with Sir *Thomas Kiriell*, he ſent to ſuppreſs the Rebels of the Country of *Caux*, which they did ſo effectually, that they left no Fears of like Diſturbances from thoſe Parts; for they ſlew 5000 of the Rebels, burnt all the unwall'd Towns and Vil-

Duke of *York* arrives in *France*, and recovers ſeveral Places.

(*l*) This Officer had lately diſperſed the *Engliſh*.

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lages in the Country, and brought away all their Cattle to *Caudebec*, where they ſold a Sheep for an *Engliſh* Penny, and a Cow for Twelve Pence.

The Regent himſelf took his Way to *Roan*, where, after he had put Things in good Order, and ſettled ſome Differences among the Inhabitants with admirable Lenity and Juſtice (for which the *French* Chronicles highly extol him to this Day) he went to beſiege *Fiſcamp*, which he in a ſhort time recover'd, and brought in Subjection to the *Engliſh*.

Duke of *Burgundy* ſeeks the *Engliſh* Friendſhip again

The Duke of *Burgundy*, who had ſo lately joyn'd himſelf with the *French* Intereſts, tho' his Subjects had been much wrong'd and abuſed by the *Engliſh*, as well in *France* as *England*, yet ſhew'd no open Acts of Hoſtility, but as if he had repented of the Fact, and were willing to be reconciled to his Old Friends, permitted the Inhabitants of the *Low-Countries*, who ſuffer'd very great Loſſes by his League with the *French* King for want of the Commerce, which they formerly had with the *Engliſh*, to endeavour a Reſtoration and Continuance of the Peace with them, who thereupon employ'd *John de Luxenburgh*, Count *de Ligni* to write to his Brother the Arch-Biſhop of *Roan*, who was one of King *Henry*'s chief Counſellors in *France*, to propound it to, and obtain it of King *Henry*'s Council in *England*, which he did ſo earneſtly and effectually, that he found no unwilling Compliance with the Propoſal. But becauſe in the mean time the *Engliſh* in *France* had not deſiſted from making Invaſions upon his Territories, and deſtroying his Subjects, and King *Henry* had at the ſame time written to the *Hollanders* to offer them the Continuance of his Friendſhip, *Philip* being highly offended at theſe Things, and eſpecially at the latter, which he interpreted to be done to ſeduce his Subjects from their Obedience to him, receded from his Word, and told *Ligni* plainly, That he would never more entertain any Thoughts of Peace with the *Engliſh*, becauſe they had very much injur'd him in his Honour, ravaged and plundered his Subjects upon the Confines of *Flanders*, endeavour'd to ſurprize *Ardres*, ſent Ambaſſadors to the Emperour to provoke his Imperial Majeſty againſt him, ſought to ſeduce and withdraw his Subjects from their Allegiance, and done many other Things not to be paſſed over without the higheſt Reſentments by any Prince. Theſe Things he writ in a Letter to King *Henry* and his Council in *England*, and in it he declared War againſt him for the ſaid Wrongs and Injuries; which tho' many of them were falſely charg'd upon him, as was prov'd by the Anſwer given him by King *Henry* and his Council, yet they ſerv'd for a Pretence for the irreconcilable Enmity that enſued upon it: For the Duke of *Burgundy* immediately call'd a great Council of his chief Men, and repreſented to them the Miſchief done to himſelf and Subjects by the *Engliſh*, deſiring their Advice and Aſſiſtance to revenge him and themſelves upon them, and remove ſo troubleſom an Enemy, if not out of *France*, yet from their Confines. *Callis*, he ſaid, belong'd to his Juriſdiction, as a part of the Province of *Artois*; and as it was now the greateſt Annoyance to his Dominions, being in the Hands of the *Engliſh*; ſo if they could recover it, it would be as great an Advantage to them, for it would perfectly ſecure *Flanders*, *Artois*, *Picardy*, and the Country about *Bullen*. Indeed it was a very ſtrong Fort, and very well mann'd and provided, and therefore the Siege was not to be undertaken without ſufficient Forces, but he did not doubt they would aſſiſt him with all Things neceſſary to effect it, if they concurred with him in the Deſign. Theſe Propoſals the whole Aſſembly approv'd of, and aſſur'd him of their Readineſs to lend him all the Aſſiſtance they could in it; and becauſe they judg'd ſufficient Forces might be raiſed out of *Holland* and *Flanders* to effect their Purpoſe, it was adviſed, That the Duke ſhould in Perſon go into thoſe Provinces and ſollicit their Help in ſo advantageous an Attempt, which he immediately upon the Diſſolution of this Council did. He began with *Gaunt* the head City in *Flanders*; and having aſſembled the Magiſtracy there publiſh'd his Reſolution to them, and met with ſuch a general Approbation from them, that they eaſily granted his Deſires, and thought long till it was put in Execution; and the like Concurrence it had in all the Province of *Flanders*. The *Hollanders* indeed ſhew'd not that Forwardneſs and Readineſs in the Deſign as the *Flemmings* did; but at length they conſented to ſatisfie their Prince's Deſires, and ſo all Things were provided for ſo great an Attempt, which either Invention or Caution could deviſe. Theſe Preparations and the Intent of them were certified to King *Henry* and his Council by Sir *John Ratcliff*, Deputy-Governour of the Town of *Callis*, who was as careful to provide for the Defence of it, as the Enemy to aſſault it, and there were ſent over with all Expedition 1500 Men, with good ſtore of Proviſion, under the Command of the Earl of *Mortaigne*, Son to the Duke of *Somerſet*, and the Lord *Camois*. This ſtrong Garriſon, that they might make the Country about it unfit to harbour and receive the Enemy, pillag'd and deſtory'd all the Villages and Corn; and though they were encounter'd firſt by a ſtrong Body of *Flemmings*, and then by a Party of 1500 *French* under the Command of the Lords of *Warren* and *Bado*, yet they were Victorious over them, killing many, and taking almoſt an equal Number of Priſoners.

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Callis fortified againſt the Siege.

Duke of *Burgundy* declares War with *England*.

Duke of *Burgundy* reſolves to beſiege *Callis*, and raiſes an Army for that End.

Duke of *Burgundy*'s Army raiſed to beſiege *Callis*.

The Caſtle of *Oye* yielded to the *French*

The Duke of *Burgundy* having ſpent ſome conſiderable Time in fitting out his Troops, and ordering his Men, at length began his March towards *Callis*. His whole Army which conſiſted of Men out of ſeveral Provinces, as *Picardy*, *Flanders*, *Holland*, *Hannault*, to the Number of 40000, was furniſh'd with ſuch an Abundance of Victuals, Arms and Artillery, that they may ſeem to be fit to conquer a Nation, and not a Town, which they themſelves thought ſo inconſiderable an Attempt, that they ſuppoſed the very Approach of their Captains would fright the Inhabitants out of it, and it would be taken without Reſiſtance; but they found their Miſtake ſoon after, the *Caliſians* neither fearing their Numbers nor Strength. In their Paſſage towards *Callis*, when they drew near *Gravelin*, they beat down Two Mills, imputing the late Loſs of the *Flemmings* to their Situation; and though *Philip* himſelf diſſwaded them from ſuch an inglorious Attempt, yet they would not deſiſt. Being paſſed the Waters of *Gravelin*, and come into the *Engliſh* Territories, the Duke thinking it not convenient to leave any Thing behind him that was held by his Enemy, beſieged the ſmall Caſtle of *Oye*, which had but Fifty Soldiers in it. Theſe defended that Fort very courageouſly, till twelve of the Chief being ſlain, the reſt yielded themſelves up to the Duke's Mercy, but found little or none; for he giving the Caſtles and Captives to the People of *Gaunt*, who were the greateſt

part

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part of the Army and had ſuffer'd much by their Reſiſtance, they to revenge the Blood of their Country-men hang'd up Twenty Nine of them immediately, and razed the Caſtle down to the Ground. The reſidue of the Captives were condemn'd to Death; but the Duke being offended at their Cruelty in ſlaying the former, ſav'd their Lives by much Interceſſion. Within the Proſpect of *Callis* ſtood another Caſtle, held by the *Engliſh*, call'd the Caſtle of St. *Mark*, of greater Strength than the former, containing a Garriſon of 200 Soldiers, under the Command of Sir *John Gedding* their Captain, who made a bolder Reſiſtance than the Governor of *Oye* was capable to do, and ſlew many of the Duke's Forces. But was at laſt over-power'd, and deſpairing of Relief from the People of *Callis*, to whom he had in vain given Signs of the bad Condition of his Garriſon, by ringing their Bells, and hanging out Colours, (for tho' they would, they could not do it) he reſign'd upon Condition, That his and his Men's Lives ſhould be ſav'd; and ſo being made Priſoners of War, they were ſent to *Gaunt* to be kept for an Exchange, if any of them ſhould happen to be taken. The Way to *Callis* being thus clear'd, the Duke of *Burgundy* accompany'd with the Duke of *Cleves*, the Earl of *Eſtamps*, the Lords of *Dantoing*, *Croy*, *Criſquie*, *Humieres*, and many others of Note, laid Siege to the Town on *July* the 19th, as was moſt to his Advantage, and at his firſt coming cauſed three Aſſaults to be made, but with ſo much Loſs, that he was forced to draw off his Forces further from it. The *Engliſh* entertained them with continual Sallies, and in moſt of them were Victorious. The Duke of *Burgundy* was not much diſhearten'd at theſe firſt Succeſſes of the Enemy, but he look'd upon them as flaſhes of Courage, which by length of Time, and the ſtraights of a Siege would much abate; and therefore in the mean time he was careful to block up the Haven, that no Supplies of Men or Victuals ſhould come to the Beſieged out of *England*, which to his great Grief he had hitherto ſeen done, becauſe the Fleet from *Holland* and *Zealand* was not come up, as he had appointed and expected, and to that end he cauſed Four great *Hulks*, fill'd with great ſquare Stones cemented together with Lead, to be ſunk in the Haven at High-Tide, but with no Damage to the Harbour as it happen'd. He alſo diligently ſurvey'd the Walls of the Town and the Caſtle, that when occaſion offer'd, they might repeat their Aſſaults with better Succeſs. But the Beſieged were on the other ſide as watchful of all Advantages; and ſeeing the Duke obſerving their Town ſhot at him, kill'd his Trumpeter, and three Horſes of ſuch Perſons as were next him.

Callis beſieged.

While the Army lay before *Callis* the Lord *de Croy* was ſent with a good Party to beſiege the Caſtle and Town of *Guiſnes*, of which he ſoon took the latter, but was kept ſo long in the Siege of the former, that he was forced to quit what he had gotten and leave them. In the mean time the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who knowing the Importance of the Town of *Callis* to the *Engliſh* in *France*, was reſolv'd to raiſe the Siege, ſent over his Herald, call'd *Pembroke* to tell the Duke of *Burgundy*, *That the Protector of* England, *his Maſter* (*if God favoured him with Wind and Weather*) *intended with all convenient Speed to paſs over to him and give him Battle, either before* Callis, *or in any other Place in his own Country which he ſhould appoint, and if he refuſed would ſeek him where he could find him.* The Duke of *Burgundy* anſwer'd the Herald, *Tell your Maſter, that his Challenge is both Honourable and Reaſonable, and that I will ſave him the Pains to ſeek me, for* (*God willing*) *I will not leave the Town till I have my Will of it, and if he comes here he ſhall find me ready to encounter him with all the Forces he can bring.* After the Duke of *Burgundy* had given the Herald his Anſwer, he took him to his Tent, and having feaſted him plentifully gave him a Silver Cup, and an Hundred Pieces of Gold, and ſo ſent him back again. The Herald departed to *Callis*, and ſo home to the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who was haſtening with all ſpeed to get an Army, and all other Things neceſſary for his intended Expedition.

Duke of *Glouceſter* challenges the Duke of *Burgundy*.

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The Duke of *Burgundy* alſo as ſoon as the Herald was gone, call'd a Council in the chief Tent of the *Gauntois*, and ſummon'd all the *Flemmiſh* Commanders and Cavaliers to it, to whom having declared the Subſtance of the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Embaſſy and his Anſwer to it, he entreated them for his Honour's ſake and their own, not to deſert him, but ſtand by him, and defend themſelves manfully upon this Occaſion, which they all voluntarily and readily promiſed. This encourag'd the Duke ſo, that he forthwith ſent into *Picardy*, *Artois*, and *Henault* to levy new Forces, and augment his Army to ſuch a Proportion to the *Engliſh* Army (which he fear'd would be great) as they might be able to oppoſe them. But as the News of the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s coming begat Caution in the *Burgundians*, ſo it raiſed the Courage of the Beſieged ſo much, that they made many brisk and fortunate Sallies; and among other Things won a Fort built by the Duke of *Burgundy* upon an Hill ſo near the Town, that they could ſee all the Tranſactions of the Beſieged, and by that means much annoy'd them, which Loſs damp'd the Beſiegers Spirits, and made them deſpair of carrying the Town, eſpecially ſince the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Arrival was daily expected. In the midſt of theſe Terrors and Fears the Duke of *Glouceſter* had fortunately paſſed the Seas with 500 ſail of Ships, and landed at *Callis* with a powerful Army on the Second Day of *Auguſt*, intending on the Day following to have iſſued out of the Town and gave the Duke of *Burgundy* Battle; but when that Day was come the Enemy was departed, the very News of his coming ſo affrighted the *Flemmings*, that no Perſwaſions of their Prince could prevail with them to abide the Battle, and ſo they all departed and left the Siege the Night before to the great Grief of the Duke of *Burgundy*. *Glouceſter*, when he brought forth his Army found ſome of their great Ordnance, which were too heavy for their Flight, with much Victuals and Ammunition; but thinking he might overtake them, he purſu'd them Eleven Days; but not being able to do it, he ravag'd part of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Country, and having burnt two Towns, *Popering* and *Bell*, he return'd again to *Callis*. The Lord *de Croy* alſo at the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Command left *Guiſnes*, and the *Engliſh* repoſſeſſing themſelves of the Town took ſome of their Baggage and Artillery, and among the reſt a great Gun of Braſs, call'd *Dijon* from the chief Town of *Burgundy*. And thus the Duke of *Glouceſter* finiſh'd his Expedition, and return'd into *England* with Honour and Triumph.

Duke of *Burgundy* prepares to fight the Duke of *Glouceſter*.

Duke of *Burgundy*'s Army flies.

In the Abſence of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, the former Diſcontents between the *Scots* and *Engliſh* broke out into open War. *James*, King of *Scots*, having married his Daughter to *Lewis* the *Dauphin*, gave great Suſpicion to the

Scots and *Engliſh* at War.

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the *Engliſh* of ſuch an Affinity and Confederacy between them, as might prove very prejudicial to them: Whereupon they firſt endeavour'd to intercept her, and take her Priſoner in her Paſſage into *France*; but miſſing of that, they began to treat the *Scots* as no faſt Friends, and did ſome Damages to them upon their Borders. Theſe Things incenſed King *James* ſo much, that he ſought Opportunity of Revenge, and in the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Abſence beſieged *Roxborough* Caſtle with an Army of 30000 Men. Sir *Ralph Gray*, a Perſon of great Courage and Fidelity, commanded the Caſtle at that Time, and defended it for Twenty Days againſt ſo powerful an Army, which though he could not have withſtood much longer, yet his holding it out ſo long prov'd the Cauſe of its Deliverance; for the King of *Scots* being advertiſed, that the Earl of *Northumberland* was coming with an Army to raiſe the Siege, but chiefly, his Queen being come into his Camp to give him Notice of a Conſpiracy form'd againſt his Life, by certain Perſons whoſe Names ſhe could not at preſent find out, choſe rather to releaſe the Town, than loſe his Kingdom and his own Life, by giving his Enemies Time and Opportunity in his Abſence to bring their wicked Contrivances to Perfection, and ſo he left the Siege. But this Deſign, though ſeemingly prudential enough, prov'd fatal to him: For *Walter*, Earl of *Athol*, the King's Uncle, who was the Chief in the Conſpiracy, being fearful of being diſcover'd by the Diligence of ſuch as the King had employ'd to find him out, with his Aſſociates, deſperately put them forward to a more ſpeedy Execution, which by the Help of one *John* a Frier Preacher of *Pearth*, into whoſe Monaſtery the King was fled for Safety, they effected; for by his Means the Porter being corrupted, and the King's Chamber being left unbarr'd, the Conſpirators boldly and violently ruſh'd into the King's Preſence, and giving him 28 Wounds, ſlew him. Three of the Chief of them, the Earl of *Athol* himſelf, *Robert* his Grandſon, and *Robert Grimes*, were very ſeverely puniſh'd for the Murther by the People, and his Son *James* the Second, a Child of about Seven Years old, was raiſed to his Throne in the Right of Succeſſion.

James, King of *Scots*, killed.

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Duke of *Burgundy* ſeeks a Neutrality.

After the diſgraceful Departure of the Duke of *Burgundy* from *Calis*, the *Engliſh*, in all Parts of *France*, became very troubleſome to him and his Subjects. At *Bruges* they roſe in a tumultuous manner againſt him, and ſlew a Captain of his Guard, the Lord *Liſle Adam* himſelf very hardly eſcaping with his Life. Theſe Dangers made him employ his Neighbouring Princes to ſolicit a Peace between him and the King of *England*, That he ſhould remain a Neuter between *England* and *France*. The Perfidiouſneſs of the Duke was an invincible Objection againſt their Petition; but an Expedient being found out, that the Dutcheſs ſhould act for her Husband, and ſhould be admitted to a Treaty for him, Commiſſioners were appointed on both Sides to meet at *Gravelin*, *viz.* The Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, the Biſhop of *Arras*, Lord *Croy*, and others for the Duke: And *Henry*, Cardinal of *Wincheſter*; *John Mowbray*, Duke of *Norfolk*; *Humphrey*, Earl of *Stafford*, and divers other Perſons of Honour, for King *Henry*. After ſome Debates, a Truce was concluded between King *Henry* and the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, her Husband not being ſo much as named in it; but it laſted a little time, the Duke taking Liberty to break that Covenant, in which his Enemy would not have him tied; and ſo it only ſerved a Turn, till he could better ſecure himſelf againſt the *Engliſh* Enmity.

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On the 2d Day of *January* this Year died (*m*) Queen *Catherine*, the Wife of that renown'd Prince King *Henry* the Fifth, and Mother of this King *Henry* the Sixth, at *Bermondſea* in *Surrey*, and was, with all due Solemnity, buried at *Weſtminſter*, in the midſt of our Lady's Chappel, under a Marble-Tomb, by her Huſband, where ſhe reſted, till King *Henry* the Seventh pull'd down the ſaid Chappel, and erected that moſt ſumptuous Pile of Buildings, which retains his Name to this Day. She had in her Life privately married a Noble *Welch* Gentleman, of the Lineage of *Cadwallader*, the laſt of the *Britiſh* Kings, named *Owen Tudor*, or *Theodore*, a Perſon of rare Beauty and Parts, but of ſmall Fortunes, and therefore accounted a very unequal Match for this Great Princeſs; yet it was wink'd at by the Dukes of *Glouceſter* and *Bedford*. By him ſhe had Three Sons, *Edmund*, *Jaſper* and *Owen*; the laſt was a Monk at *Weſtminſter*. Her Daughter by him died in her Infancy. After her Death, *Owen* was apprehended (*n*) and impriſon'd, becauſe that, contrary to an Act of Parliament made in the Sixth Year of this King's Reign, he had preſumptuouſly married the Queen, without the King's ſpecial Aſſent. He eſcaped twice out of Priſon, and let out others with him, but the Third time, it is ſaid, he loſt his Life. However, his Children which he had by the Queen ſunk not by the Misfortune of their Father; for King *Henry* either out of Reſpect to his Mother, or in Recompence for the too great Severity againſt his Father, ſoon after his Death, created *Edmund* Earl of *Richmond*, and *Jaſper*, Earl of *Pembroke*, and married *Edmund* to *Margaret*, Daughter and ſole Heireſs to the Duke of *Somerſet*, of whom he begot *Henry*, Earl of *Richmond*, who afterwards was King of *England*, by the Name of *Henry* the Seventh,

Queen *Catherine* died.

Biondi Hiſt. of the Civil Wars of *England*.

About the ſame Time, the Dutcheſs of *Bedford*, Siſter to *Lewis*, Earl of *St. Poll*, as if Queen *Catherine*'s Example had taught her to marry for Affection rather than Honour, married a brisk young Knight, Sir *Richard Woodvile*, afterwards created Lord, and Earl of *Rivers*, to the great Diſpleaſure of her Brother, and Uncle, the Biſhop of *Turwin*, whom ſhe had not acquainted with it. By him ſhe had many Children, both Sons and Daughters, and among them the Lady *Elizabeth*, who being married to King *Edward* the Fourth, was afterward Queen of *England*.

Dutcheſs of *Bedford* married Sir *Richard Woodvile*.

Whilſt this Marriage was in the Celebration, *Jane*, the Wife of *Henry* the Fourth, and Daughter of *Charles*, King of *Navarre*, ſurnamed, *The Wicked*, died at *Bermondſea* in *Surrey*, and being carried to *Canterbury*, was there interr'd by her Husband King *Henry*. Some remarkable Accidents alſo happened about this time, *viz.* the furtheſt Gate upon *London-bridge* next *Southwark*, with the Tower upon it, and Two Arches upon which it chiefly depended fell down ſuddenly, but did no Harm, all the Lions alſo in the Tower died.

On the 21ſt Day of *January*, King *Henry* aſſembled his Parliament at *Weſtminſter*. This Par-

Parl. 8. its Acts and Taxes

(*m*) In the 38th Year of her Age.

(*n*) *Owen Tudor* was beheaded after the Battle of *Mortimer's-Croſs*, for fighting in the Quarrel of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, *Anno* 1460. *Holl.* 660.

liament

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liament was firſt appointed to meet at *Cambridge*, but for ſome Reaſons of State is was recall'd to *Weſtminſter*.

In this Parliament, 1. A Remedy was provided againſt vexatious and troubleſome Suits of ſuch Perſons as were not of the King's Houſhould, in the Court of Stewards and Marſhals in the King's Houſe, and it was allow'd as an Exemption from their Juriſdiction to plead and aver, that they are not of the King's Houſe.

2. An Allowance was given to all the Subjects of *England* to tranſport Corn of ſmall Price out of the Realm, *viz.* Wheat at Six Shillings and Eight Pence, and Barley at Three Shillings and Four Pence the Quarter.

3. An Injunction to all Sheriffs, Bailiffs of Franchiſes and Coroners, that in Actions, or Writs of Attaint of Plea for Lands of the Yearly Value of Forty Pounds, they do not return nor impanel any Perſons, but ſuch as be inhabiting in his Bailiwick, and have an Eſtate to their own Uſe in Lands and Tenements, to the Yearly Value of Twenty Pounds or more, upon the Penalty of forfeiting Ten Pounds to the King, and Ten Pounds to the Plaintiffs in the ſaid Action, or Writs of Attaint; and that no Perſon of leſs Sufficiency of Freehold than Twenty Pounds a Year ſhall be ſworn in the King's Court upon any Iſſue in the ſaid Actions, if he be for the ſame by the Plaintiffs in due Form challenged.

4. A Permiſſion was given to all Perſons, as well Religious as Secular, to appoint themſelves General Attornies to ſue or plead for them in every Hundred and Wapentake. And,

5. A Prohibition was laid upon all Merchants to ſhip, or cauſe to be ſhipped, any Wool, Woolfells, or other Merchandizes belonging to the Staple, in any Place within this Realm, except at the Keys and Wharfs aſſigned by the Statute, where the King's Weights and Wools be ſet, excepting the Merchants of *Genoa*, *Venice*, *Tuſcany*, *Florence*, *Catalonia*, and the Burgeſſes of *Berwick*. To this Parliament came the Biſhop of *Terwin* and the Earl of *Arminack* out of *France*, but their Buſineſs was not known, and if important, was ſoon diſpatch'd, and the Parliament ſoon after diſſolved.

Harfleure beſieged by the *Engliſh*.

In the late Inſurrection in *Normandy*, the *Engliſh* had loſt *Harfleure*, a Town of great Conſequence for the Preſervation of that Province, which being found to be extreamly inconvenient in the Enemies Hands, they reſolved upon the Recovery of it. The Duke of *Somerſet*, attended with the Lords *Falconbridge* and *Talbot*, were ſent with a ſtrong Force to beſiege it. The Captain of the Town was Sir *John D' Eſtautevile*, and the Garriſon was 600 ſtrong. The *Engliſh* at their firſt Approach were ſenſible, that they ſhould meet with a ſtrong Oppoſition, as well from the Beſieged as the *French* King's Party, whoſe Intereſt it was to preſerve the Town, as much as the *Engliſh* to gain it; and therefore they ſtrongly intrenched themſelves before the Town, and then began to batter the Walls, that they might gain an Entrance into it, but were ſo valiantly oppoſed and repulſed, that tho' the Town ſuffered much Damage, it held out, and kept them from an Aſſault. The *French* King in the mean Time was very deſirous to relieve it, and to that End ſent the Earls of *Ew* and *Dunois*, the Valiant Baſtard of *Bourbon*, and the Lord *Gaucourt*, with an Army of 4000 Men to raiſe the Siege; but when they came, they found their Enemies ſo ſtrongly entrenched, that they could moleſt them very little by all the Means they could deviſe, and ſo ſaw it next to impoſſible to do their Friends within the Town any good, whereupon they fearing leſt their Delays might prove dangerous to themſelves, left the Town to its own Defence and the Enemy's Mercy: The Governor ſeeing it paſt all Hopes of being ſaved, thought it better to ſurrender the Town upon ſome honourable Terms, than hazard all to no Purpoſe, and therefore capitulated for the Lives of himſelf and Soldiers, and left the Place in the Hands of the *Engliſh*, who joyfully received it, as their deſired Prey. The Duke of *Somerſet* committed it to the keeping of *Thomas Pawlet*, *Chriſtopher Barber*, *William Limerick* and *George St. George*, who manfully defended the Town and Haven many Years. The Lord *Talbot*, after the Taking of *Harfleure*, was left Captain of the Army to carry the Victory on, as his Courage ſhould lead him, who thereupon beſieged *Tankerville*, which he took in Four Months, being delivered up to his Diſcretion, and ſoon after *Beauchaſtaan* and *Maleville*, which following the Example of *Tankerville*, yielded without Blows. But the *Engliſh* by all theſe Victories were no Gainers, for *Charles*, the *French* King, paſſing over the River *Loire*, beſieged the ſtrong Town of *Monſtreau Fault Yonne*, of which Captain *Thomas Gerard* was Commander, who forgetting his Honour and Truſt, ſold it to the *French* King for a Sum of Money, as was afterwards diſcovered. The *French* that were in it, were all hanged for their Treaſon to him, and the *Engliſh* at the *Dauphin*'s Requeſt ſet at Liberty. After the Taking this Town, ſome ſmaller Garriſons, as *Chaſteau*, *Landone*, *Charmi* and *Nemours*, yielded to him without Reſiſtance, and then paſſing on, he took his Way to *Paris*, where having not been ſince it returned to his Obedience, he made his Entry with Solemnity, and loud Acclamations. The *Engliſh*, tho' not unconcern'd at theſe Loſſes, were under no poſſibility of Regaining them thro' the Change of the Regency, which unfortunately happen'd in this Juncture, otherwiſe *Monſtreau* had not been ſo eaſily parted withal. The Duke of *York*, who had held the Place with great Applauſe, tho' he was never perſonally preſent at any Battle or Siege, unleſs at that of *Feſchamp*, was diſplaced, and the Earl of *Warwick* put into his Room, a Perſon every ways qualified for ſo great a Charge, but being detained Seven Weeks by croſs Winds from arriving in *France*, they wanted a Power in *York* to oppoſe the Current; and ſo the *French* King carried on his Victories without Controul. At the ſame time *Arthur* of *Brittain*, Conſtable of *France*, *John*, Duke of *Alenzon*, and *La Hire*, with a great Army, made divers Attempts in *Normandy*, firſt upon the Town of *Auranches*, and then upon the City of *Roan*, but fail'd in both by the Courage and Diligence of the Lord *Talbot*, Lord *Scales* and Sir *Tho. Kiriel*, who ſet upon the *French* ſuddenly, and routed them at a Town called *Riz*, not far from *Roan*, killing about 200, and taking a great Number Captives, among which were the Lord of *Fountains*, Sir *Aleine Geronne*, Sir *Lewis Balle*, and Sixty Knights and Eſquires, by which *Normandy* was preſerved to the *Engliſh*.

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And ſurrendred upon Articles.

The Lord *Talbot* takes ſeveral Places.

The *French* gain on the *Loire*.

Earl of *Warwick* made Regent of *France*.

Reg. 16.

The Earl of *Warwick*, *Richard Beauchamp*, who had been endeavouring a Paſſage into *France* for ſeveral Weeks before, and in order thereto had Seven times taken Ship, but was as often driven back again, at length arrived at *Honflue*, *Nov.* 6. with a Thouſand freſh Soldiers, and from thence went to *Roan*, where the Duke

Earl of *Warwick* arrives at *Honflue*.

of

A. D. 1437. Reg. 16. of *York* having received him with a kind Welcome, reſign'd his Dignity to him, and returned by the ſame Ships, with all his Train, into *England*. This New Deputy was no ſooner in his Place, but he was forced upon Action; for *Florimand de Brimau*, Bailiff of *Ponthieu*, having private Advertiſement, that *Crotoi*, an *Engliſh* Garriſon, was in great Want of Victuals, and could not hold out, if ſuddenly beſieged and begirt round, gave Notice of it to *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy*, who immediately ſent an Army of above 10000 Men, with Guns and other Materials, under the Command of Meſſieurs *D'Archi*, *Crovi*, *Kenti*, *Jaques de Brimeau*, and others, to lay cloſe Siege round it. The Garriſon, who fear'd nothing but Hunger, ſeeing their Danger, began to provide againſt it, and finding the Sea open, ſent out a Ship immediately, which by its nimble Sail in a Day or two ſupplied them with Plenty of Proviſion. The Duke of *Burgundy* ſaw his Error too late, and endeavour'd to prevent it, by ſending Four Ships to lie at the Mouth of the Haven; but the Inhabitants of *Crotoi* would not endure this Blockade, and ſending Six Ships out, routed them, and kept the Sea open for their continual Relief. By this means they were in no Fear of Want of Victuals, but could hold out till Aid ſhould come. The Earl of *Warwick* had News ſoon of this Attempt, and immediately diſpatch'd the Lords *Talbot* and *Falconbridge*, Sir *Tho. Kiriel*, and divers other Knights and Eſquires, with an Army of 5000 Men, to raiſe the Siege, who were alſo ſo zealous to deliver the Town, that they all waded thro' the River, ſome up to the Chin, to get the neareſt Way to it, reſolving either to drive the Enemy from it, or die in the Quarrel. The Duke of *Burgundy*, who lay with his Forces beſide the City, had News of the Approaching of the Lord *Talbot*, with all his Power, and thereupon drew off his Forces, as if he would have confronted his Army and fought them; but when they came nigh one another, the Duke and his Forces retreated to *Abville*, and left the Town; but being unwilling to loſe the *Baſtile*, which he had lately built to annoy it, he left 400 Men to keep it. The Lord *Talbot* kept on his Way, and came to *Crotoi*, but not finding the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Army there, he aſſaulted the *Baſtile*, and took it, all the Men being either ſlain, or made Priſoners. Then he ſent Meſſengers after the Duke of *Burgundy* to challenge him to a Battle, threatning, that if he refuſed, he would deſtroy all his Country of *Picardy* with Fire and Sword; but the Duke, ſtricken with a *Panick* Fear, fled the faſter from him, and paſſing by *Amiens*, lodged himſelf and his Army at *Arras*. The Lord *Talbot*, enraged at this Cowardize, ſtaid Twenty Days in *Picardy*, burning Towns, ſlaying the People, and taking what Spoil and Priſoners he could, and ſo return'd to the Earl of *Warwick*, who highly extoll'd his Courage and Conduct.

Crotoi beſieged.

Crotoi relieved.

Lord *Talbot* challenges the Duke of *Burgundy* to a Fight.

A. D. 1438. About *Chriſtmas*, in this Year, King *Henry* cauſed a ſolemn Obit to be celebrated in St *Paul*'s Church in *London*, for that eminent and wiſe Prince *Sigiſmund*, the Emperor of *Germany*, who died a little before, and left the Empire to *Albert*, who had marry'd the only Daughter of the ſaid *Sigiſmund*.

An Obit for the Emperor *Sigiſmund*.

One *John Gardiner* burnt for Hereſie.

On *Eaſter*-Day, one *John Gardiner*, a Perſon that favoured the Doctrines of *Wickliff*, but yet conformed outwardly to the *Romiſh* Ceremonies, either out of Fear or Intereſt, was diſcovered to convey the Sacramental Bread from his Mouth, after he had received it from the Prieſt's Hands, in a foul Cloth, in St. *Mary Ax*'s Church in *London*. This Fact was obſerved with Abhorrence by all his fellow Communicants, and he being examined, was found to be an obſtinate Heretick, and was burnt in *Smithfield*, *May* 14. for his Crime. *A. D.* 1438. Reg. 16.

In the Spring of this Year, *Henry*, Earl of *Mortaigne*, Son to *Edmund*, Duke of *Somerſet*, ſail'd out of *England* with 400 Archers, and 300 Spears, and landed at *Cherburg* in *Normandy*, and paſſing through the Country of *Main*, he beſieged and took the Caſtle of St. *Anian*, putting the *Scotch* Garriſon of 300 Men to the Sword, and hanging up all the *French* Men he found in it, becauſe they had formerly taken an Oath of Fedelity to King *Henry*, and had falſified it. The Lord *Talbot* alſo, about the ſame Time, gat ſeveral other Places more thro' the Terror of his Name, than by his Sword; for *Longaville*, *Carles*, *Manville*, and many other Towns, yielded themſelves to him without any Reſiſtance. The Earl of *Mortaigne* further advanced his Succeſs, and took the Caſtle of *Algerche*, and the Lord *Camewis* in an Ambuſh, who came to the Relief of it; but the *Engliſh* were not the only Gainers, what they got in one Place, they loſt in Another; for *Montarges*, and *Cheroſie* ſubmitted themſelves to King *Charles*, and the Burgeſſes of *Meaux* and St. *Suſan*, in the Country of *Brie*, ſold and delivered thoſe Towns up to the *French* for Money; ſo that what Courage and Diligence got on the *Engliſh* Side, Treachery loſt them, for tho' they could ſubdue the *French*, they could never make them faithful, ſeldom continuing in Obedience longer than they were kept in Fear by the Sword, or other Force.

Earl of *Mortaigne* ſent into *France*.

French revolt.

The Unſeaſonableneſs of the Harveſt this Year, which was full of raging Winds and exceſſive Rains, cauſed ſuch a great Scarcity of Corn in *England* and *France*, that Wheat began at this time to be ſold at 2 *s.* 6 *d. per* Buſhel, and Malt at 18 *d.* and before the Year paſſed, increaſed ſo much in the Price, that the Poor underwent great Hardſhips, and were forced to make their Bread of Vetches, and Peaſe, and Beans, courſe Grains, with which before they uſually fed their Beaſts and Poultry; and in ſome Parts of the Nation they were ſo preſſed with Want of theſe courſer Grains, that they made Bread of Fern-Roots and Ivy-Berries. In the City of *London*, the Dearth was not ſo great as in the Country, thro' the Care and Vigilance of *Stephen Brown*, then Mayor, who [illegible]ing the great Danger the City was in, of ſuffering Famine, ſent ſeveral Ships into *Pruſſia* for Ry, which brought ſuch Quantities of that Grain into the City, that there was a Sufficiency of Bread with the pooreſt. Divers other lamentable Accidents attended this publick Calamity. On *Nov.* 25. there was ſuch a terrible Wind, that it did much Harm in many Places of the Nation, and particularly at *London*; it blew off the Leads of the *Grey-Friers* Church, and almoſt beat down a whole Side of a Street, called the *Old Exchange*; ſo that the Inhabitants were forced to underprop it with great Studs to keep it from falling. On *New-Years-Day* a great Stack of Wood fell down at *Bainard*'s Caſtle, and killed Three Men, many more being bruiſed and wounded dangerouſly. At *Bedford* alſo, upon the Day of the Aſſizes, there were Eighteen Perſons killed, and ſeveral more hurt, by the Fall of a Pair of Stairs. With theſe unlucky Events happen'd the Death of that uſeful and charitable Citizen Sir *Robert Chicheley*, Grocer,

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A Dearth in *England*.

Several unuſual Accidents

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cer, Brother to the Arch-Biſhop and twice Mayor of *London*, who by his laſt Will and Teſtament ordain'd, that on his *Mind-Day* a good and competent Dinner ſhould be provided for 2400 poor People of the Houſholders of the City of *London*, if ſo many could be found, and after Dinner every one ſhould have Two Pence given them, which in theſe Times was a bountiful Charity.

Sir *Roger Chicheley's* Charity.

The Duke of *Burgundy's* Project to drown *Callis.*

The Duke of *Burgundy*, who, after his ſhameful Retreat from *Crotoi*, ſtudied how to revenge himſelf upon the *Engliſh*, and recover his loſt Reputation, now ſent many Wood-Cleavers, Smiths and Pioneers, under the Conduct of 1600 Soldiers, to cut down the Sea-Banks about *Callis*, believing that by that means he ſhould drown the Town, and all the bordering Country; but the Event anſwered not Expectation, whereupon they turn'd to *Pont de Millay*, and pretended to lay Siege to it, but ſoon drew off their Forces, and return'd Home, ſeeking rather to find themſelves ſome fair Excuſe, than effect any thing. But tho' this Stratagem prov'd very fooliſh, the *French* had other Engines, which did them greater Service, and got them many Towns about this Time, which were, their Preferments and Money, large Promiſes and great Sums. Theſe Things prov'd ſo prevalent, as well with the *Engliſh* as *French*, in the *Engliſh* Garriſons, that no Place could withſtand them. Indeed, the *French* wanted Money, 'tis plain, in the Camp, inſomuch, that they ſpent their Time in plundering one another; but yet ſince Money made way ſo eaſily to King *Charles's* Deſign in regaining his Country, he choſe rather to want himſelf, than his Enemies ſhould. This Piece of Policy the *Engliſh* hardly knew how to prevent; but it being related to the Council of *England*, they ſent over the Earl of *Huntington* in *June*, with 2000 Archers, and 400 Spear-men, as a Supply to the Garriſons, and a freſh Recruit to the Army. At his coming he found the Earl of *Dunois* near *Thoulouſe*, where, partly by Rewards, and partly by fair Promiſes, he had won ſeveral Cities in *Guien*, beſides thoſe which *Rodrigo de Vellandras* had recover'd by like Policy, to attone for his late Diſobedience to his Maſter's Command to attend him. The Earl ſeeing this, put in freſh Garriſons in many of the Towns, yet in the *Engliſh* Hands, out of his own Forces, which he had brought out of *England*, and removed the old Garriſons to other Towns, where they were not acquainted. He diſplaced alſo the old Magiſtrates, and put in new ones, and ſo ſecured ſeveral of the remaining Towns, moſt of which had an itching Deſire to be fingering the *French* Money, and would have probably revolted to them, had not this Earl's coming and prudent Management prevented it. Nor had the ſame Methods a worſe Succeſs in *Normandy*, whither Sir *Richard Woodvile*, Sir *William Chamberlain* and Sir *William Peito* were ſent, with a Thouſand Men, upon the like Errand, who kept the wavering Towns by ſo doing, tho' they recover'd not what had revolted till the Diviſions among the *French* gave them this Opportunity.

The *Engliſh* remove their Garriſons to prevent Bribery.

Lewis the *Dauphin* rebels againſt his Father.

Lewis the *Dauphin*, a Prince of a very ambitious Spirit, young and hardy, being now arrived at the Sixteenth Year of his Age; and married, grew impatient to be under the Government of a Father, and reach'd at ſome Authority that might make him look like the Son of a King, which his Father, who was very ſuſpicious and jealous, being even from his Childhood exerciſed with the Perſecutions of his Mother, and the Enmity of the *Engliſh* and *Burgundians*, obſerving, treated him with a little more Severity than uſual, and kept him to a ſhorter Allowance, which much diſcontented him. The Nobles, who were not well pleaſed with King *Charles's* Carriage to them, becauſe he had always put moſt Confidence in the People, as being leſs able to hurt and damnifie him, laid hold of this Opportunity of incenſing the *Dauphin* againſt his Father, thereby to raiſe themſelves into greater Places and Truſt under him, if they ſhould prevail, and under his Father, if they came to an Agreement. The Chief of the Nobles, who were moſt active to ſtir up this Diſſention, were the Dukes of *Bourbon* and *Alenzon*, the Counts of *Vendoſme*, *Chabanes*, *Chaumont*, *Boveant* and *Prie*. Theſe told him, *That tho' his Duty to his Father was a great Obligation to Obedience and Submiſſion, yet ſince the Welfare of the Publick was the main Thing he ought to reſpect, as a Prince, the former ought not to tie him up from the Uſe of any proper Means to ſecure the latter: That 'tis evident his Father had been guilty of many Faults in his Government, as the Murther of the Duke of* Burgundy, *Contempt of his Nobles, and the like, which ought to be redreſs'd, and by none ſo fitly as himſelf, who was the next Perſon to the Crown: That thoſe who were at preſent in greateſt Authority about the King, perſwaded him daily to a Peace, which could not be effected, but with a great Loſs of his own Patrimony: That he had excluded them from his Favour and Truſt merely that he might Tyrannize the more ſecurely over the Kingdom, and keep the* Dauphin *under: That the King his Father had placed him at* Loches, *a remote and private Part of his Kingdom, that being far from the Court, and ignorant of Affairs, he might be led by them, who ruled as they liſt, contrary to his and the Kingdom's Intereſts: That a Reſolution to redreſs theſe Things could not be interpreted in him Diſobedience, but a noble Attempt to preſerve the whole State, as well his Father and himſelf, as his Subjects.* The *Dauphin* being of a contumacious Diſpoſition, preſently yielded to theſe Reaſons, and told them, *That he was ready to do whatever his Quality obliged him to, and if they would join their Power with his, would not be wanting to himſelf nor them.* The Lords having thus obtain'd their deſired Ends, take the *Dauphin* with them, and began to raiſe what Forces they could to oppoſe the King, reſolving never to lay down their Arms, till Diſorders were reform'd, the Authority of the Princes eſtabliſhed, and Men of Merit and Worth brought into Favour. The Lords endeavour'd all they could to bring the Duke of *Burgundy* over to their Party, but he not only denied them, but adviſed them to deſiſt from their Enterprize, which was unjuſt, dangerous and groundleſs. Then they ſent Men into the ſeveral Provinces of the Kingdom to gather up a Strength out of the Commons, but theſe alſo gave them no Encouragements, telling the Meſſenger, *That tho' they loved the* Dauphin *well, and were willing to ſerve him, yet they would not do it againſt his Father, nor in the Face of a common Enemy, who would make uſe of this Diviſion for the Deſtruction of all of them.* Theſe Diſappointments were unexpected, but yet the Nobles having gone too far in their Deſign to retreat honourably, proceeded as well as they could, and the Duke of *Alenzon* ſeiz'd on the Town of *Noyard*, and *John de la Roche* on *St. Maxence*. The Counts of *Chaumont*, *Bouciqualt* and *Prie* headed a great Number of Volunteers, Freebooters, and ſuch Rabble;

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Several Lords encourage and aſſiſt him.

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and the Duke of *Burbon* with a good Force had the Command and Guard of the *Dauphin*'s Perſon. The News of this Inſurrection of his Son, which was as Unreaſonable as Undutiful, was very ungrateful to King *Charles*; but knowing it the greateſt Wiſdom to cruſh ſuch Attempts in the Birth, he immediately ſent a Meſſenger to the Duke of *Bourbon* to deliver up his Son, and to the Duke of *Alenzon* to ſurrender his Towns of *Noyard* and *Maxence*, and both of them to come to him to give a Reaſon of their taking Arms; but they made ſome Excuſes, which tho' they did not amount to Denials, yet apparently diſcover'd their Deſigns to delay both. The King ſeeing their Obſtinacy reſolv'd to cruſh them by Force, and ſo march'd againſt them toward *Maxence* and *Noyard*, which immediately ſubmitted to the King all but the Caſtle, which was beſieged and taken by the King's Forces, and the Commanders hang'd. The other Towns that follow'd the *Dauphin*'s Party, came into the King, and left the Lords deſtitute of all Aſſiſtance, inſomuch that they wore forced to humble themſelves to him, who ſent the Earl of *Eu* to offer them Terms of Reconciliation, and ſo they met the King at *Clermont*, and after begging Forgiveneſs they were reconcil'd and all pardon'd, except *Trimouille*, *Chaumont* and *Pry*: The *Dauphin* ſtood much upon their Pardon at firſt, and told his Father, *That he would not accept of his own, unleſs they had theirs, becauſe he had engaged his Word and Honour for their Safety*; but when King *Charles* ſaid briskly to his Son, *That he had free leave to depart, he valued not his Enmity, he ſhould find enow to defend his Right*, *Lewis* ſubmitted to his Pleaſure, and the three Lords were left out: And ſo all Things were accorded between King *Charles* and his Son: But while this Diſturbance laſted, which was almoſt all this Summer, the *Engliſh* had a good Opportunity of recovering their Loſſes, which they ſo well made uſe of, that they regain'd the greateſt part of them, and were preparing to attempt *Paris* it ſelf, but the unexpected Agreement of the *French* King and his Son put an End to thoſe Deſigns, and confin'd their Thoughts to preſerve what they had gotten, rather than win more.

K. Charles ſends for the Dauphin.

The Rebels Pardon'd upon their Submiſſion.

The Dauphin ſubmits.

Grecians ſubſcribe to the Remiſh Doctrines at Florence.

While *France* was thus buſied in compoſing Things, another Difference tho' not of like Nature ſeem'd to be adjuſted; for Pope *Eugenius* at the Council of *Florence* perſwaded the Emperour and Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, with the reſt of the *Grecians* there preſent, to receive and ſubſcribe to the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome* concerning the Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt from the Son, receiving the Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt in unleaven'd Bread, Purgatory and the Supremacy of the Biſhop of *Rome*. But this Act of theirs was ſo highly Offenſive to the *Grecian*-Churches when they heard of it, that they publickly declared their Diſſent to this Subſcription, and with a publick Execration condemn'd all the Legates that had aſſented to them, and would not permit them to be buried with Chriſtian Burial.

Reg. 18.

A great Froſt by which the Engliſh recover'd Pontoiſe.

In *November* this Year began a Froſt, which held with ſuch Violence, that it froze all Ditches ſo hard, that they were paſſable, and being follow'd with a deep Snow made them almoſt indiſcernible from the Ground. This Weather put the *Engliſh* upon a Stratagem to recover *Pontoiſe* by Surprize, which the *French* King had lately got from them by Money, becauſe the chief Strength of the Place lying in the deep Ditches about it, the Froſt had made them Unſerviceable; they therefore covering their Armour with their White Shirts, and their Head-pieces with White Caps, paſſed over the Ice undiſover'd by Night, and Scaling the Walls ſlew the Watch ſleeping, and took the Town with many Priſoners of Worth and great Spoil, to the great Diſſatisfaction of the People of *Paris*, who were much damag'd by the Loſs of it. The Two Captains of the Town and Caſtle, *John de Villers*, and one *Narabon* a *Burgundian* Knight eſcaped, tho' hardly, but the treacherous Burgeſſes fell into their Hands, and ſuffer'd their deſerv'd Puniſhment. *John* Lord *Clifford* was the Leader of the *Engliſh* in this brave Attempt, and being Maſter of the Town was made the Governour of it, to defend it with the ſame Valour he had taken it.

A. D. 1439. Reg 18.

On the Morrow after St. *Martin*, *November* the 12th the King ſummon'd his Parliament to meet at *Weſtminſter*, where ſeveral Things of great Benefit to the Nation were enacted.

Ninth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes

1. That Cheeſe and Butter may be carry'd out of the Kingdom without Licenſe.

2. That Merchants Strangers ſhall not ſell their Merchandizes one to another in *England*, but that every ſuch Merchant ſhall have an Hoſt or Surveyor appointed him at his Landing by the chief Officer of the Town or Place where he ſhall Land, who ſhall keep a Regiſter of all he buys and ſells, and take Two Pence in the Pound of him for all Merchandize by him bought or ſold, and the ſaid Merchants ſhall ſell and buy all within eight Months.

3. That all Perſons made Juſtices of the Peace ſhall have Lands or Tenements to the Value of twenty Pound a Year, except in Cities and Corporations.

4. That no Captain ſhall detain the Wages of the common Soldiers, except it be for their Clothing.

5. That every Perſon muſtering and receiving the King's Wages, who ſhall depart from their Captains and the King's Service, without apparent Licenſe granted them by the ſaid Captains, ſhall be puniſh'd as Felons: With ſome others of leſs Importance.

It ſeems, that the King had by this Parliament a Fifteenth or a Diſme granted him for the Neceſſity of the State, becauſe there is an Act made for the regular Collections of Fifteens and Diſmes within the Cities and Boroughs of this Realm; and beſides it was enacted, That every Houſholder that is an Alien ſhall pay the King thirteen Pence a Year, and every Servant Alien ſix Pence.

A. D. 1440.

Earl of Warwick dies.

Soon after the taking of *Pontoiſe* by the *Engliſh* the Earl of *Warwick* Regent of *France* fell ſick, and in *April* following dy'd in the Caſtle of *Roan* in *Normandy*. His Corps was kept there till *October* following, when it was carry'd over into *England*, and honourably interred in his College of our Lady Church at *Warwick*, built by his Noble Anceſtors, in a fair and ſumptuous Tomb. He left only two Children, *Henry*, who after him was Duke of *Warwick*, and *Ann*, who was marry'd to *Richard Nevill*, Earl of *Salisbury*. *Henry* lived ſome Years, but dying without Iſſue, his Honour deſcended to his Siſter, in whoſe Right the Earl of *Salisbury* became Earl of *Warwick*. The Duke of *York*, *Richard Plantagenet* ſucceeded him in his Government in *France*, being made Deputy there a ſecond Time. He was more ſpeedy in going over into *France* this Time than before; for being accompany'd with the Earl of *Oxford*, Lord *Bourchier*, call'd Earl of *Eu*, Sir *James Ormond*, the Lord *Clinton*, and divers other Noblemen, paſſed into *Normandy* in a few Weeks after

Duke of York ſucceeds him in the Regency of France.

A. D. 1440. Reg. 18.

after the Earl *Warwick*'s Death. His Arrival was as ſeaſonable as it was ſpeedy. The *French* had made uſe of this Interval in the Government to fall upon the *Engliſh* Conqueſts in *France*; for the *Pariſians*, to whom the Loſs of *Pontoiſe* was very inconvenient, raiſed a great Sum of Money to enable King *Charles* to beſiege it, and endeavour the Recovery of it, which he accordingly did, carrying along with him 1200 Old Soldiers, and the greateſt part of the Nobles and Princes of *France* with a great Army. The *French* began the Siege with great Fury, encompaſſing the Town with Baſtiles, Trenches and Ditches, battering its Walls with their great Ordinance, and giving it many fierce Aſſaults. The Lord *Clifford* who was Captain of it defended it with ſo much Valour, that the *French* Men rather loſt than won, tho' it was impoſſible he could hold out long againſt ſo great an Army without Succour. The Duke of *York* immediately upon his Landing receiv'd the News of the Condition of *Pontoiſe*, and ſent to the Lord *Talbot* to come to him, and bring all the Forces he could get together for the Relief of it. *Talbot* was as zealous to obey, as the Duke was to command; and having aſſembled a ſtrong Body of Men to join the Duke, they marched to *Pontoiſe* and challenged the *French* King to come out of his Trenches to give them Battle. *Charles* by the Advice of his Council refuſed it, and thought himſelf ſecure from any Attempts of the *Engliſh*, becauſe the River *Oiſe* was between them; but the Duke of *York*, who came provided with Boats, Cordage, Timber, and Planks, by the Uſe of them gained a Paſſage over the River, and reſolv'd to attack King *Charles* in his Trenches. The News of this being carry'd to the *French* King ſurpriz'd him with Wonder and Fear at once, and that he might eſcape the Danger, he raiſed his Camp that Night and withdrew to *Poiſy*, leaving the Lord *Cotignie* with 3000 Men to defend the Baſtile. The Duke of *York* and the *Engliſh* Army were not ſenſible of the *French* King's Retreat, ſo marching up in Order towards the Camp found no Enemy, but only their Tents and heavy Baggage, which they ſeiz'd on as Prey. The Duke then entred the Town, and having repaired the Walls and ſtored it with Victuals, put in Sir *Gervis Clifton* and Sir *Nicholas Burdet* with a Garriſon of 1000 Soldiers, and went to offer the *French* King Battle at *Poiſy*; but not being able to draw him into the Field, he after ſome ſmall Skirmiſhes diſlodged his Army and return'd to *Roan*.

Pontoiſe beſieged by the *French* King.

Duke of *York* raiſes the Seige.

About the Time that *Richard*, Duke of *York*, went to his Government in *France*, viz. on *June* the 17th, a certain Prieſt named *Richard Wiche*, Miniſter of *Hermetſworth* in *Eſſex*, who had been before convicted of Hereſie and abjured, was found guilty of a Relapſe, and being degraded from his Prieſtly Dignity was burnt as an incorrigible Heretick on *Tower-hill*. Before his Death he had foretold, *That the Poſtern-gate of the* Tower *ſhould ſink into the Ground*, which accordingly coming to paſs upon the 18th Day of *July* following, when the ſaid Gate ſunk in the Night more than ſeven Foot into the Earth, it added ſo much to the Opinion, that many had of him, after his Death, that he was a good Man, and burnt out of Malice, that many Men and Women went by Night to the Place where he was murther'd, and offer'd many Images of Wax and other Things according to the Superſtition of thoſe Times, making their Prayers to him, kiſſing the Ground where he ſuffer'd, and carrying away the Aſhes of his Body as a ſacred Relique. This blind Devotion being obſerved by the Vicar of *Barking*, in whoſe Pariſh this Burning happen'd, he to increaſe their ſuperſtitious Adoration mingled Spices with the Duſt of the Body and Aſhes, that they might believe the Fragrancy to proceed from the Holineſs of the Sufferer, which ſo deceived the People, that they raiſed a great heap of Stones in the Place, and erected a Croſs, and many went on Pilgrimage to it, to the great enriching of the Vicar of *Barking*, who received the Offerings of the People. The Churchmen, who were much blam'd for putting to Death ſo holy a Man, were much offended at this Action of the People, and made their Complaints to the King, that it was a great Slander to the Church to have Worſhip paid to him; whereupon the King put out a * Proclamation to the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex*, commanding them to hinder and forbid all Perſons reſorting to the Place of the Execution of the ſaid *Richard Wiche* under Colour of Pilgrimage, or any other pretence of Devotion or worſhipping him publickly or privately as a Saint, under the Pain of being taken and reputed for Hereticks and puniſh'd as ſuch. Upon this Order from the King and his Council, the Mayor and Aldermen of *London* ſet armed Men about the Place where he was burnt, to reſtrain the People from coming, who apprehending ſome (among whom was the Vicar of *Barking*) and committing them to Priſon, ſo deterred all others, that in a ſhort Time they left off their Pilgrimages and Devotion to him, which appear'd the more ridiculous to all, becauſe the Vicar of *Barking* confeſſed the Deluſion, that for his own Gain he had put upon them.

Richard Wiche burnt on *Tower-hill* for Hereſie.

A. D. 1440. Reg. 18.

The Vicar of *Barking* cheats the People.

* *Cop. in* Fox *Act. and Mon.* p. 644.

Reg. 19.

When the Regent and the Lord *Talbot* were return'd into *Normandy*, *Charles* the *French* King ſeeing that he had extreamly ſuffer'd in his Reputation, eſpecially among the *Pariſians* for leaving *Pontoiſe* in the Hands of the Enemy, again aſſembled his Army, and return'd to it, reſolv'd either to take it or die in the Enterprize. He divided his Forces into Three Parts, of which Two were under the Command of himſelf and the *Dauphin* his Son, and aſſaulted the Town in eight Places: By the firſt Aſſault he got the Church, and ſoon after the whole Town, but with ſo great Loſs of his Men, that it could be reckon'd little or no Gain; for the *Engliſh* reſolving to die with their Swords in their Hands were moſt of them ſlain, but ſold their Lives very dearly, for they ſlew above 3000 *French*. The Commander of the Town Sir *Gervis Clifton* was taken Priſoner, and ſome few of the Soldiers, who were ſent to the Caſtle of *Corbeil*, but Sir *Nicholas Burdet* was ſlain. *Corbeil*, *Melune* and *Eureux* were ſoon after taken by the *French*; it being uſual for the ſmaller Towns to follow the Fate of a Chief Garriſon.

K. *Charles* returns again to beſiege *Pontoiſe*.

The *Engliſh* Priſoners in *Corbeil*-Caſtle being impatient under their Reſtraint, racked their Invention to find out Ways for their Deliverance; and becauſe they thought Intereſt would be the moſt tempting Argument, they petition'd the Captain that one of them might be ſet at Liberty to go among their rich Friends and ſollicit them to pay a Ranſom for them. The Captain eaſily conſented to the Propoſal, and releaſed one of them inſtantly; but he according to their Agreement went to the Governour of the next *Engliſh* Garriſon, who was an *Arragonian*, placed there by the Duke of *York*, and told him, *That the Caſtle of* Corbeil *was ſlenderly Mann'd, and might with no great*

Engliſh Priſoner at *Corbeil* Caſtle eſcape.

A. D. 1440. Reg. 19.

Force be won. The Governour gladly embraced the Diſcovery; and having placed an Ambuſh in the Night, ſent four Men the next Morning with Sacks full of Fruit to the Caſtle to ſell them to the *French*. Theſe Men ſpeaking *French* were not ſuſpected of any Deſign, but let in to ſell their Fruits, the Gates being careleſsly left open in the mean time. Theſe Soldiers gave Notice to the Ambuſh by a Sign already agreed on, and they immediately forcing themſelves an Entrance eaſily got the Caſtle into their Power, the Captain and many of the Soldiers not being out of their Beds. The *Engliſh* Priſoners they ſet free, and the *French* they carried Priſoners to *Roan*, taking all the Spoil of the Caſtle to themſelves, and leaving enow to ſecure it till an *Engliſh* Garriſon could be put in.

A. D. 1441.

A Peace endeavour'd at *Calais* but not concluded

Notwithſtanding the former Warlike Enterprizes on both ſides, there were ſome Overtures of Peace made, and at length accepted, for all Parties were almoſt weary of the War. Some Propoſitions as to Time and Place had been made the laſt Year, which being agreed upon to be at *Calais* (for the *Engliſh* would not conſent to any other Place.) In the Beginning of this Spring Deputies met there on both Sides. For King *Henry* appeared, the Cardinals of *York* and *Wincheſter*, the Duke of *Exeter* (o), and ſeveral other Noble Perſonages, bringing with them *Charles*, Duke of *Orleans*, who had been twenty five Years a Priſoner in *England*, that he might be a means to ſettle a Peace, and procure his own Deliverance. The *French* King ſent the Archbiſhop of *Rheims* and *Narbonne*, and the Earl of *Dunois*, a Baſtard of *Orleans*, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Lord *de Crevecœur*, and ſome others. Many Days were ſpent in finding out means for an Accommodation, and divers Propoſals made. The *Engliſh* were to be ſatisfied chiefly, but their Demands were thought ſo unreaſonable as they could in no wiſe be granted. Three Things they chiefly inſiſted upon, *viz.*

I. That they ſhould hold the two Dutchies of *Aquitain* and *Normandy* diſcharg'd of all Superiority and Soveraignty from the Realm of *France*, and the Governours of the ſame.

II. That they ſhould be reſtored to all the Towns, Cities and Places, which they within thirty Years laſt paſt had conquer'd, or otherwiſe taken in any part of the Realm of *France*.

III. That in whatever part of *France* the ſaid Towns lay, they ſhould hold them without any Dependancy upon the King of *France*.

The Firſt of theſe was eaſily granted by the *French* Commiſſioners, but the other Two were ſo unreaſonable, that it was impoſſible they ſhould accord to them, becauſe King *Charles* was reſolv'd to reſtore nothing that he had recover'd from the *Engliſh*, nor would quit that Soveraign Power over any part of *France*, that his Predeceſſors had without any Interruption long enjoy'd, ſo that nothing was concluded: Yet this Meeting broke up very civilly with Promiſes, that they would certifie their Maſters on both Sides, and try what might be done at a Second Meeting, which they then appointed in the ſame place. After theſe Matters of publick Concern were ended, the Freedom of the Duke of *Orleans* was next treated on, and it was agreed, That he ſhould be releaſed from his Captivity for 400000 Crowns; but becauſe the Money was not ready, and the *Engliſh* would not depend upon Promiſes, he was ſtill kept Priſoner till the Money could be provided. The Reaſons why the *Engliſh* detain'd him ſo long a Priſoner was partly to oblige the Duke of *Burgundy*, and partly to weaken the *French* King's Intereſts, but now the Duke had revolted from *England*, it was thought a greater Advantage to releaſe him (eſpecially for a good Ranſom which might ſupply the Wants of the State in ſome Meaſure) than to keep him, becauſe the Enmity, which he had to the Duke of *Burgundy*, might do greater Service to the *Engliſh* Affairs. This Reaſon mov'd the *Engliſh* to offer his Redemption. The Duke of *Burgundy* was not inſenſible of the Conſequences of the Duke of *Orleans*'s Freedom, which certainly would produce bad Effects to him if not timely prevented. He ſaw his Friends active to get his Releaſe, and could not think 'twould be long e're it would be effected. Wherefore that he might lay an Obligation upon him to forget all Grudges, he ſhew'd a great Zeal for him; and having obtain'd a Promiſe of him to marry the Lady *Mary*, Daughter of *Adolph*, Duke of *Cleve*, he himſelf paid down the whole Sum for his Ranſom, and ſo he was deliver'd, and a perfect Amity concluded by the Marriage between 'em, tho' it did not laſt long, as the Hiſtory of the following Times will ſhew.

A. D. 1441. Reg. 19.

Duke of *Burgundy* pays his Ranſom.

How much Greatneſs expoſes to Malice and Envy, now began to appear in the Caſe of *Humphrey*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, who tho' a wiſe and cautious Prince, yet could not eſcape the Malice of thoſe who ſought his Ruin. They began with his Lady firſt, and having apprehended her with four Perſons, whom they call'd her Accomplices and Confederates, *viz. Tho. Southwell*, Canon of St. *Steven*'s Church in *Wincheſter*, *John Hume*, Chaplain to the Dutcheſs, *Roger Only*, alias *Bullingbrooke* a Prieſt, a Man very expert in the Art of *Necromancy*, and *Margery Gourdmain*, commonly call'd the *Witch of Eye*, near *Wincheſter*, charg'd her with High-Treaſon; *For that ſhe the ſaid* Eleanor, *Lady* Cobham, *Dutcheſs of* Glouceſter *to bring her Huſband to the Crown, had procured and contrived with the ſaid Perſons to make an Image of Wax like unto the King; which Image they dealt ſo with by their deviliſh Incantations and Sorceries, that as the Image conſum'd by little and little, the King's Perſon ſhould ſo daily decay, till he was brought to his End. Roger Bullingbrooke* being examin'd before the King's Council own'd, That he had by the Procurement of the ſaid Dutcheſs wrought by Necromancy to know what ſhould befal her, and to what Eſtate ſhe ſhould come; and *Margery Gourdman* confeſſed, That ſhe had preſcrib'd ſome Love-Potions for the ſaid Lady to make the Duke of *Glouceſter* love her, which alſo the Dutcheſs her ſelf did not deny, but ſhe deny'd the Treaſon which was laid to their Charge, and for which they were all condemned, though only *Roger Bullingbrooke* was hanged drawn and quarter'd, and *Margery* burnt: The ſaid *Roger* at his Death affirming his Innocency to the laſt. The Dutcheſs only did Penance by walking through *Fleet-ſtreet* Hoodleſs with a Taper in her Hand of two Pound Weight, which ſhe offer'd at the High-Altar in St. *Paul*'s Church, and then was ſent to the Caſtle of *Cheſter*, where ſhe remain'd a Priſoner under Sir *Thomas Stanley* all her Life. Mr. *Fox* endeavours to ſhew, that the Dutcheſs was thus accu-

The Dutcheſs of *Glouceſter* accuſed of High-Treaſon.

Duke of *Orleans* releaſed.

(o) *John* Earl of *Huntington*, he was not created Duke of *Exeter* till Three Years after, *Anno* 1444. *Holin.* pag. 624.

ſed,

A. D. 1441. Reg. 19. Reg. 20.

fed, becauſe ſhe favoured the *Lollards*, *Acts and Monuments*, *pag.* 646.

In the Beginning of this Twentieth Year of the King, *Richard*, Duke of *York* Regent of *France* and Governour of *Normandy*, as if he thought to compleat the Conqueſt of *France*, determin'd to invade the Enemy's Country by ſundry Armies, and in ſundry Places, and thereupon without Delay ſent the Lord *Willoughby* to ravage and deſtroy the Country of *Amiens*, *John*, Lord *Talbot* to beſiege the Town of *Deipe*, and the Regent himſelf accompany'd with *Edmund*, Duke of *Somerſet* went into the Dutchy of *Anjou*. The Lord *Willoughby* according to his Commiſſion ſuddenly entred the Enemy's Country, and took many Priſoners before they could get into any Place of Defence. The *French* in the adjoyning Garriſons being amaz'd with the Cries of the People ſally'd out in good Order, and courageouſly fought with the *Engliſh* for their Relief, but being over-power'd by the *Engliſh*, who ſlew them without Mercy, they gave Ground and retreated into their Towns, leaving their Country to be pillag'd by the Enemy, and the Forces of the Earl of St. *Paul*, who came in to their Aid juſt upon the Flight of the *French*. In this Conflict the *Engliſh* ſlew about 600, and took a great Number of Priſoners, with which they retreated into *Normandy*. In the mean time the Dukes of *York* and *Somerſet* acted their Parts in *Anjou* and *Main* with the like or greater Succeſs, for they deſtroy'd the Towns, robb'd and plunder'd the People, and meeting with no Oppoſition return'd loaden with Prey and Priſoners as they pleaſed. The Duke of *Somerſet* alſo to give further Proof of his Valour entred into the *Marches* of *Brittain* and took the Town of *La Perche* by fierce Aſſault, ſpoiling and burning the adjoyning Country: From thence he march'd to *Ponzay*, where for two Months together he ſent out Parties to plunder and deſtroy the Countries *Traonnois* and *Chatragonnois*. The *French* King much diſturb'd with theſe Inſolencies of the *Engliſh*, ſent out the Marſhal *Loiach* with 4000 Men to put a ſtop to the Invaſions of the Duke's Men, and guard the Country, who ſuddenly entring in the Night thought to have ſet upon the Duke in his Lodgings and take him; but the Duke like a politick Captain had Intelligence of his firſt Appearance, and wiſely foreſeeing the Danger approaching march'd toward the *French* and met them half way, who not being able with Honour to retreat joyn'd Battle with him. The Fight was maintain'd a while well on both ſides, but at length the *Engliſh* got the better, and routed the *French*, ſlaying an Hundred of the Marſhal's Men, and taking Threeſcore and Two Priſoners, of which the chief were the Lord of *Dauſignie*, and Sir *Lewis Buell*, the reſt were moſt of them Eſquires and Gentlemen. After this Victory the Duke of *Somerſet* went forward and took the Town of *Beaumont Le Viſcount*, and having well mann'd and provided all the Caſtles and Forts, which were in thoſe Parts on the Frontiers of the Enemy, he return'd with his Spoil and Priſoners to the Duke of *York*.

Duke of *York* attempts to conquer *France*.

Duke of *Somerſet* takes ſeveral Places.

Talbot beſieges *Deipe* in *Normandy*.

The Lord *Talbot*, whoſe invincible Courage made the moſt dangerous and daring Attempts to be allotted him, was all this while diligently employ'd about the Siege of *Deipe*, to which he had made his Acceſs by ſubduing the adjacent Places of Strength. When he came to the Town to beſiege it, he caſt up Trenches about it, and raiſed a Fort or Baſtile upon the Hill *Pawlett*, which ſtood ſo conveniently, that he could with his Ordinance annoy both the Town and Haven at once. Having thus prepared Things for an Attack, he found that the Town was ſo ſtrongly defended, that it would take up more Men and Time than was at firſt expected, and thereupon thought it convenient to get a Recruit both of Men, Proviſion and Ammunition from *Roan* before he proceeded in it, and to that End leaving the Conduct of the Siege to his Baſtard Son, he went to *Roan* to provide all Things neceſſary for taking of it. The *French* King, who was as much concern'd to reſcue *Deipe*, as the *Engliſh* were deſirous to get it, being advertiſed of *Talbot*'s Departure ſent an Army of 15000 Men under the Command of his Son *Lewis* the *Dauphin*, aſſiſted by the Baſtard of *Orleans* and Biſhop of *Avignon* to relieve it. The Count of St. *Paul*, who being ſorely vexed by the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Forces, which took away from him his Towns and Caſtles, was oblig'd to go over to the *French* Intereſts, attended the *Dauphin* in this Expedition with divers other of the *French* Nobility. After they had entred the City and prepared ſix Bridges running on Wheels, and other Things neceſſary to attack the Fort; they began with it, but the *Engliſh* defended themſelves ſo valiantly, and with ſo great Loſs to the *French*, that had not the *Dauphin* himſelf in Perſon gave them an Example of undaunted Valour, the *French* would have left it, but being led by him, they overcame all Difficulties, and tho' with much Loſs gain'd it. The Baſtard of *Talbot* was taken Priſoner, with Sir *William Paiton*, and Sir *John Repply*, but were ſhortly after redeem'd. Three Hundred *Engliſh* were kill'd, and above double the Number of *French* dy'd with them. The reſt of the *Engliſh* were taken Priſoners, and the *French* in the *Engliſh* Service were all hanged. The *Dauphin* after this Victory rewarded the Conſtancy of the Inhabitants of *Deipe* with ſeveral large Immunities and Priviledges, which were confirm'd to them by the ſucceeding Kings, and left Monſieur *de Marrets* Governour of the Town, becauſe he had behav'd himſelf ſo valiantly in it, and ſo departed.

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The *Dauphin* raiſes the Siege of *Deipe*.

The Activity of the *Engliſh* in *Normandy*, and the bordering Provinces againſt the *French* was a Spur to the Earl of *Huntington*, who was Lieutenant to King *Henry* in the Dutchies of *Aquitain* and *Guyenne* (*p*) to attempt ſomething of equal Importance to the *Engliſh*, as the Lord *Talbot* had at *Deipe*, and to that End ſent his Captains into *Guyenne* to beſiege the ſtrong Town of *Tartas* belonging to the Lord *D' Albret*, the old Enemy of the *Engliſh*. The Inhabitants and Garriſon ſeeing the *Engliſh* Army approach the Town were loth to hazzard themſelves in vain; and having taken a full View of the Strength of the Enemy fain'd that they were not able to defend themſelves long, and therefore before they came to make any Aſſaults agreed, that they would ſurrender it up to them, if it were not reliev'd before St. *John*'s Day, and gave them Monſieur *D' Albret*'s Eldeſt Son for an Hoſtage for the true Performance of their Agreement; but becauſe Monſieur *D' Albret* himſelf was not preſent, and being Lord of the Town, it was reaſonable his Concurrence ſhould be had, it was reſerv'd, that if Monſier *D' Albret* did not approve of their Agreement, he ſhould ſignifie it to the Earl of *Huntington*, and the Pledge ſhould be return'd, and the *Engliſh* do their beſt. This Condition

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The Earl of *Huntington* beſieges *Tartas*.

(*p*) *Aquitain* and *Guyenne* are the ſame, the former being the Ancient Name of the Province, and the latter the Modern.

left

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left the *French* at Liberty, and gave them Time to raiſe the Siege, which the Lords of *Guienne* thus improved. They ſent firſt to the *French* King, to beg of him to gather his Army together to raiſe the Siege of *Tartas*, which he eaſily granted, and having aſſembled an Army of 60000 Men, they cauſed the Lord *De la Bret* to ſignifie his diſſent to the Agreement, which the Garriſon and Town had made with the *Engliſh*, to the Earl of *Huntington*, and take the Lord's Son back from them. The *Engliſh* ſuſpected not the Deſign, but intended to go on in their Siege, but the *French* King lying ready with his Army to prevent the Effect, before they could bring Things into order for an Aſſault, the *French* Army appeared, and the *Engliſh* unable to encounter them, raiſed the Siege and departed. The *French* Forces being almoſt irreſiſtible at the preſent, made uſe of the Advantage, and proceeded to beſiege and take ſeveral *Engliſh* Garriſons, as St. *Selerine*, which they gained by Force, and ſlew 300 *Engliſh*, taking Sir *Thomas Rampſtone* Governour of it Priſoner; the City of *Arques*, which after the Bulwark was taken by Force, yielded the Town by Compoſition, and the Captain of it, the Lord *Monferrat*, departed with his Garriſon to *Burdeaux*, where he found the Earl of *Longville*, Captain *De Beuſe*, and Sir *Thomas Rampſtone*, who was lately releaſed; *Riolle*, a City ſeated upon the River *Gyronne*, Seven Leagues diſtant from *Burdeaux* and *Mermandie*, which both yielded to them without Oppoſition: But the *Engliſh* in the mean time, tho' they dare not oppoſe them, yet ſo beſtirred themſelves, and ſtopped all ways of their Foraging, and other Supplies of Proviſion, that they were forced to withdraw and march up into *France* for better Quarters. The *Engliſh* ſoon after their Departure, recovered St. *Selerine*, *Arques*, and ſeveral other Towns from the *French*, taking their Lieutenant *Reginald Guilliam*, a *Burgundian*, Priſoner, with many other Gentlemen, and ſlaying all the Common Soldiers; but Count *de Fois* regain'd St. *Selerine* from them. While theſe Things paſſed in *Guienne*, the Lord *Talbot*, whom Fortune's Frowns could never daunt, took the Town of *Conchet*, and hearing that *Galliardon* was beſieged by the Baſtard of *Orleance*, haſted with all ſpeed to the Relief of that Place, which the very Report of his Approach effected; for the Baſtard immediately withdrew upon the News of his coming, and *Talbot* poſſeſſed himſelf of it, but finding that it would be almoſt impoſſible to keep it, partly thro' the Inconſtancy of the Inhabitants, and partly becauſe it ſtood ſo much expoſed to the Incurſions of the *French*, he demoliſhed it to the Ground, and ſo left it.

French raiſe the Siege

The *French* take ſeveral *Engliſh* Garriſons,

The Lord *Talbot* takes *Conchet*, &c.

Richard Beauchamp, Earl of *Warwick*, dying in *France*, his Honours and Eſtate, by the Cuſtom of the Realm was to have deſcended to his only Son and Heir *Henry*; but he being abſent in *France* with his Father, his Eſtate was ſeiz'd on by the King, and kept Two Years from him, the Revenues of it being employ'd for the King's Uſe. What were the Cauſes of it, we find not; but whatever they were, the Conſideration of his Father's Merit, and the natural Juſtice of the King, were ſuch Motives for his Reſtoration to his Right, that, as if the King had deſign'd to repay all that he had taken from him at once, he not only gave him all his Eſtate again, but received him into his ſpecial Favour, nominating him the firſt Earl of *England*, and making him King of the *Iſle of Wight*, crown'd him with his own Hands.

The Earl of *Warwick*'s Eſtate ſeized and reſtored.

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Duke of *Glouceſter* accuſes the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

The Duke of *Glouceſter*, provoked by the intolerable Height and Pride of Cardinal *Beaufford*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who out of Hatred to him, had lately inſtigated, as was generally thought, certain Perſons to accuſe and proſecute his Dutcheſs for Treaſon, Witchcraft, and many other notorious Crimes, to his great Diſgrace and Shame, made a ſtrict Reflection upon the Cardinal's Carriage for many Years paſt, and finding him to have done many Things derogatory and prejudicial to the King's Prerogative Royal, he digeſted them into 24 Articles, and preſented them to the King, deſiring that Judgment might be given upon him according to his Crimes. The chief Things alledged againſt him in the ſaid Articles were;

I. That the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* had not only taken upon himſelf the Dignity and Title of a Cardinal, contrary to the expreſs Command of King *Henry* the Fifth, and in Derogation to the Church of *Canterbury*: But,

II. Having forfeited his Biſhoprick thereby by the Act of Proviſions, he had procured a Bull from the Pope to ſecure his Biſhoprick ſtill to him, contrary to the Laws of the Realm, which made it a Premunire ſo to do.

III. That the ſaid Cardinal, with *John Kemp*, Archbiſhop of *York*, had aſſumed the Government of the King's Perſon and the Realm, which no Subject could do without a Treaſonable Uſurpation.

IV. That the ſaid Biſhop had defrauded the King of his Jewels.

V. That being Chancellor of *England*, he had againſt Law ſet at Liberty the King of *Scots*, and forgiven him part of his Ranſome upon Condition the ſaid King ſhould marry his Niece.

VI. That the ſaid Biſhop had defrauded the King by Taking the Cuſtoms of Wools, and other Merchandizes at the Port of *Hampton*.

VII. That notwithſtanding the ſaid Cardinal neither hath nor can have any Title to the Crown, yet he preſumeth to take upon him Royal Dignity, in ſummoning and calling Perſons before him in Derogation of the King's Authority, being without his Permiſſion or Command.

VIII. That the ſaid Cardinal had obtained a pardon from *Rome*, to exempt his Dioceſs from paying of Tenths to the State, and ſo had given both an ill Example to the other Biſhops to do the like, and laid the whole Burden upon the Laity, to the great Diſcontent of the Kingdom.

IX. That the ſaid Cardinal had been a Means of Uniting the *French* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, and this latter with the Duke of *Orleance*, to the great Damage of the Realm, and Benefit of our Adverſaries the *French*.

X. That the ſaid Cardinal, after Communication had with our Enemies, ſent the Archbiſhop of *York* to the King, to perſwade him to leave his Right and Title to the Crown and Kingdom of *France* for certain Years, and be content to write himſelf, *Rex Angliæ, &c.* to the great Diſgrace of the King and his Progenitors.

XI. That the Releaſe of the Duke of *Orleance* was brought to paſs only by the Mediation and Procurement of the ſaid Cardinal and Duke of *York*, contrary to the Will of King *Henry* the Fifth.

XII. That being their Chancellor, he had inſtead of Promoting the Good of the King, bought his Lands and Mannors of him.

XIII. That

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XIII. That the ſaid Cardinal by ſending ſuch Captains and Soldiers into *France* as he thought fit, hath been the Cauſe that ſo much of *Normandy* and other Parts are loſt.

XIV. That the Cardinal hath ſold Places of Captains and other Officers for Money in *France*, whereby unfit Perſons have been put into the Army, to the Loſs of the King's Dominions there.

Theſe Articles with ſome others of leſs Importance, the Duke tender'd to the King himſelf, deſiring in the Two laſt, that the King would put the ſaid Cardinal out of his Council to anſwer the ſaid Articles alledged againſt him, and that Perſons aggrieved may freely utter their Complaints. The King hearing theſe Accuſations againſt the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, ordered, that they ſhould be looked into, and examined by the Lords of his Council, of whom the greateſt Part being Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, they not only were favourable to him, but fearing they ſhould diſoblige him, delayed the Examination and Judgment ſo long, that the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who was always rather paſſionate than revengeful, letting fall the Proſecution, as weary of it, the Biſhop eſcaped, and the Matter was huſhed up, as tho' the Crimes alledged had been inconſiderable, and not worth regarding; ſo that indeed the good Duke got nothing by this Attempt, but made the Cardinal a worſe Enemy than ever, which tho' he diſſembled, yet he ſo cunningly managed, that in the end he wrought his Deſtruction, as will after more plainly appear.

Biſhop of *Wincheſter* cleared.

A Fray in *Fleet-ſtreet.*

Alſo in *Auguſt*, this Year, happened a notable Quarrel in *Fleetſtreet*, between the Students of the Inns of Court, and the Inhabitants of the ſaid Street, occaſioned by one of *Clifford*'s *Inn*, named *Harbottle*. It began in the Night, and laſted till the next Day with great Fury and Fierceneſs on both Sides, ſeveral Perſons were hurt and ſlain, but the Mayor and Sheriffs having received the News of it, went with a good Force, and appeaſed the Fray, which by Party-making, was likely to have drawn in the greateſt Part of the City which flock'd thither to aſſiſt or relieve their Friends on either Side.

Reg. 21.

Edward, Eldeſt Son of the Duke of *York* born.

In the Beginning of this Twenty firſt Year of the King, *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of *York*, had a Son born at *Roan*, in *Normandy*, chriſtned by the Name of *Edward*. He proved a very valiant and fortunate Prince, and in the Quarrel for the Crown, (which his Father began with King *Henry*, but loſt his Life before he could gain his Wiſhes, being ſlain at the Battle of *Wakefield*) was ſo ſucceſsful, that he was proclaimed King a few Days after, having won the Battle of *Ferribridge*, and gotten a perfect Victory over the *Lancaſtrians*.

Recruits ſent into *France.*

By the coming over of the Lord *Talbot* in the latter end of the Summer, when the Seaſon for Action was almoſt paſt, the Council of King *Henry* had Information of the State of the *Engliſh* Affairs in *France*, and particularly in *Guien*, where they had ſuſtained conſiderable Loſſes the laſt Summer. The Council upon this relation, believing the Succeſs would encourage the *French* in further Attempts, thought it neceſſary to ſend over ſome Recruits to ſtrengthen the Garriſons there, and defend their Borders, and forthwith diſpatched away 800 Men well armed under the Command of Sir *William Woodvile*. With theſe it was thought convenient to ſend a good quantity of Proviſions, becauſe that Country was ſurrounded by the Enemy on every Side, that it could get no Supply from the adjacent Parts; whereupon a Proclamation was put out, that whoſoever would ſend over any Proviſions and Victuals into *Guienne*, ſhould pay no manner of Cuſtom nor Toll, which encouraged ſo many to export Cheeſe, Corn and other Proviſions thither, that the whole Province was abundantly ſupplied with all Neceſſaries. In the mean time Care was taken to gather a bigger Body of freſh Men to ſend over with the Lord *Talbot*. And becauſe this valiant Captain had been for ſome time the main Support of the *Engliſh* Affairs in *France*, the King and Council judged it fit to give him the encouraging Marks of his Favour; and thereupon he was created Earl of *Shrewsbury*, a Title which none had born for near Three hundred and Forty Years before, the Family of *Roger Montgomery*, whom the Conqueror had dignified with that Title, being extinct in the Second Generation; but it hath proved a laſting Title to that noble Family, which ſtill inherits the Honour, Title, and Worth of that valiant and brave Lord to this Day. With this Badge of Royal Favour, he departed ſoon after into *Normandy*, and carried over with him 3000 Men for the better Defence of it.

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Lord *Talbot* made Earl of *Shrewſbury.*

A Fray at the Election of the Mayor of *London.*

Upon the Day of the Tranſlation of St. *Edward*, *viz. October* the Twelfth, on which Day the Mayor of *London* for the next Year was nominated and choſen, out of Two Perſons, who have been Sheriffs of that City, preſented by the Commonalty to the preſent Mayor and Aldermen his Brethren, was a great Diſturbance made amongſt the Citizens about the Election, upon this Occaſion. The Commons of the City having fixed upon *Robert Clopton*, Draper, and *Ralph Holland*, Taylor, preſented them according to the Cuſtom before the Mayor for the time being, and the Aldermen, who having choſen *Robert Clopton*, declared him Mayor for the enſuing Year. This Election extreamly diſappointed the Society of Taylors, and their Friends, who were very zealous that *Ralph Holland* ſhould be choſen, and therefore grew very mutinous and diſcontented upon the Declaration of the other, and cried out, Not that Man, but *Ralph Holland*. The Mayor commanded them Silence, but they more enraged, demanded more paſſionately, that *Ralph Holland* ſhould be choſen. The Mayor ſeeing that fair Means would not prevail, and conſidering, that if ſuch tumultuous Proceedings were yielded to, the Order of Elections would be quite broken, commanded the Sheriffs, to apprehend ſome of the moſt clamorous and furious, that they might be puniſhed for their diſorderly Behaviour, which the Sheriffs immediately put in Execution, and carried Twelve or Sixteen of them to *Newgate*, where they were kept a while, and then diſmiſſed upon Payment of a moderate Fine, that it might be a Terrour to the Rabble to behave themſelves more civilly at ſuch Elections.

A. D. 1443.

French King and Count of *Arminack* quarrel for the Dutchy of *Cominges*, &c.

While the Lord *Talbot* remained in *England*, *Jane*, Counteſs of *Cominges*, Daughter to the Count of *Bullen* and *Cominges*, died, and left her Country to be diſputed for by *Charles*, King of *France*, to whom the ſaid Counteſs had given it, by Will, and the Earl of *Arminack*, who pretended to be the Heir of it, and accordingly entred upon the ſaid Territories, and took Poſſeſſion of them as his own. The King of *France* highly reſented this Uſurpation of his undoubted Right, as he termed it, and ſent the *Dauphin* to recover the Contries by him unjuſtly poſſeſſed. The Earl withſtood the *French* Forces a while, but being deſerted by his Confederates, the Counts *Perdriacke* and *March*, and *Salatzar*, a Cap-

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a Captain of *Arragon*, who were his great Supports againſt his Potent Enemy, he was forced to ſhut himſelf up in his Caſtle, and endeavour to couſin the *Dauphin* by diſſimulation and feigned Treaties. But the *Dauphin*, who was excellent in thoſe Arts, ſoon ſpy'd his Deſign; and having gain'd Acceſs to him upon that Account took him Priſoner, and ſent him, his Wife, Second Son and Two Daughters to *Carcaſſone*, yet he was ſoon after releaſed at the Interceſſion of Count *de Fois*, but *Charles* kept the Poſſeſſion of his Country.

Count *Arminack* ſeeks the Aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*.

Count *Arminack* being thus releaſed, uſed all means to regain his Right, and ſent ſolemn Ambaſſadours to the King of *England*, offering him his Daughter in Marriage (*q*), and with all promiſing him not only great Sums of Money with her, but to deliver into the King of *England*'s Hands all the Caſtles and Towns which he and his Anceſtors, detain'd from him in the Dutchy of *Aquitain* or *Gaſcoigne*, either by the Conqueſt of his Anceſtors, or by the Gift of any *French*, and further would aid and aſſiſt him with Men and Money to recover all other Cities within the ſaid Dutchies as were kept from him by *Charles* the *French* King, Monſieur *de Albret*, or any other Perſons. This Offer appear'd ſo Honourable, as well as Profitable to King *Henry* and his Council, that they gave the Ambaſſadors a very kind Entertainment, and ſent them away with great Rewards into their own Country.

Count *Arminack*'s Daughter affianc'd to King *Henry*.

Soon after their Departure certain Perſons were ſelected to go over to the Earl of *Arminack* to conclude this Match, *viz.* Sir *Edward Hull*, Sir *Robert Rous*, and *John Galton*, Dean of St. *Severines*, who accordingly were diſpatch'd away with a ſpecial Commiſſion to perform the ſame; and not only agreed all Things between them, but by Proxy affianced the young Lady. All this was tranſacted with all the Secrecy poſſible, but yet got to King *Charles*'s Ear, who immediately cauſed him to be ſummon'd to appear at his Parliament at *Tholouſe* within fifteen Days to anſwer to what ſhall be alledg'd againſt him; but he not appearing, the *Dauphin* was again ſent againſt him to ravage his Countries; and though the King of *England* was oblig'd in Honour to aſſiſt him, yet through the Management of the Earl of *Suffolk* he was deſerted and left to himſelf, contrary to the Will of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, which raiſed ſuch an Hatred between thoſe two Noble Perſons, that it could not be extinguiſh'd but by the Deſtruction of both the Families, and many others who adhered to them.

Accidents in *England*.

On *Candlemas* Day the Steeple of St. *Paul*'s Church was ſet on Fire with Lightning in the midſt of the Wood of the Shaft, but was quench'd by the great Pains and Diligence of the Citizens; and at the ſame time the Steeple of *Waltham-Croſs* in *Eſſex* was in the ſame Tempeſt conſum'd, but the Church was ſaved.

John Beaufort, Earl of *Somerſet*, was made Duke of *Somerſet*. (*r*)

An Order in *London* for the keeping of the Lord's Day.

The Common-Council of *London* obſerving the general Prophanation of the Lord's Day amongſt Victuallers and leſſer Artificers, as Taylors, Shooe-makers, and the like, made a ſevere Order to be obſerv'd within the Franchiſes and Liberties of the ſaid City, that no Perſon ſhould buy or ſell any Victuals, or any other Goods upon the Lord's Day, and that no Artificer or Handicraft ſhould carry out his Wares, Commodities or Work to any Perſon or Perſons to be worn or occupy'd on that Day: An excellent Law, and worthy to commend the Makers of it to all Ages; but it never was obſerv'd either thro' the Negligence of Under-Officers, or generality of Offenders. Our Author ſays, that it was too good a Law for ſuch corrupt Times.

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A Diſturbance at *Norwich*.

The Citizens of *Norwich* incenſed with the Encroachments of the Monks of *Chriſt-Church* in that City roſe againſt the Prior, and would have fired the Priory. The Duke of *Norfolk* with all the Force he could gather together went down to ſuppreſs them; the Citizens kept their Gates and Walls againſt them a while; but at length they gain'd Entrance. The King ſent down Judge *Forteſcue* with the Earls of *Stafford* and *Huntington* to decide the Quarrel, who indicted many of the Citizens, and the Prior himſelf for his Sedition and Riot, and ſeiz'd the Liberties of the City into the King's Hands, who made Sir *John Clifton* Captain of it for the preſent, which ſo diſſatisfied many of the Citizens, who had not been concern'd in the Quarrel, that they left their Habitations and went ſome of them beyond Sea, and others got them Dwellings in other Cities or Towns.

Reg. 22.

A Peace again endeavoured between *England* and *France*

The Miſeries of *France*, and lamentable Diſtractions all over *Chriſtendom* cauſed by the War there, mov'd the Hearts of the Pope, and moſt of the Chriſtian Princes to endeavour the Concluſion of a Peace between *England* and *France* once more, hoping, that they might now more effectually prevail, becauſe both Parties could not but be tired with the length of War and the vaſt Expences of it; which tho' they might be well laid out, if either the *Engliſh*, were likely to make a Conqueſt of *France*, or the *French* expel the *Engliſh*; yet being ſo equal a Match, that neither of them was near effecting what they deſir'd, a Peace, they believ'd, would be welcome to both Sides; and therefore ſending Ambaſſadours to both Kings they ſo far prevail'd, that a Meeting was appointed by them to be at *Tours* in *Touraine* to adjuſt and conclude all Matters of Quarrel between them. To this Aſſembly the King of *England* ſent *William de la Pool*, Earl of *Suffolk*, Dr. *Adam Mollins*, Lord Keeper, Sir *Robert Ros*, and ſeveral others: For the *French* King appear'd, *Charles*, Duke of *Orleans*, *Lewis* of *Bourborn*, Earl of *Vandoſme*, Great Maſter of the *French* King's Houſehold, *Pierce de Breſſe*, Steward of *Poictou*, and *Bertram de Beauvan*, Lord of *Peſignie*. The Emperour, Kings of *Spain*, *Denmark*, and *Hungary* alſo ſent their Ambaſſadors, perſons of the greateſt Quality and Authority to be Mediatours for a Peace between theſe Two Princes. This Aſſembly was one of the moſt Magnificent and Glorious that had been known in theſe Times, every Prince ſetting forth his Ambaſſadours with ſuch an Equipage, as might be for the Honour of their Countries.

Many Meetings were had for a final Concluſion of the Peace, and all the qualifying Propoſals made that might tend to an Agreement between them, but the Old Difficulties being again ſtarted, and maintain'd with the uſual Heat and Reſolution, the *Engliſh* being for keep-

(*q*) The Treaty of Marriage was concluded before the *Dauphin* took the Count *D'Armagnac*, his Son and Daughter Priſoners. *Holl. p.* 624.

(*r*) *John Beaufort* was created Duke of *Somerſet* by *Henry* the Fifth, above twenty Years ago. *Cambd. Britain. Tit. Com. Holinſhed* ſays.

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A. D. 1443. Reg. 22.

ing all they had, and the *French* for getting what they call'd their King's Right, there was nothing effected, but a Truce for Eighteen Months was clapp'd up for the preſent both by Sea and Land, with Hopes, that in that Time all Matters might be adjuſted, and by the Mediation of the Princes a firm Peace made up.

A Truce made for Eighteen Months.

During this Treaty the Earl of *Suffolk*, perhaps knowing the King's Natural Mildneſs and Diſpoſition to Peace, ventur'd one ſtep further than his Commiſſion gave him leave, to propound a Marriage between his Maſter King *Henry* and the *French* King's Kinſwoman, *Margaret*, Daughter of *Rayner*, Duke of *Anjou*, and Titular King of *Sicily*, *Naples* and *Jeruſalem*, which gave him a great Name, but brought him no Profit or Authority. This Match *Suffolk* believ'd would prove an effectual Means of uniting the Minds of the two Princes; and tho' there were likely to be no Portion given the King with her, yet ſince ſhe would be the Foundation of a firm Peace, it would ſave *England* more Treaſure, than the greateſt Prince of the World could give with his Daughter. This Preſumption made *Suffolk* very eager to promote the Match, and ſollicited the King of *France* for that End, that it might be yielded to, and agreed on. His Paſſion cauſed a little Averſeneſs in the *French* King and the Lady's Father, who alledg'd, That tho' they were not unwilling to comply with the Match, yet it was not conſiſtent with their Honour to do it, ſo long as the King of *England* held a part of the Dutchy of *Anjou*, and the whole County of *Main*, which of Right belong'd to Duke *Rayner* the Lady's Father. But the Earl of *Suffolk* more Zealous than Cautious eaſily ſatisfied this Objecton, and told them, *That he would undertake, that thoſe Countries ſhould be reſtored to Duke* Rayner, *if the Marriage was conſented to*; which Promiſe being according to their Minds, the Lady was aſſured in Matrimony to the King, and *Suffolk* diſmiſſed to carry it on with his Maſter.

Earl of *Suffolk* makes a Match for K. *Henry* with the Duke of *Anjou's* Daughter

A. D. 1444.

Theſe Things being thus tranſacted and agreed on, the Earl of *Suffolk* with the reſt of the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners return'd Home to give an Account of their Negotiation; and tho' there was only a Truce concluded, yet *Suffolk* aſſured the King, That it would certainly produce an Immutable Peace thro' the Means and Methods he had taken, if they were comply'd with; for he had propounded and obtain'd a Match with the *French* King's Kinſwoman, the Daughter of *Rayner*, Duke of *Anjou*, one of the moſt accompliſhed Ladies in all Perfections of a Woman in the World, Beautiful without Blemiſh, and Virtuous to Admiration, fitted every way for the greateſt of Princeſſes; but that which would be of greateſt Advantage to *England* was, that this Match would be a certain means to end the Wars, ſettle a Peace every ways advantageous to the King, and ſo make the whole Kingdom happy.

King *Henry* partly out of Affection to *Suffolk*, who was his great Favourite, and partly out of a Deſire of Peace, greatly approv'd of all he had done, and was deſirous the Match might be effected with all ſpeed. The Council, to whom all this was related, conſented to it to pleaſe the King and *Suffolk*, only the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who was too great to flatter *Suffolk*'s Actions, and too honeſt to call that Good, which he ſaw would certainly be of an ill Conſequence to the Nation, oppoſed the Match with ſome warmth and heat, alledging, *That it would be contrary to the Law of God and the Honour of the King, to break the Contract of Marriage ſo ſolemnly made with the Daughter of the Earl of* Arminack, *upon Conditions very advantageous to the King and his Realm; That the Match with the Daughter of the Duke of* Anjou *was both diſhonourable to the King, and diſadvantageous to the Nation; becauſe by reſtoring the County of* Main, *and part of* Anjou, *the King would ſeem to purchaſe a Wife at the Expence of the Blood of his Subjects, and would much weaken his Affairs in* France, *which ought to be maintain'd in their full Force; that a Peace may be concluded upon better Terms, becauſe* Anjou *and* Main *are the Bulwarks of* Normandy, *and in ſurrendring them, that Country which was the Patrimony of the King would be expoſed to the Violence of the Enemy.* Theſe were undeniable Reaſons, and the only true way to keep up the King's Credit and Intereſt: However, *Suffolk* ruled all, having the King's Affections, and ſo it was determin'd that the Marriage ſhould be conſummated, and the Train he had laid follow'd. *Glouceſter*'s Advice, though the beſt, was ſlighted, and *Suffolk* and the New Queen made his Enemies, which as it prov'd fatal to him, ſo to the King himſelf and the Nation.

Duke of *Glouceſter* oppoſes *Suffolk*'s Match.

A. D. 1444. Reg. 22.

Suffolk's Match for the King conſummated.

Theſe Reſolutions about the Marriage being unalterable, all Things were haſten'd to bring it to a Conſummation. The *French* King having Notice of it, ſent the Earl of *Vandoſme*, great Maſter of his Horſe, the Archbiſhop of *Rheimes*, firſt Peer of *France*, and divers other Noble Perſonages into *England* to have the Inſtruments of Marriage ſeal'd and ratified on both Parts. Theſe Ambaſſadours were kindly received by the Earl of *Suffolk* and his Party; and having their Buſineſs diſpatch'd were ſent away with Rewards.

Upon the Concluſion of this Marriage King *Henry* made a Creation of Noble-men at *Windſor*, viz. *John Holland*, Earl of *Huntington*, he made Duke of *Exeter*; *Humphrey*, Earl of *Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham*; *Henry*, Earl of *Warwick*, Duke of *Warwick*; and the Earl of *Suffolk*, who was the only Promoter of it, Marqueſs of *Suffolk*, and conferred on him this further Honour to be his Deputy in celebrating the Formality of the Marriage, and conducting his Bride over into *England*.

Reg. 23.

Theſe Things being thus order'd and appointed, the reſt of the Summer was ſpent in providing an Equipage ſufficient to fetch over the Royal Bride; for her Father, who was Rich in Titles, was ſo poor in Purſe, that he was not able to ſend her over to her Husband, which was much laugh'd at by the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Friends, who were all againſt the Marriage. Many coſtly Chariots and gorgeous Horſe-litters were provided, and the Marqueſs and his Wife with many Perſons of the greateſt Quality, as well Women as Men, were richly adorned with Apparel and Jewels, with whom the Marqueſs of *Suffolk* took his Voyage into *France* in the Month of *November* to bring the Queen into *England*. This gallant Company being landed in *France*, went to *Tours* in *Touraine*, where they were met and honourably received by the Kings of *France* and *Sicily*, the Father of the Royal Spouſe, and after a convenient Time allow'd for Preparation and Ceremony, the Marqueſs of *Suffolk*, as Procurator to King *Henry*, was marry'd to the Lady *Margaret* in the Church of St *Martins* in that City. There were preſent at the Marriage the Father and Mother of the Bride, the *French* King who was Uncle to King *Henry*, and the *French* Queen who was Aunt to the Lady *Margaret*, the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Calabria*, *Alanzon* and *Bretagne*, ſeven Earls, twelve Barons, twenty Biſhops, and a great Number of Knights and Gentlemen. After the Celebration of the Marriage, much Time was ſpent in Feaſt-

The Queen ſent for.

A. D. 1445.

The Marriage celebrated at *Tours* and in *England*, and the Queen crown'd.

A. D. 1445. Reg 23. ings, and Triumphs, Banquets and Juſts, by her Parents, and the King of *France*; and when theſe Things were over, the Bride was delivered to the Marqueſs and the *Engliſh* Nobles, who in great State and Honour conveyed her by eaſie Journeys thro' *Normandy* unto *Deipe*, and ſo tranſported her into *England*, where ſhe landed at *Portſmouth* in the Beginning of *April*, and from thence was carried by Water to *Southampton*, where having reſted a few Days, ſhe was conveyed to the Abbey of *Tychfield*, (*ſ*) and was there married to King *Henry* the Sixth, with all Nuptial Ceremonies, *April* the Twenty ſecond. From *Southampton* the King and Queen journeyed toward *London* in the Beginning of *May*, and arrived there on the Eighteenth of the ſaid Month, being received upon her Way by the Duke of *Glouceſter* and many of the Nobility, with all due Honour and Reſpect, and at *Blackheath* by the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of *London*, in embroider'd Gowns, ſhewing their Arts and Trades, who convey'd her thro' the City, which was adorned with coſtly Shews and Pageants, to *Weſtminſter*, where ſhe was on the Thirtieth Day of the ſame Month crowned Queen of *England* with all the uſual Solemnity and Ceremonies.

The Benefit or Hurt of this Marriage.

After the Noiſe and Clutter of the Marriage was over, and the Queen a little ſettled in her Throne, Men began then to reflect upon the Match. The Lady was undeniably a Woman of great Excellencies; ſhe was very beautiful in Face, and graceful in Perſonage, of a ready and Politick Wit, and of a Courage equal to the braveſt Men, which extorted an Approbation of the Marqueſs of *Suffolk*'s Choice of a Queen, as to her Perſon, even from his Enemies; but when they conſidered the ill Conſequences of the Marriage, *viz.* Relations that were likely to be rather a Burden than an Honour to the Nation, *Normandy* laid open and expoſed to the King's Enemies, by ſurrendring *Main* and *Anjou*, the Protection of it; and the Count of *Arminack* mightily offended, and that juſtly too, reſolving to revenge the Diſhonour; moſt men of Reaſon condemned the Choice, and thought *Suffolk* bribed into ſuch an unprofitable Match: But becauſe the ill Effects were not preſently felt, and Men's Minds were mightily intent upon the Peace, which they hoped for by her, and which they thought a ſufficient Advantage by the Marriage, if it were once ſettled; all Things at a Diſtance were not minded, but *Suffolk* applauded, and the Nation thought generally very happy in the Marriage.

Henry Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* dies, and his Character.

Henry Chicheley, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, died, and was ſucceeded by *John Stafford*, tranſlated from *Bath* and *Wells* (*t*). He was a worthy Man in his Generation, but too much addicted to the Pope. He founded Two Colleges in *Oxford*, and endowed them well, *viz.* *All Souls* and *Barnard*. He was of mean Parentage, being a Taylor's Son of *Higham-Ferrers* in *Northamptonſhire*, but was not ſo much exalted by his unexpected Grandure, but that he retained a very humble Mind and Diſpoſition in his greateſt Heigth and Proſperity, as may appear by this Paſſage of his Life. King *Henry* being inſtigated by ſome of his Courtiers, no Friends to the Clergy, and leſs to the Archbiſhop, ſent the Archbiſhop a Pie made of Taylors Shreds, of ſeveral Sorts and Colours, to reproach his mean Birth, which the Archbiſhop received very thankfully, and having look'd into it, courteouſly entertained the Meſſenger, as if he had received a very acceptable Gift, and when he diſmiſſed him, bad him tell the King, his Maſter, 'That if he did exceed his Father, *Henry* the Fifth, as much as he had done his poor Father, he would make the moſt accompliſh'd Monarch that ever was in *Chriſtendom*.

A. D. 1445. Reg 23.

Duke of *York* and other Captains in *England*.

During the Truce with the *French* King, *Richard* Duke of *York*, and divers of the great Officers and Captains came into *England*, and ſpent the greateſt Part of the Summer in viſiting their Wives, Children and Friends, but the Time drawing near for their Return to their Charge in *France*, many Conſultations were had with the King's Council, what Courſe ſhould be taken to ſecure the Conqueſts in that Kingdom at the end of the Truce, and what Proviſions ſhould be made to keep *Normandy*; ſince by the Marriage, *Anjou* and *Main* were now put out of the King's Hands. It was taken for granted, that the King of *France* would ſo recruit his Armies, that if a Peace were not concluded, he would renew the War with greater Vigour than ever, and if the *Engliſh* were not in as good a Poſture of Defence, the *French* King would either make no Peace at all, or a very diſadvantageous one for the *Engliſh*, wherefore it was agreed on all Hands, after ſeveral Debates, that *Normandy* muſt be well fortified, and the *Engliſh* Army in *France* be put into ſo good a Condition, as to bring King *Charles* to a beneficial Peace; or if he ſtood out, to make a powerful War upon him.

Reg 24. Tenth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

And to this End a Parliament was ſummoned, Subſidies granted, and a great Army of Men ordered to be raiſed, and be in a readineſs to be tranſported into *France* againſt the Time of the Expiration of the Peace, which was to be in *April* following. The Duke of *York*, whoſe Commiſſion for the Regency of *France* for Five Years was now expired, was again appointed the King's Deputy in that Kingdom for Five Years longer, becauſe he had ſo well managed his late Truſt for the Advantage of the Nation, that no fitter Perſon could be found in ſo difficult a Time, and therefore his Commiſſion was granted for Five Years more, with Thanks for his Loyalty, and his former Allowances. But the Duke of *Somerſet* ſtill envying, as he had formerly done, the Duke of *York*'s Advancement, ſought all Means to keep him from the Place, and get it for himſelf, which he eaſily effected, making the Marqueſs of *Suffolk* his Friend, who perſwaded the King to revoke his Grant to the Duke of *York* for the Regency of *France*, and give it the Duke of *Somerſet*. This diſgraceful Revocation, which look'd, as tho' ſome Crime had been alledg'd againſt him, much diſpleaſed the Duke of *York*, and lodged ſo deep a Reſentment in his Mind againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*, that tho' he carried it fair, he watched an Opportunity to revenge it, which he did to the Ruin of both Families, as after times will ſhew. In this Parliament the Marqueſs of *Suffolk* on the Second Day of *January*, made a long and elegant Speech in the Houſe of Lords, declaring the Pains and Labour he had been at in his Embaſſage into *France*, as well in concluding a Truce for a Seaſon, as in making up the Match for the King, advertiſing them, that the Truce was to expire in *April*; and like a faithful Subject he did adviſe, that all Preparations ſhould be made for the Preſervation of the King's Countries in *France*, and praying them to take notice of it, and give him a Diſcharge for his Legation. The next Day he went into

A. D. 1446. Duke of *Somerſet* made Regent of *France*.

(*ſ*) She was married at *Southwick*, the Seat of *Richard Norton*, Eſq; one of the Knights of the Shire for *Hampſhire*, in the laſt Parliament.

(*t*) He was created a Cardinal by Pope *Eugenius* the Fourth in the Year 1434. *Hol.* 1167.

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A. D. 1446. Reg. 24.

Marquess of *Suffolk* rewarded for his Services, and thanked by the Parliament, when he should rather have been punished.

the Lower House, and with equal Eloquence not only shewed his Fidelity in his Legation, but set forth what great Charges he had been at in attending it, and fetching over the Queen, desiring, that this Action might be recorded in the Parliament Rolls, and himself be discharged by both Houses, with the Consideration of his Expence. Behold, what the Eloquence of Favourites can do! Few Men of Prudence in either House, but knew, that the Marquess deserved little Thanks for his Labour, either in making the Peace, or the Match; yet as if all had been well done for the Nation's Interest, the very next Day, the Speaker of the Commons, *William Burghley*, attended with a great Number of that House went up to the Lords, and desired their Concurrence in a Petition to the King to reward the Marquess for his Services; and to shew their Gratitude, they caused the whole Action to be enrolled, and gave him an whole Fifteenth in Consideration of his Expences. And so the Parliament broke up.

The Queen's Kindness to the Marquess of *Suffolk* and his Friends.

The Queen seeing the Marquess of *Suffolk* so well rewarded by the Representatives of the Nation for his Services, which were greater Kindness to her than the Kingdom, as she very well knew, looked upon their Action as a Precedent for her self, and therefore soon after the Rising of the Parliament, took him into her particular Favour, and instigated the King, who was forward enough of himself to heap Honours and Preferments upon him, whereupon he made him a Duke, and when it happen'd a little after, that *Henry*, Duke of *Warwick*, Premier Earl of *England*, and King of the Isles of *Wight*, *Garnsey* and *Jarsey*, died, and was buried at *Tewksbury*, he conferred upon him the Wardship of the Body and Lands of the Countess of *Warwick*, together with that of the Lady *Margaret*, sole Heir to *John*, Duke of *Somerset*, afterwards Mother to King *Henry* the Seventh; and because *John de Foix*, the Son of *Gaston de Foix*, a *Gascoigne*, had married the Duke of *Suffolk*'s Niece, she caused the Father to be elected a Knight of the Garter, and the Son to be made Earl of *Longaville*, and gave him for the Maintenance of his Degree divers Lands and Castles, amounting to One thousand Pounds by the Year. With these her special Friends she contrived to be reveng'd of the Duke of *Gloucester*, who was look'd upon by this haughty Queen as her Enemy, because in respect to the Nation, he had declared himself against the Match; and as the first Step to it, she caus'd him to be remov'd, not only from any Command about the King's Person, but Council, and took it upon her self, with her Minions and Friends, to rule all, to the great Discontent of the People, who having had long Experience of the Good-will of the Duke of *Gloucester* to the Nation, (for which Reason he had the Name constantly given him of *the Good Duke*) could hardly think the Government safe in other Hands, and therefore cried out against the Queen and Duke of *Suffolk* for displacing him as Enemies to the publick Good; for all Men saw that the King's easie Disposition was sway'd by the Queen's Policy, and *Suffolk*'s Flattery, and that therefore the Blame lay upon them, and not the King, who tho' out of his Minority, yet was govern'd chiefly by his Uncle's Council, and while *Suffolk* was his Favourite, *Gloucester* was his Oracle, to whose Advice he yielded in all Matters of publick Concern. This was such a Bar to the Queen's Ambition, who seeing so much of the Woman in her Husband, laboured to put on as much of the Man her self, and while he spent his Time at his Devotion, to play the King and govern all, that there was no enduring *Gloucester* near the Court, and so he was turn'd out of all upon some slight and frivolous Allegations against him.

Duke of *Gloucester* displaced.

A. D. 1446. Reg. 24.

While these Things pass'd in *England*, little was done in *France*, because of the Truce continuing, which being expir'd in *April*, was by the Consent of the Two Kings prolonged to the Year 1449, but it had likely to have soon been broken upon this Occasion. *Anjou* and *Maine*, the Two Counties which were to be delivered up to the Duke of *Anjou* the Queen's Father by the Treaty of Marriage, were readily resigned; but the *English* knowing of how great Importance the City of *Mans* was to them, were very loth to part with it, and thereupon kept it in their Hands longer than was thought convenient, insomuch that *Charles*, the *French* King, supposing that the *English* did intend not to resign that Town, raised an Army, and resolved to take it by Force. King *Henry*, who was more conscientious in performing than Politick in making an Agreement, hearing of the King of *France*'s Attempt, immediately ordered, That the Town should be surrendred to him, not only because he would not give the *French* King a just Ground of Quarrel to break the Truce, but also because it was in Justice due to him, and so the Peace was pieced up again.

Anjou and *Maine* resigned to the Duke of *Anjou*.

The general Discontents, which the Removal of the Duke of *Gloucester* from about the King's Person and the Government had caus'd among the People, became now so evident, that the Queen and her Friends could not but take Notice of it, and therefore they were forced to set all their Wits at work to make the slight Allegations, which they had surmis'd against him at first, appear great Crimes, that so his Deprivation might seem as much deserved, as it was dishonourable. And to this End, the Duke of *Suffolk*, who ever hated him, because his sagacious Eye discovered his Unworthiness of the Favours heaped upon him, was employed to encourage the Duke's Enemies, to set on foot what Accusations they could either in Malice invent, or in Policy contrive against him; the Chief of whom were *Humphrey Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham*, who being the Son of *Ann Plantagenet*, a Descendant from *Thomas*, Duke of *Gloucester*, Seventh Son of *Edward* the Third, wish'd him out of the Way, that he might be the first Duke of the Royal Blood in *England*; the Cardinal of *Winchester*, who was implacably incensed against the Duke of *Gloucester*, because he had made his Pride odious, and his Policy successless; and the Archbishop of *York*, who having joined with *Winchester* in his Crimes, was equally the Object of *Gloucester*'s Displeasure. These Men, with the Queen and her Friends, having rais'd many forged Accusations against him, summon'd him to answer for himself before the King and his Council, to which he readily submitted and appear'd. Divers Articles were alledged against him, by Persons suborn'd to accuse him; but the main Thing which was insisted on, was this. 'That 'being the Chief Governour of the Nation in 'the King's Minority, he had to the great Dis'honour of the King, and Injury of his Sub'jects, caus'd divers Persons to be put to death, 'contrary to the Laws of the Land, and when 'any Persons were adjudged to death deserved'ly for their Crimes, he out of the Cruelty of 'his Disposition, order'd them to suffer other

The Designs of the Queen against the Duke of *Gloucester*.

The Duke of *Gloucester* accused and clear'd.

A. D. 1446. Reg. 24.

'Deaths than the Law aſſign'd, thereby ſhewing, that he was unjuſt even in the Execution of Juſtice; and that whereas he ought moſt ſtrictly to have obſerv'd the Laws, he was the greateſt Breaker of them. The Duke very patiently heard this Calumnies of his Adverſaries, and ſupported by the Conſcience of his own Innocency, as well as his great Knowledge of the Laws of *England* (for he was a very ſtudious Man, and ſo well read in all Laws and Cuſtoms of *England* as none better) he gave ſuch clear Anſwers to all Things objected againſt him, that he was acquitted by the Council, and the Diſgrace of his Crimes which his Enemies intended to lay on him, fell ſo heavily upon themſelves, that as the Duke of *Glouceſter* was more honour'd, ſo they were more hated and abhorr'd of all Men.

Accidents in *England.*

Simon Eyre, Lord Mayor of *London*, began this Summer to build *Leaden-hall* in *London* to be a Stow-houſe for Corn and Fewel for the Poor of the City, and a beautiful Chappel in the Eaſt-end of the ſame, and over the Gate of it cauſed to be written, *Dextera Domini exaltavit me*, i. e. *The Right Hand of the Lord hath exalted me*, giving an excellent Example to all Men, how Men ought to employ thoſe Riches which Providence heaps upon Men, *viz.* in being Benefactors to the Poor. In this Year were two very unuſual Combats within Liſts appointed, but one only was fought. The firſt was by the Prior of *Kilmaine* in *Ireland*, who impeach'd the Earl of *Ormond* of High-Treaſon, and the Place of their Tryal by Battel was appointed in *Smithfield*. But by the Mediation of Dr. *Gilbert Worthington*, Parſon of St. *Andrews Holbourn*, and ſome other of the Clergy, the Quarrel was taken up by the King and ſo decided without Combat. About the ſame time one *John David* an Armourer impeach'd his Maſter *William Catur* of Treaſon and they fought in *Smithfield*, but *Catur* being by the Company of his Friends and Neighbours almoſt intoxicated with Wine before he came to fight, he was unhappily ſlain without any juſt Suſpicion of Guilt; but the Servant liv'd not long after him, for the next Aſſize he was hang'd for Felony.

Reg. 25.

The Duke of *Glouceſter's* Death contrived.

The Diſappointments which the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Adverſaries met withal in their late Attempt againſt him, to bring him into Diſgrace by their forg'd Calumnies and Crimes, was ſo far from diſcouraging them in the further Proſecution of their malicious Deſigns, that they were the more enrag'd; and having the Queen on their Side, reſolv'd upon his Deſtruction; but knowing, that he was the People's Darling, and therefore no open Proceedings againſt him would be endur'd, they contriv'd to work his Ruin by the moſt unſuſpected and private Means. Many Ways were thought on to enſnare him, but upon ſcanning of all Circumſtances they were laid aſide. At length the moſt plauſible Invention was to call a Parliament, and there to apprehend him for ſome Charge of Treaſon, and ſo work their Will. This Propoſal, helliſh enough, was receiv'd with the general Approbation of the Conſpirators, and the Queen was left to manage it; who having firſt given out, that many important Affairs of State would ſhortly require the Meeting of a Parliament,

Eleventh Parliament.

cauſed Writs to be iſſu'd out a little before *Chriſtmas* to ſummon a Parliament to meet at *Bury* upon the 23d of *February* following. And now the Confederates thinking all ſure, and

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that the Duke of *Glouceſter* would not ſuſpect their Deſign in the leaſt, ſpent their *Chriſtmas* with more than uſual Mirth, longing till the Day ſhould come when their miſchievous Contrivance ſhould be put in Execution.

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With the new Year the Lords began to prepare for meeting in Parliament at *Bury*; and that the Duke of *Glouceſter* might fear no Evil, all Things at Court were carry'd ſmoothly to him, but yet Care was taken to have it whiſper'd in his Ear, that it was neceſſary he ſhould be at it, to prevent the Deſigns of the Queen and her Party. The Good Duke not at all Jealous of ill Practices, but retaining his old Zeal for the Commonwealth, hearken'd to the Caution, and with the reſt of the Lords came to the Place at the Time appointed, ready to attend the National Buſineſs.

Duke of *Glouceſter* arreſted, and is found dead.

On the firſt Day of the Seſſion all things were quiet, and the uſual Ceremonies at the opening a Parliament all perform'd. On the ſecond Day the Lord *Beaumont*, then High-Conſtable of *England*, being accompany'd with the Duke of *Buckingham*, Duke of *Somerſet*, and many others, arreſted the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and put him in Cuſtody under a ſtrong Guard. His Servants were all taken from him, and thirty two of them ſent to ſeveral Priſons at a diſtance one from another. The Nation was in a great amaze at this ſudden Action, and every Man was inquiſitive to know what new Matter was found out againſt the Duke, who had ſo lately clear'd himſelf of all that could be alledged againſt him. His Enemies thought it neceſſary to lay ſome Crime to his Charge, and therefore gave it out that *Humphrey*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, with his Train of Servants had traiterouſly conſpired to kill the King, that he might ſet the Lady *Eleanor* his Wife at Liberty. A ridiculous Charge, but yet ſufficient to quiet the People, whom they only fear'd in the Execution of their Deſign, for the more improbable his Crime was the eaſier it would be to free himſelf, and ſo the People reſted content with the Senſe of his Wiſdom and Innocency. But his Enemies had contriv'd otherwiſe that he ſhould never come to his Defence; for the Night after his Commitment, as ſome ſay, but others, a few Nights after, he was found dead in his Bed, and his Body ſhew'd to the Lords and Commons aſſembl'd in Parliament, and lay expoſed to open View of all Comers for ſome time; in which, becauſe no Signs of a violent Death appear'd, it was reported, That he dy'd of an Apoplexy or Impoſtume. But becauſe none of his Servants ſuffer'd after his Death, which they ought to have done had they been guilty of High-Treaſon, as was alledg'd againſt them, tho' Five of them were condemn'd and near their Execution were pardon'd by the Duke of *Suffolk*'s Means, it was generally thought a ſufficient Ground to believe, that he was murther'd by the Queen's Means; and ſome were ſo particular as to report, that he was ſtrangled between two Pillows or Feather-beds, as *Thomas Woodſtock*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, before him had been; others that he had an hot Spit run up his Fundament, as K. *Edward* II. had; others affirmed, that he dy'd of mere Grief, becauſe he ſaw he muſt now fall a Sacrifice to his Enemies Malice without being allow'd to defend himſelf; all which Conjectures have little Foundation. The moſt diſcret Judge he was murther'd; but being tranſacted in private, it was not ſafe to determine by what Means.

The ill effects of the D. of *Glouceſter's* Murther.

Thus dy'd the Good Duke of *Glouceſter*, lamented deſervedly by all the Nation, being a Lover of the Commons, a Friend to the Learned, a continual Defender of the Innocent, and a Terror to the Guilty; and tho' the Queen and her Party

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Party triumph'd in his Overthrow, yet a little Time ſhew'd them how impolitick Malice and Hatred is; for by his Death they wrought the Ruin of the King himſelf, having open'd a Gap for *Richard* Duke of *York*, to put in his Claim to the Crown, which he proſecured ſo violently, that in few Years he began thoſe Conteſts and Troubles in the Nation, which made King *Henry*'s Throne very uneaſie, and at length ended in his Depoſition, which he would not in all probability have attempted, had not the Duke of *Glouceſter* been dead, whoſe Title was generally better known, and whoſe Intereſt in the Nation was ſuch, that *York* dar'd not have ſtirred againſt him; but he being thus made away with, the Queen was ſo hated, that it was eaſie for the Duke of *York* to get Aſſiſtance enough to further his ambitious Deſigns, as well to revenge *Glouceſter*'s Death, as to eaſe themſelves of the Queen's Uſurpation, who had aſſum'd her Husband's Authority to govern all.

The Pope ſends a Golden Roſe to K. *Henry.*

Upon St. *Andrew*'s Day this Year was King *Henry* preſented with a Golden Roſe by Pope *Eugenius*, who ſent *Ludovicus Cordona*, a Doctor in Divinity with it to him. Upon the Delivery of the Roſe, which was done with great Ceremony in St. *Stephen*'s Chappel at *Weſtminſter*, in the Preſence of the Dukes of *York* and *Exeter*, Cardinal *Kemp*, Arch-biſhop of *York*, and *John Stafford*, Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* (*u*) and Chancellor of *England*. He declared in an eloquent Oration his Embaſſage, which was to exhort the King to undertake an Expedition againſt the *Turks*, who barbarouſly waſted and ravaged the *European* Provinces, not forgetting to extol the Vertues of the conſecrated Roſe, and to explain the right Application of it, that he might make his Gift the more acceptable. His Meſſage and Gift were favourably accepted, and Promiſes of Aſſiſtance given to the Pope againſt the *Turk*, but Home-bred Diſturbances ſo took up the King from this Time, that nothing could be done Abroad.

The Death of *Henry* Biſhop of *Winchſter.*

Soon after the Deceaſe of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, God, who is the chief Guardian of Innocence, reveng'd his Murther upon one of his Principal Enemies the Rich Cardinal of *Winchеſter*, whoſe Heart being ſet ſo much upon the World and the Glories of it, there could not be a greater Puniſhment of his Sins, than to call him out of it. He liv'd not above a Month after the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and therefore enjoy'd the Satisfaction of his Death but a ſhort time. On his Death bed he is ſaid to have ſhew'd a World of Impatience, and when he was told, that no Medicines could ſave his Life, he cry'd out in a Paſſion, *What! Will nothing ſave my Life? Will Money do nothing? Can't Death be brib'd a few Years? I'd give the whole Kingdom for my Life.* But no Man can compound with Death, he was forced to leave his Pomp and lie down in the Duſt. To him ſucceeded *William Patin*, who was after ſurnam'd *Wainfleet*, from the Place of his Nativity, a Town in *Lincolnſhire* ſo call'd. He was by Birth a Gentleman, and from Provoſt of *Eaton* raiſed to this Biſhoprick, wherein he liv'd ſome Years as eminent for his Piety as

William Wainfleet made Biſhop of *Winchеſter.*

the Cardinal for his Riches. On the 5th of *Auguſt* this Year dy'd alſo *John Holland*, Duke of *Exeter*, and was bury'd at St. *Katherine*'s near *London*.

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With this Six and Twentieth Year of the King began the Rule of the Queen, who having remov'd the Duke of *Glouceſter* out of the World manag'd all Things without controul, and with the Aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Suffolk*, who was her chief Favourite, endeavour'd to make her Command Abſolute; wherein tho' ſhe made uſe of her Husband's Name, yet ſhe could ſcarcely hide her Uſurpation, becauſe in *England* the Queen Conſort hath no Power, but Title only. Her Ambition and Tyranny ſoon grew intolerable to the Subjects, and begat a general Diſcontent as well among the Nobility as Commons. This the Duke of *York* diligently obſerved, and made uſe of for his Deſigns to raiſe himſelf to the Throne: For having repreſented to his Friends the Miſery of the Nation, which, under the Name of a King weak and unable to govern, was ruled by an ambitious Queen and her Minions, he firſt whiſper'd it into their Heads, that it was neceſſary to pitch upon ſome other Perſon to be King, ſince the preſent King had depoſed himſelf in effect by ſuffering the Queen and *Suffolk* to over-rule all. King *Henry* was really a good Man, but fitter for a Cloyſter than a Palace, and therefore the Kingdom was to be put into better Hands than thoſe of Women and Favourites. This he ſaid to prepare their Minds for what he had further in due time to propoſe to them, but he firſt let their Diſcontents work, and when he found them as deſirous of Change as he wiſhed, then he further put forward his own Title, telling them,

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The Queen rules all, which diſcontented the Nation.

Duke of *York*'s Title and Fitneſs for the Crown diſperſed about.

'That if they look'd into the Succeſſion of the 'Crown which alone gave a legal Title to it, 'the Houſe of *Lancaſter* enjoy'd it only by Uſurpation, contrary to the Laws of the Realm; 'That *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence* being Elder Brother to *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, his Poſterity muſt have a better Title to the Crown, than the *Lancaſtrian* Line; That his Grandmother *Philippa* (*x*) Wife to *Edmund Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, being the only Daughter of *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, and he himſelf Son of the Eldeſt (*y*) Daughter of the ſaid *Edmund* (*z*), who left no Male-iſſue, it was eaſie for them to ſee who had the true Right to the Crown of *England*; That though he would not vainly vaunt himſelf fit for ſo great an Office, yet he might boldly claim the Crown as his Right, and hoped that the Diligence and Valour which he had ſhewn in *France* for the Preſervation of the *Engliſh* Dominions in that Kingdom, were Demonſtrations enough to ſhew, that he had the true Spirit of an *Engliſh* Man in him, and was zealous for the Good of the Nation in all Things.

Theſe Propoſals were Argument ſufficient to perſwade his Friends to a Concurrence, their Wiſhes having prevented his Deſigns; and therefore it was reſolv'd upon, and firmly agreed among them, that they ſhould promote his Intereſts with all the Secrecy neceſſary for

(*u*) The Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* was a Cardinal as well as he of *York*, and therefore ought certainly as his Primate and Lord Chancellour to have the Precedence. See *Holinſhead*, p. 1167.

(*x*) *Philippa* was his great Grandmother, his Mother *Anne Mortimer* being Daughter of *Roger*, Son of the Princeſs *Philippa*, and *Edmund Mortimer*, Earl of *March*.

(*y*) She was not the Eldeſt Daughter, the Lady *Elinor Mortimer* was the Eldeſt Daughter of *Roger Mortimer*, the Son of *Edmund*, who marry'd the Princeſs *Philippa*.

(*z*) She was the Daughter of *Roger Mortimer*, and Grand-daughter of *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*. *Roger* left Two Sons who both liv'd to be Men, *Edmund* and *Roger*, but they dy'd without Iſſue, as did their Eldeſt Siſter the Lady *Elinor* ſo *Anne* who marry'd *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, Father of this *Richard*, Duke of *York*, became Heir to the Princeſs *Philippa*'s Right to the Crown, which Right on the Death of the ſaid Lady *Anne*, fell to the Duke of *York*.

a Buſi-

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a Buſineſs of that Importance, which was ſo inviolably obſerv'd, that all requiſite Proviſions were made before his Adverſaries diſcover'd any thing of the Deſign, and his Friends were ready to ſet him on the Throne, before his Purpoſe was known, as by the Sequel of the Hiſtory will more evidently appear.

A. D. 1448. The Truce broken by the *Engliſh.*

While theſe Things were tranſacted in *England*, little of Moment paſſed in *France*, becauſe the Peace had bound up both Sides from Action. The Duke of *Somerſet* was Regent, but did not carefully manage Affairs there. Sir *Francis Suriennes*, call'd the *Arragonois*, who for his good Services done to the Crown of *England* was honour'd with the Dignity of Knight of the Garter, was Governour of the *Lower Normandy*. This Perſon being Active and Warlike, while he lay in his Garriſons of St. *Jaques* and *Beverenne*, had obſerv'd in their Commerce with the Frontier Towns, that they were weak and ill guarded, and eſpecially the Town of *Fougieres* in *Brittain*, a very rich Place, which was a Temptation to him to attempt the taking of it, and accordingly in the Night before the Feaſt of our Lady in *Lent* ſcal'd the Walls, and took both the Town and Caſtle; which tho' of it ſelf 'twas a Breach of the Peace ſcare Pardonable, yet that which render'd it a greater Crime was, that he treated the Inhabitants with the greateſt Inhumanity and Cruelty, not only ſlaying many of them, as in a time of War, but pillaging their Goods, raviſhing the Women, robbing the Churches, and carying away many of the chief of them Priſoners. Duke *Francis*, who was firſt comprehended in the Truce reign'd in *Brittain* at that Time, and was highly offended at this Action of the *Engliſh*, and thereupon ſent an Herald, to complain of the Wrong done him, to the Duke of *Somerſet*, requiring Satisfaction, and a Reſtitution of the Place, with all that was taken away from it. The Duke of *Somerſet* coolly reply'd, *That the Action much diſpleaſed him, and that ſuch Satisfaction for the Wrong done ſhould be given, as he himſelf ſhould require*; but the Duke not being ſatisfied with this Anſwer, ſent the Biſhop of *Rheimes* (*a*) to the *French* King to beg his Aid and Aſſiſtance in a Caſe where himſelf was equally concern'd, that he might recover the Town by Force of Arms. *Charles*, the *French* King was not ſo furious as the Duke, but firſt ſent *John Havart* and *William Coſmet*, one of the Maſters of his Requeſts to the King of *England*, and *Peter de Foutein*, the Maſter of his Horſe, to the Duke of *Somerſet* with the former Meſſage, who received the like Anſwer with this Addition, 'That he would ſend Com-
'miſſioners to *Louviers* upon a Day appointed,
'who ſhould adjuſt the Difference between
'them, and not only make Reſtitution, but
'Amends to the Duke of *Brittain*. On the Day prefixed the Commiſſioners on both Parts met, and the *French*-men demanded the Town, and a large Recompence for the Damages ſuſtain'd by the Inhabitants. The *Engliſh*-Men replied, 'That without Offence, nothing in Ju-
'ſtice ought to be given in Satisfaction, alledging, 'That it was the Fact of Sir *Francis* only,
Reſtitution of the Injury denied. 'without the Conſent either of the King of
'*England*, or the Duke of *Somerſet*, his Lieu-
'tenant or Regent. To this the *French* anſwered, 'That if they did not make Amends
'for the Injury done, they would not be tied
'to ſecure any Place, but ſhould endeavour to
'revenge themſelves, it being againſt Reaſon
'for the offended Party not to be allowed to re-
'ſent the Injury received. To which Anſwer the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners not being able to reply, referr'd them to the Duke of *Somerſet* himſelf, who lay then at *Sonniers*; and King *Charles* ſent his Ambaſſador to him.

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The Schiſm between the Popes ended.

About this Time, by the Means of *Frederick*, Duke of *Auſtria*, and other Chriſtian Princes, the Schiſm, which had continued between the Popes for Sixteen Years, was ended. For *Felix* the Fifth, (*b*) who was ſet up by the Council of *Baſil*, upon their Depoſition of *Eugenius* the Fourth, being very uneaſie under the Oppoſition, was ſoon perſwaded to reſign to *Nicholas* the Fifth, *Eugenius*'s Succeſſor; and ſo an Union was again ſettled in the Church to the great Satisfaction of *Chriſtendom*. *Felix* by this voluntary Act got a great Reputation in the World for his Humility and Sanctity, and tho' he gave place to *Nicholas* in Dignity, yet he outſhined him in Piety, upon which this Verſe was made on him.

Lux fulſit Mundo, ceſſit Felix Nicolao.

as if *Felix*'s Humility ſhined like a Sun in the World. *Felix* after his Ceſſion from the Papacy, was made Legate of *France*, and Cardinal of *Savoy*, and lived ſo holy a Life, that he was reverenced for a Saint after his Death.

Pont l'Arch taken by the *French* by Treachery.

While the *French* Ambaſſadors were treating with the Duke of *Somerſet* at *Sonniers* about the Reſtitution of *Fougeres*, and Satisfaction to be done the Inhabitants, the *French* King receiv'd Information from a *Norman*, who daily went into *Pont de l'Arch*, with his Cart to carry Victuals and other Things into the *Engliſh* Garriſon there, That that Town was but ill mann'd, and worſe kept, the Garriſon being very negligent and careleſs. *Charles*, who was glad of an Opportunity of requiting the *Engliſh* Perfidiouſneſs, readily hearkned to it, and ſent *Monſieur de Breſſe*, Sir *James de Clermont*, and Captain *Floquet*, with a ſelect Company of Men to lie in Ambuſh near the Gate of St. *Andrew* belonging to the Town, having agreed with the ſaid Waggoner, with whom he ſent Two luſty Soldiers in the Habit of Carpenters, with Axes on their Shoulders, to ſurprize the Guards and kill them, and to break down his Waggon in the Paſſage, which was very heavy laden on Purpoſe that the Gates could not be ſhut, or Draw-bridge pull'd up without a great deal of Difficulty; when this was done, he was to give Notice to the Ambuſhes, that they might enter the Town. Theſe Things were all acted as they were plotted, early in the Morning about the Beginning of *October*; and the *Engliſh* Garriſon, which ſuſpected nothing of this Nature, were all taken in their Beds, with the Commander himſelf, the Lord *Faulconbridge*, and were carried away Priſoners by the *French*. The Loſs of this *Town* was of great Importance to the *Engliſh*, being the Paſſage over the River *Seine* out of *France* into *Normandy*, and but Four Leagues diſtant from *Roan*, the chief City in that Province, which ſeem'd to be all in Danger by it. The Duke of *Somerſet* was extreamly troubled at it, and when the *French* Deputies came to demand the Reſtitution of

(*a*) It ſhould be the Biſhop of *Reims* in *Brittain*, for 'tis not probable that the Archbiſhop of *Rheims*, as the Author Copying from *Hollingſhead* makes it who is Primate of all *France*, the firſt Biſhop and Peer of the Realm, would ſerve the Duke of *Brittain* in the Capacity of an Envoy.

(*b*) This *Felix* the Fifth, was *Amadeus*, Duke of *Savoy*, who from a Temporal Prince advanc'd himſelf to the Spiritual Empire of *Chriſtendom*.

Fougeres

A. D. 1448. Reg. 26. *Fougeres*, and Satisfaction of the Damages done to the Inhabitants, would hear nothing of it, he ſaid, till *Pont de l' Arch* was reſtor'd again to the *Engliſh*. But the *French* grown confident by this Advantage, told him plainly, 'They would now ſtand upon better Terms, 'and would not part with it, unleſs *Fougeres* 'with all the Loſſes, and Intereſts of it were re-'ſtor'd to the Duke of *Brittain*; which the *Engliſh* not being able to do, not only becauſe the Lives of ſuch as were ſlain were irreparable, but becauſe the vaſt Spoil which had been taken out of the Town amounting to 1600000 Crowns, had been extravagantly ſquandred away by the Soldiers, the Duke was forced to deny it, and ſo the War was renewed, before the Truce agreed upon was expir'd. For after this Meeting, *Charles*, the *French* King, immediately rais'd an Army to proſecute the War with unuſual Vigour.

The War renewed between the *Engliſh* and *French*.

The People of *England* being extreamly diſſatisfied at the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Death, and the Queen's Tyranny thro' the Abuſe of the good King's Eaſineſs, and the Nobility divided with and againſt the Duke of *Suffolk*, it was very improbable, if the War in *France* ſhould be renewed that the *Engliſh* could make any conſiderable Oppoſition; and it had been the greateſt Wiſdom of the Duke of *Somerſet* to have kept the Truce on foot upon any Terms. The *French* King was ſenſible of theſe Inconveniences, and therefore held the *Engliſh* to ſuch Conditions as he knew in himſelf almoſt impoſſible to be perform'd, that he might renew the War at the *Engliſh*'s Coſt, and his own Advantage. Upon theſe Grounds he built great Hopes of Succeſs, (tho' the *French* Hiſtorians make their King very unwilling to have begun the War anew, and ſay, that it *was* nothing but God's Diſpoſition and Will on his Part, and the intolerable Wrongs on the Enemy's Part, that began this laſt War,) and having drawn his Army together, divided it into Three Parts, and ſent them out ſeverally, one under the Command of *Monſieur de Mony*, who after divers Aſſaults, and a Loſs of many of his Men, took the Towns of *Louveirs* and *Gorbery*; another part under Captain *Flocquet* who took *Conquet*, and the great Town of *Verneuil* in *Perch* with the Caſtle and Tower belonging to it; and a third Part under the Captain *Verdenne*, who took *Coignac* and St. *Magrine* near *Bourdeaux* in *Gaſcoigne*, and then return'd to K. *Charles* to unite with him.

A. D. 1449.

The Duke of *Somerſet* who had manag'd the *Engliſh* Affairs ſo ill in *France*, that he could make little or no Oppoſition to theſe Proceedings of the *French*, had nothing to help himſelf with but Complaints to the *French* King of his unjuſt Invaſions. He was anſwer'd, *That the* French *wondered the* Engliſh, *who had taken* Fougeres *in the Time of Truce without any juſt Occaſion, and refuſed to give Satisfaction, ſhould look upon themſelves injured by Repriſals*: Yet that K. *Charles* might keep up a ſhew of Peaceableneſs, he appointed a Conference at the Abby of *Boniport* to adjuſt all Matters in conteſt between them: This Meeting prov'd Fruitleſs, and then the *French* King raiſed a mighty Army, and declared open War againſt the *Engliſh*. But Fame had before ſo utterly vanquiſh'd the *Engliſh* Authority in *France*, that there needed little Force to reduce all to the Obedience of K. *Charles*. It was every where noiſed in the *Engliſh* Territories, that now the Duke of *Glouceſter* was dead the *Engliſh* were unable to protect them, and maintain their Conqueſts in *France*, being filled with ſo many Diſcontents and Diviſions at Home that they could not mind their Affairs Abroad, which ſo diſpoſed the People to a Revolt, who were never kept ſteady in their Loyalty to the *Engliſh* but by Force and Fear, that when the *French* King appear'd before the Towns, they without more adô open'd the Gates, and welcom'd their Sovereign to his Right; and tho' in many of the great Towns there were ſtrong *Engliſh* Garriſons, as *Roan* (*c*) in *Normandy*, *Mauliſſon* in *Guien*, and other Cities, yet all was no help. As ſoon as the *French* Army came before them, the Inhabitants arm'd themſelves and fell upon the *Engliſh* within, and the Army without fiercely aſſaulted them, ſo that it was altogether impoſſible to retain any Thing: All that the *Engliſh* could do was only to capitulate, and ſave their Lives. Thus the *French* King in a few Months became a perfect Maſter of *Normandy*, *Gaſcoigne* and *Guien*, tho' there wanted not Courage in moſt of the *Engliſh* Garriſons to defend themſelves; but being over-power'd or undermin'd with the Treachery of the *French*, they were forced to leave all in the *French* Hands.

A. D. 1449. Reg. 27. The *French* King recovers all *France*.

This Year began a Rebellion in *Ireland*, and the Duke of *York*, rather to have him out of the Way than to truſt or prefer him, was ſent thither with an Army; but he ſo well manag'd his Place, and dealing mildly and gently with that Savage People appeaſed their Commotions with ſo much Satisfaction to them, that he gain'd their Love and Favour ſo far, that they could never be ſeparated from him nor his Poſterity; but as well in the Misfortunes of his Family as their Proſperity firmly adhered to them. Thus did the Wicked Politicks of the Queen and her Party generally turn to her Damage. *Glouceſter*'s Death was the Deſtruction of her Huſband's Title to the Crown, and this Employment of the Duke of *York*, which was intended for his Ruin, prov'd a mighty Advantage to him in his Deſigns againſt his Soveraign.

Duke of *York* ſent to appeaſe the Rebellion in *Ireland*.

In the Beginning of this Year Sir *Lewis de Bueyle* a *French* Knight, challeng'd an *Engliſh* Man nam'd *Ralph Challons*, Eſquire to encounter him in a Combat, and pitch'd the Time and Place, which was at *Mans* in *Maine*, the *French* King himſelf was preſent according to the Cuſtom of that Age, to behold the Courage and Skill of thoſe Combatants. Much Art and Bravery appear'd on both Sides, but the Fortune of the Combat fell to the *Engliſh* Man, who ran the *French* Knight thro' the Body with his Spear, of which Wound he ſoon after dy'd. The Law of Arms in ſuch Caſes requir'd, that the Conquerour ſhould attend the Corps of the Perſon killed, and celebrate his Obſequies, in Teſtimony of the Chriſtian Compaſſion which he has for the Deceaſed. This *Challons* perform'd not only with the uſual Decency, but with ſo much real and hearty Sorrow, that even the *French* King took Notice of it, and gave him ſome Tokens of his Favour.

Reg. 27. A Combat between an *Engliſh* Man and *French* Man.

King *Charles* and the Duke of *Bretagne* being follow'd with continual Succeſs carry'd on their Victories every Day further and further. The Duke of *Bretagne* recover'd *Fougeres*, St. *James de Beveron*, and ſeveral other Places, which had been

Duke of *Bretagne* and *French* King take ſeveral Places from the *Engliſh*.

(*c*) At *Roan* in *Normandy* the *Engliſh* Garriſon were ſo hard put to it by the Citizens within, and the *French* without, that they were forced to agree not only to deliver up that City, but ſeveral others, or they had been all murther'd. The Hoſtages for the Performance of this Agreement were the Brave Lord *Talbot*, afterwards Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and the Lord *Butler*, Son to the *Earl* of *Ormond*.

been

A. D. 1449. Reg 27.

been taken from him by the *Engliſh*. The *French* King alſo joyning with the Counts of St. *Poll* and *Eu*, ſtill held on his Victories, eſpecially in *Normandy*, where he took *Negent* by Compoſition. *Harfleur* ſtood out the Siege, under the Command of a Captain of undaunted Valour Sir *Tho. Curſon*, who notwithſtanding their Batteries and Scaling repulſed them to their great Loſs; but at length ſeeing it impoſſible to ſave the Town he came to a Compoſition with the Enemy to depart with their Lives and Goods. The Submiſſion of this Place was a Terror to the other *Engliſh* Garriſons, ſo that ſome of them voluntarily yielded, as *Lizeux*, which was induced to it by the Biſhop's Means, the Tower of *Griſe*, which made a ſhort Reſiſtance, *Gourney*, *Roche-guion*, which was commanded by one *John Howell*, who to enjoy his Wife's Lands, a *French* Woman, ſurrender'd the Place on Condition the Garriſon might depart in Safety, and himſelf enjoy his Eſtate, and be employ'd in the ſame Station under the *French* King. *Vologues*, and many others. Other Towns were betray'd to the *French*, as *Lagni*, *Gizors*, and ſeveral others, ſo that little remain'd under the Juriſdiction of the *Engliſh* but *Caen*, whither the Duke of *Somerſet* and all the *Engliſh* then in *France* retir'd.

Twelfth Parliament, its Act.

A Parliament was ſummon'd and met *November* the 6th (*d*) at *Weſtminſter*, but nothing of Importance was enacted, only a few Acts paſſed to regulate Abuſes in bringing Merchandizes from *Holland* contrary to an Act made the 27th of this King, in preſſing Horſes and Carts for private Uſe in the King's Name, and in levying Deſtreſſes of Ships by *Cuſtom-Houſe* Officers. But the moſt remarkable Buſineſs done this Parliament was by the Biſhops, who endeavour'd all they could to have the Act of *Premunire* repealed. They had made conſiderable Intereſts in both Houſes to effect their Deſign, but in vain. The greater part of the Lords and Commons were ſo zealous for the Continuance of it, that they were conſtrain'd to endure that Eye-ſore, which remains in Force to this Day.

A. D. 1450.

The ill Condition of the *Engliſh* Affairs in *France*, which tho' very well known in *England*, could not be redreſſed by reaſon of the Diviſions and Diſcontents that were both in Court and Country, began now to be taken a little into Conſideration, and that all might not be loſt, the King ſent over a Supply of 1500 freſh Men under the Command of Sir *Thomas Kiriell* into *Normandy*, who landing at *Cherburg* joyn'd himſelf with ſeveral *Engliſh* Captains, who held ſome Towns in thoſe Parts, and made up an Army of 5000 Men, which being a pretty ſtrong Body, they betook themſelves to Action, and recover'd *Liſieux* and *Vologues*; and becauſe they heard that the *French* were upon their March to beſiege *Caen*, they thought it convenient to hinder their Deſign by giving them Battel by the Way, and accordingly poſted themſelves about *Formignie*, between *Charenton* and *Baieux* to receive them. On *April* 18. the Earl of *Clermont*, Admiral of *France*, and the Seneſchal of *Poictou* with 6000 Foot and 600 Horſe arriv'd at *Formignie* in their Way to *Caen*, but finding the *Engliſh* there, could neither ſafely retreat nor go on, and ſo were forced to abide the Battel, which the *Engliſh* were forward to begin, and the *French* ready to receive them. This Battel was begun with much Courage on both Sides,

Some *Engliſh* Forces ſent into *France* to keep *Normandy*.

The *Engliſh* conquer'd by the *French*.

and the *Engliſh* put ſo hard upon the *French*, that they were forced to give Ground, and the *Engliſh* got from them two Culverings; but in the End *Arthur* of *Brittain*, Earl of *Richmond* and Conſtable of *France* coming in to the Aſſiſtance of the *French* with above 1000 freſh Men vanquiſh'd the *Engliſh*, ſlaying above 3000, and taking 800 Priſoners, among whom were ſeveral Perſons of Note, as Sir *Thomas Kiriell* himſelf, Sir *Henry Norbery*, Sir *Thomas Drew*, Sir *Thomas Kirkly*, and ſeveral others. Sir *Robert Vere* and Sir *Mat. Gough*, that valiant *Welſh*-Man eſcaped. The Victory was obtain'd as the *French* Hiſtorians relate, with the loſs only of Five or Six of their Side, ſo that they impute this to a wonderful Work of God to them. And fluſh'd and encouraged by it they marched on to the Siege of *Caen*, which having ſurrounded on all ſides they fiercely aſſaulted. The Duke of *Somerſet* the Regent in *France* was then in the Town with his Wife and Children, of whom being in fear he ſummon'd the chief Citizens together and told them, 'That it was impoſſi- 'to ſave the City out of the Hands of ſo great 'a Power as the King of *France* had about it, 'and to endeavour it was only to endanger 'themſelves without hopes of Profit, and there- 'fore adviſed them to agree upon as good 'Terms as they could, and reſign the Place. This was welcome Advice to the Citizens, who were ready through Fear or Treachery to outrun any Admonition in that Kind. But it ſeems the Duke, though he had a plenary Authority given him over all Places under King *Henry*'s Juriſdiction, was not without Controul here. The City of *Caen* was given by K. *Henry* to the Duke of *York*, when he was Regent of *France*, and he had made one Sir *David Hall*, an hot and paſſionate Man, but very faithful to his Truſt, Governour of it. He hearing the Duke's Advice to the Citizens, told him boldly, *That he had nothing to do in that Place, which belong'd to the Duke of* York, *and of which the Charge was committed unto him; That the Danger was not ſo great as he had repreſented it to the Citizens to terrifie them, for it wanted neither Men, Money nor Ammunition, and therefore they might defend themſelves at leaſt, till they could have the Duke of* York's *Succour, or Order to ſurrender it. That as to himſelf he would defend it againſt any Power how great ſoever, and if the Town would reſign, he would betake himſelf to the Caſtle with ſuch Soldiers as were Faithful and Valiant, and hold it out to the laſt; That it is true, the Beſiegers make a great noiſe and rattling with their Canon, but that ſcares Women and Children only, and not Men of War.* In the midſt of theſe hot Diſputes between Fear and Courage, Treachery and Fidelity, a Stone Shot by the *French* into the Town fell down between the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet* and her Children. Yet with more noiſe than hurt, for it did no harm, yet it ſcared the Dutcheſs ſo violently, that ſhe immediately went to her Huſband and beſought him on her Knees to have Mercy and Compaſſion on his ſmall Infants, and to ſee them deliver'd out of the Town with Safety. The Duke being moved at the Tears of his Wife, and not knowing how to ſecure her and his Children but by the ſurrender of the Town, yielded it up to the *French* ſore againſt the Will of Sir *David Hall* upon theſe Conditions.

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Caen beſieg'd.

Sir *David Hall* oppoſes the Duke of *Somerſet*.

Caen ſurrender'd by the Duke of *Somerſet*.

(*d*) The Queen thinking to aw the Members by the Number of her Attendance, when ſhe had them in a Country Town, ſummon'd this Parliament to meet at *Leiceſter*: But the Lords and Commons, who knew they were ſafe under the Protection of the City of *London*, refuſed to meet unleſs they were appointed to come to *Weſtminſter*: So the Seſſion was adjourn'd thither.

I. That

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I. That the Town and Caſtle of *Caen* ſhould be ſurrendred to the *French* King on the Firſt Day of *July*, if they were not relieved by that Time.

II. That upon the Surrender of the Town the Duke, Dutcheſs, and their Children, and all others that would leave it, might do ſo, the Soldiers with their Horſes and Harneſs, and the Inhabitants, with their Wives, Children, and Moveables, but at their own Charges.

III. That all Perſons who left the Town, ſhould pay their Debts to the Citizens, and leave behind them all Sorts of Artillery.

IV. That the Duke of *Somerſet* ſhould pay for his Freedom 56000 Scutes, which is about 9600 Pound, and be bound to ſurrender to the *French* King all the Towns in *Normandy*, then in the Hands of the *Engliſh*, leaving the Lord *Talbot* an Hoſtage till both were perform'd.

Upon theſe Terms (for no Succour came by the Time agreed on) was the Town put into the Hands of the *French*; and Sir *David Hall* in his Heat took ſhipping for *Ireland*, to give an Account of this Action of the Duke of *Somerſet*'s to the Duke of *York*, and ſo vex'd him, that the Hatred which he owed *Somerſet*, grew deadly. By the Surrender of this City, *Normandy* was all in the *French* King's Power except Four Towns, *viz. Liſieux*, of which Sir *Matth. Gough* was Commander; *Falois*, which belonged to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*; *Damfront*, and *Cherburg*, which all reſign'd upon Conditions within a Month after: The Liberty of the Earl of *Shrewſbury*, who was Priſoner at *Dreux*, being gain'd by the Surrender of *Falois*, with the Lives and Goods of the Garriſon, as were thoſe of the reſt. *Cherburg* was the laſt Town that yielded, the valiant Captain of it, *Thomas Gonvall*, defending it ſo long as they had Ammunition or Proviſion left to make their Defence; but at laſt he was forc'd to give it up, and with the reſt retreat to *Callis*, where they found the Duke of *Somerſet*. Thus was *Normandy*, Thirty Years after it was conquered by *Henry* V. loſt clearly out of the Hands of the *Engliſh*, and became again the Poſſeſſion of the *French* King. Three Cauſes are given for this Loſs,

Normandy wholly loſt.

1. The *Normans* Treachery, who tho' naturally Subjects to the King of *England*, yet being *French* in Language and Cuſtoms, affected Subjection to the *French* King moſt.

2. The Duke of *Somerſet*'s Avarice, who kept not full Garriſons as he ought to have done, that he might pocket the Money allow'd for Soldiers.

3. The Diviſions at Home, in which the Great Ones engaged with ſo much Zeal, that they had no Affection to Affairs Abroad.

Diſcontents among the People of *England* about the Duke of *Suffolk*'s Actions.

Theſe Loſſes in *France* being heard in *England*, and breeding a general Diſcontent in the People, the Fault was generally laid upon the Governour; and loud Exclamations were rais'd againſt the Duke of *Suffolk*, as the chief Inſtrument of all their Miſeries, alledging, That he it was who had delivered up *Maine* and *Anjou* to the *French*, procur'd the Death of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, devour'd the King's Treaſure, remov'd all the King's vertuous Council from him and plac'd in their Rooms Perſons either openly Vicious, or elſe ſo addicted to his Intereſts, that they could not be Friends to the common Good. Laſtly, That he had been the only Occaſion of the Loſs of *Normandy*. The Parliament was ſtill Sitting, and the Queen, who was not unſenſible of theſe Grudges againſt her Favourite, ſought all Means to hinder any rigorous Proceedings againſt him; and to that End, removed the Parliament to *Leiceſter*, thinking to eſcape the Deſigns againſt him, which the *Londoners* chiefly favour'd; but few of the Nobility appearing there, ſhe was forc'd to bring it back to *Weſtminſter*, where there was a full Appearance. And the Commons preſented an Indictment to the King and Lords againſt the Duke of *Suffolk*, containing many Articles of Treaſon and other Miſdemeanours, the Sum of which is as followeth,

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Duke of *Suffolk* impeached in Parliament in ſeveral Articles.

I. That the ſaid Duke of *Suffolk* had contriv'd and conſulted with *John*, Earl of *Dunois*, commonly call'd, the Baſtard of *Orleans*, and the other Ambaſſadors of the *French* King, then being in *England*, to excite and encourage their Maſter to invade this Realm, and deſtroy the King and his Friends, to the End, that he might raiſe his Son *John*, whom he had married (*e*) to *Margaret*, ſole Heir to *John*, Duke of *Somerſet*, the next Heir, as he pretended, to the Crown of *England*, to be King.

II. That being allur'd by great Rewards and Promiſes from the ſaid Ambaſſadors, he had ſet at Liberty the Duke of *Orleans*, the King's Enemy, contrary to the expreſs Will of *Henry* the Fifth.

III. That by his Advice given to the Duke of *Orleans*, the *French* King had invaded *Normandy*, and the other Countries of *France* belonging to the King, and ſo was now become abſolute Maſter of all *France*.

IV. That being ſent Ambaſſador into *France*, to conclude a Truce, he had agreed to ſurrender *Anjou* and *Maine* to the King's Enemies, under the plauſible Pretence of a Marriage, (*f*) without any Commiſſion from the King ſo to do, or Conſent of the Ambaſſadors ſent with him; and at his Return into *England*, drew the King to approve and comply with all he had done, and ſo forſake his Inheritance of thoſe Countries.

V. That he had betrayed the Weakneſs of the King's Forts and Towns to the Enemy's Captains, when he was in *France*, by which they were encouraged to aſſault them, and took ſeveral of them.

VI. That he had betrayed the King's Councils to the *French* Ambaſſadors, when they were in *England*.

VII. That when Ambaſſadors were ſent into *France* to conclude a Peace, he had hinder'd it, by advertiſing the *French* King of the Advantages he had againſt the *Engliſh*.

VIII. That he had as great Power and Intereſt with the *French* King, as at Home, as he boaſted in the *Star-Chamber*.

(*e*) The Lady *Margaret* was not married to the Duke of *Suffolk*'s Son. Her firſt Husband was *Edmund* of *Hadham*, Earl of *Richmond*, Son of Queen *Katherine*, and *Owen Tudor*, by whom ſhe had *Henry* the Seventh. The Duke was only charg'd with intending to marry his Son to her.

(*f*) Had the Words *Plauſible Pretence of a Marriage* been mention'd it would have been a terrible Mortification to the Queen. But they are not in the original Articles, of which the Fourth is,

That he being Ambaſſador from the King of England *to* Charles, *calling himſelf the* French *King, promiſed to* Reyner *King of* Sicill, *and to* Charles D'Angiers, *his Brother, Enemies to the King, the Releaſe of* Anjou, *with the Deliverance of the County of* Maine, *and the City of* Maunt *or* Mans, *without the Knowledge of the other Ambaſſadors with him accompanied; which Promiſe, after his Return, he cauſed to be perform'd to the King's Diſinheritance and Loſs irrecoverable, and to the Strength of his Enemies, and Feebliſhment of the Dutchy of* Normandy. Hol. *p.* 631.

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IX. That being corrupted by the *French* King, he had kept back our Armies from going into *France*, to oppoſe the Proceedings of the *French*.

X. That in making the League with the *French* King, he had not compriz'd either the Duke of *Bretagne*, or King of *Arragon*, but ſuffered them to be put in by the *French* King, whereby their Amity was loſt; and they became the *French* King's Allies, to the Damage not only of the Nation, but of the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Brother, *Giles*, who adhering to the *Engliſh* Intereſts, loſt firſt his Liberty, and then his Life.

The Popular Charge abovemention'd, was alſo alledged curſorily, but not inſiſted upon, and ſo amounted not to an Article againſt him. The Duke upon theſe Accuſations was arreſted, and brought to his Anſwer, which he deliver'd diſtinctly in this Manner, *viz.*

Duke of *Suffolk*'s Anſwer to them, and Impriſonment.

1. As to the Three firſt Articles he denied, that he had ever thought on, much leſs acted any ſuch Things as they laid to his Charge.

2. To the Fourth he alledged, that the Truce could not be concluded without ſurrendring thoſe Places, and it being permitted him to act as he judged convenient, he had agreed to it.

3. To all the reſt he pleaded not Guilty, and requir'd the Proofs of them, except the Tenth, which he could no ways excuſe.

Theſe Anſwers were judged very inſufficient, and therefore to pacifie the People, he was ſent Priſoner to the Tower, and a great Shew made, as tho' he ſhould be puniſhed ſeverely for theſe his Miſdemeanours; but the Queen loved him too well to do him any Harm, and therefore after he had been a Priſoner about a Month, in which Time ſhe thought the popular Heats againſt him were abated, ſhe releaſed him, and brought him to Court, and had him in as great Favour as ever. This Reſtoration of the Duke of *Suffolk* was no ſooner known, but it begat ſeveral Commotions in the Realm, and the People threatned an Inſurrection. About *Canterbury* a great Multitude aſſembled together, and choſe one *Thomas Thany*, a Fuller, their Captain, and Nick-named him *Blew-beard*; but before they had attempted any Thing, the King's Council being inform'd of it, ſent down a Body of Men to ſeize their Captain and ſeveral of their Ring-Leaders, who being executed, the Rebellion ceas'd, and *Suffolk* was thought to ſtand as faſt as ever. The Parliament which was adjourn'd upon this Occaſion, met again, and the King and Queen went thither (*g*) in great State, being attended with the Duke of *Suffolk* as their Chief Counſellor. The Commons look'd upon the Duke's Preſence as a Bravado to them, and being incens'd at it, put up their Petition to the King, that the Perſons, who had been inſtrumental in delivering up the Countries of *Anjou* and *Maine* to the King's Enemies, ſhould be duly puniſhed; and accus'd the Duke of *Suffolk*, Biſhop of *Salisbury* and Lord *Say* with others, as guilty of it. The King, who did not ſuſpect that Things would have thus been reviv'd, was very fearful of a bad Effect, if *Suffolk* ſhould be left at Liberty, and therefore to pacifie them, he put all the Duke's Adherents out of their Offices and Places about him, and baniſh'd the Duke out of the Realm for Five Years, ſuppoſing, that his Enemy's Hatred to him would cool in that Time, and then he might recompenſe his ſlight Sufferings with double Favours.

Duke of *Suffolk* reſtor'd to his Liberty, and Queen's Favour.

Duke of *Suffolk* baniſh'd.

The Duke ſeeing the Fury of his Enemies, was not backward to leave the Kingdom for a while, and to That End, having got all Things ready, took Ship to paſs over into *France* in *April*. In his Way, he was met by a Ship belonging to the Duke of *Exeter*, then Conſtable of the Tower, call'd the *Nicholas*, which engag'd him, and the Captain having taken the Veſſel he was in, after a ſhort Fight, ſeized upon the Duke, and bringing him into *Dover-Road*, cauſed him to be beheaded on the Side of a *Cock-boat*. A very bold and ſtrange Action, that a private Captain of a Ship ſhould dare to put a Peer of the Realm to death, without ſo much as any Pretence of Order or Quarrel, ſo far as can be known, yet juſt upon *Suffolk* himſelf, who having been inſtrumental in the Death of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, was himſelf as unjuſtly put to death. His Body was caſt upon the Sands at *Dover*, and being found by his Chaplain, who, after he was taken out of his own Ship, attended, and followed him to ſee his Fate, was by him taken up, and conveyed to *Wingfield-College*, in *Suffolk*, (*b*) and there interr'd. His Memory, had he not been engag'd in the Intrigues of a Court-Favourite, which muſt refuſe no Service to advance the Ambition of Princes, or the Deſign of a Court, had been very honourable to this Day; for he was a Man of good Wit and great Courage, as well able to ſerve a Prince as any Man, a faithful Counſellor, a Lover of Piety, and a great Benefactor to the Church. He built the Pariſh-Church of *Eweline*, in *Oxfordſhire*, where his Seat was, and at the *Weſt-End* of it, he founded an Hoſpital for Two Prieſts, and Thirteen poor Men.

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Duke of *Suffolk* beheaded.

Duke of *Suffolk*'s Character.

The Duke of *Suffolk* being dead, who, had he liv'd, would have been a Stop to the Duke of *York*'s ambitious Aims, being an able Counſellor, and ſtout Warrior, tho' thro' Imprudence grown at laſt odious to the People. The Duke of *York*, who was in *Ireland*, began by his Agents and Emiſſaries, to drive more furiouſly and confidently toward the Crown; and to that End, his Friends in all Companies repreſented the preſent State of the Kingdom very miſerable, *viz.* 'That the Nation being govern'd by 'a ſloathful King, and an Ambitious Queen, who 'neither of them underſtood the true Meaſures 'of Government, did daily decay in its Reputation and Intereſts, of which the Loſs of '*France* was an invincible Demonſtration. That 'the publick Good ought to be more nearly 'look'd into, and Men of ſuch Abilities rais'd 'to the Helm, as might both advance the 'Honour of the *Engliſh*, and be a Terror to 'their Enemies. That the Duke of *York* was a 'Perſon every Ways qualified for the greateſt 'Truſt, having given ſuch a Proof of it in compoſing the Rebellion of *Ireland*, with ſo great 'Satisfaction to the People, as well as Safety 'to the King. That in Reality, that Duke 'had the beſt Title to the Crown, the Family 'of *Lancaſter* being no better than Uſurpers; 'and tho' indeed King *Henry* would be tolerable, if he were either like his Father, or his 'Grandfather, whoſe Virtue and Courage 'made their bad Title overlook'd, yet ſince 'his eaſie and gentle Nature renders him uncapable of Governing well, it is better for the 'People to ſet up a Perſon, *who, if he had no Right, were the fitteſt Man in the Nation to weild a Sceptre, much more being the true Heir,*

Duke of *York*'s Ambition to obtain the Crown.

(*g*) The Parliament was on this Occaſion adjourn'd to *Leiceſter*. *Ibid.* 1632.

(*b*) *Thin* in his Liſt of all the Dukes that ever were in *England* down to the Year 1585, ſays the Duke of *Suffolk* was buried in the *Charter-Houſe* at *Hull*.

than

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'than ſuffer others to uſurp the Power of doing 'them and the King himſelf a Miſchief. This ſort of Diſcourſe which was broached by the *Yorkiſts*, was ſo pleaſing to the Nation in general, that in a little time it became the Subject of almoſt all Companies Talk, and every Man's Thoughts and Wiſhes that would pretend to be a Friend to the Commonwealth. But though the Duke himſelf was not inſenſible of his Growth in the People's Favours and Deſires, yet he was afraid to venture to claim the Crown by force of Arms, till he had made ſome open Tryal of the People's Affection to a Change; and to that End he ſtirr'd up one *Jack Cade* an *Iriſh* Man, a Youth of a Princely Stature and Mien, of a very pregnant Wit, and undaunted Boldneſs, to aſſume the Name of the Lord *Mortimer* (*i*), and take up Arms under the ſpecious Pretences of reforming the Abuſes of the Government, and Grievances of the Kingdom, which being grateful Themes uſually to the People eaſily draw Abettors enow after them. The *Kentiſh* Men ſhewed themſelves forwardeſt to joyn with him, and therefore he ſets himſelf at the Head of them, and in a little time by his Promiſes to free the Nation from Taxes and Impoſitions, drew a great Multitude after him, with whom in a Martial Order he marched to *Black-Heath* between *Eltham* and *Greenwich*, and there encamped *June* 1. Here he and his Army continued near a Month pillaging the Country round about, and ſummoning the Citizens of *London*, who favoured his Deſign to bring him in Arms, Horſes and Money, which he ordered them to levy upon the Foreign Inhabitants of that City, *Genoeſe*, *Venetians* and *Florentines*, threatning to kill as many as he could come at, if he were not obey'd. It is not known what the City did; but 'tis probable, his Deſires were ſatisfied, becauſe when he came into *London* a little after, he did no harm to any Foreigner.

Jack Cade ſtirr'd up by the *York* Party to rebel.

Citizens favour him.

In this Time the King and his Council had ſent a Meſſage to the Rebels, to know their Reaſons why they aſſembled after this tumultuous Manner. *Jack Cade* took upon him to give an Anſwer, and aſſured them, *That their coming was not intended for any harm to the King or his Friends, but to amend and reform the Grievances, which the Kingdom groaned under, to chaſtiſe thoſe of his Counſellors, who oppreſſed the People, and tho' Flatterers of his Perſon, were Enemies to his Honour. In fine, Their Aim was to amend whatever was amiſs, and make the Poor Commons happy.* With this ſhort Anſwer they ſent away the King's Meſſengers, promiſing them to exhibit their Complaints and Petitions more at large to the Parliament which was then ſitting at *Weſtminſter*, that they might have their Concurrence with them in ſo good a Work, and accordingly ſent Two Bills to the Houſes in a few Days, the Subſtance of which Papers Follow.

Cade's Anſwer to the King's Meſſengers.

The Firſt they call'd, *The Complaint of the Commons of* Kent, *and the Cauſes of their aſſembling on* Black-Heath. In it they repreſent to the Parliament; 'That it was reported, 'that *Kent* ſhould be depopulated and made a 'Forreſt to revenge the Duke of *Suffolk*'s Death, 'tho' the People of that County were no ways 'guilty of it. That the King had given the 'Revenues of his Crown to his Favourites, and 'reſolved to live on Taxes raiſed on his Subjects, which impoveriſh'd his People. That 'the Lords of the Royal Blood were excluded 'from his Government, and mean Perſons preferred, who would not adminiſter Juſtice 'without Bribes and Gifts. That the Proviſions for the King's Houſe were taken of the 'Subjects, and not paid for, to the undoing of 'many; That the King's menial Servants falſely impeach'd many of High-Treaſon to get 'their Eſtates; That the King's Servants by 'unjuſt Claims of Feoffments have depriv'd divers of the Commons of their Eſtates and 'Rights; That certain Traitors, who have loſt 'the King's Territories in *France*, ſhould be puniſh'd without Mercy; That the Sheriffs and 'Under-Sheriffs of Counties, farming their Offices and Bailiwicks, are forced to extort unjuſt 'Fines from the People to pay the Sums; That 'the Officers of the Court of *Dover* in *Kent* vex 'and arreſt Men in all Parts of the Country upon untrue Actions, and require great Fees of 'them for their Deliverance; That the Freedom of Elections of Knights of Shires hath 'been taken from the People by the Great Men, 'who ſend Letters to their Tenants and Dependants to chooſe ſuch Men, as the People approve not of; That Collectors of the King's 'Taxes being made for Bribes by the Knights 'of the Shire uſe many Extortions to raiſe them; 'And laſtly, That the Seſſions being held in the 'furtheſt Parts of the County *Eaſtward*, the 'People were forced to go five Days Journey to 'them, to their great Trouble and Damage, 'which they deſir'd might be ſettled in two 'Places more conveniently.

The Rebel's Bill of Complaints.

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The other Paper they ſtiled, *The Requeſts of the great Aſſembly in* Kent, and in that humbly petition'd, 'That the King would aſſume to 'himſelf the Demeſnes of the Crown, that he 'might live conformable to his Royal Dignity; 'That the Duke of *Suffolk*'s Kindred ſhould be 'puniſh'd according to the Laws of the Realm, 'and the Lords of the Royal Blood, *viz.* the 'Dukes of *York*, *Exeter*, *Bukingham*, and *Norfolk* 'taken into Favour, and intruſted in the Government, and then he would be the happieſt 'and richeſt Prince of Chriſtendom; That all 'Perſons guilty of the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Death 'be puniſh'd, as falſe Traitors to the King and 'Realm, and the rather, becauſe by their Means 'the Duke of *Exeter*, the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, and the Noble Prince the Duke of *Warwick*, with many other Lords and Gentlemen, 'and all the King's Countries in *France* have 'been loſt. Laſtly, That all Extortions uſed 'daily among the Common People, *viz.* the 'Green-Wax, *King's-Bench*, and *King's-Pourvayors*, and *Statute* of *Labourers* be ſo regulated by 'the King and his Council, that they may not 'be ſuch an intolerable Burthen to the Commons of *England*.

The Rebel's Bill of Requeſts.

Theſe Bills being ſeen and peruſed as well by the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled (*k*), as by the King's Council, were not only condemn'd and diſapprov'd, but the Authors of them judg'd proud and preſumptuous Rebels, not to be gratified with fair Promiſes, but ſuppreſſed by force of Arms. The King who had been providing a Body of Men to chaſtiſe this ſeditious Crew, being thus encourag'd, order'd certain Lords with their Retinues to go before and skirmiſh with them, to ſee whether they would abide a Battel; but the Lord's Men boldly told them, *That they would not fight againſt the Men of* Kent, *who had no other Aim in*

The Parliament order the Rebels to be ſuppreſſed by Force.

(*i*) Of Sir *John Mortimer*, Brother to the Earl of *March*, who was beheaded in the former Reign. *Ibid.* 632.

(*k*) It does not appear that the Complaints of theſe People were rejected by the Parliament, only that the Council, condemn'd 'em as they wou'd have done, had they been more reaſonable, conſidering the Method of preſenting them. See *Hol.* pag. 634.

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their riſing, but to reform the Diſorders of the Government: Whereupon they were forced to give over their Intention. A few Days after the King having gotten an Army of 15000 Men well accoutred march'd with divers Lords to *Black-Heath* to fight the Rebels; but they had Intelligence of his Approach, and *Cade*, as if he had been afraid, retir'd the Night before into a Wood near *Sevenoake*, hoping that the King's Forces emboldned by his Retreat would purſue him in Diſorder, and ſo they might rout them by lying in Ambuſh for them. But the King believing that thro' Fear of his Army the Multitude would diſſolve of it ſelf, return'd to *London*, and by the Queen's Advice, ſent only a Party under the Command of Sir *Humphrey Stafford* and his Brother *William* to purſue them, that if any Parties ſhould keep together they might diſperſe them. Sir *Humphrey* follow'd them to *Sevenoake*, and overtaking them fell upon them with much Fury and Zeal, but being over power'd by the Rabble, he was ſlain with his Brother, and many other Gentlemen, and his whole Party diſcomfited. This Victory tho' ſcarce worth taking Notice of, yet had Two very ill Effects. For,

Rebels kill Sir *H. Stafford*, and rout his Party.

Firſt, It alter'd the Minds of ſuch Perſons of the King's Army as were diſcontented at the Government, inſomuch that they wiſh'd, That the Duke of *York* were here to compleat the Deliverance, which *Mortimer*, whom they now eſteem'd well of, had ſo happily begun, and which all Perſons long'd for. The King perceiving theſe Things to be whiſper'd among his own Soldiers, and fearing leaſt the *Londoners* ſhould riſe and joyn with them, cauſed the Lord *Say* his Treaſurer, whom the Rebels, cry'd much out againſt to be impriſon'd in the *Tower*, reſolving, if Occaſion requir'd, to ſacrifice him to the People's Fury. But the worſt Effect of this Victory was,

Secondly, That it not only encourag'd the Rebels in further Attempts, but invited Multitudes to arm themſelves to joyn with them for this pretended Reformation.

Jack Cade having armed himſelf with Sir *Humphrey Stafford*'s Brigandine, and other Armour, full of gilt Nails marched in great Glory towards *London* with his Rabble, being in his Way joyned with many ſeditious and idle Perſons out of *Surrey*, *Suſſex* and other Places, and again pitched his Tents upon *Black-Heath*, where he ſtrongly encamped himſelf. The Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* and *Humphrey* Duke of *Buckingham* were ſent thither to him by the King to commune with him about his Complaints and Petitions, and to perſwade him to lay down his Arms, and ſubmit to the King's Mercy. He anſwered 'em with much Gravity and Reaſon; but being exalted by his late Victory he reſolutely told them, *That he would not lay down his Arms, unleſs the King came in Perſon, and granted whatever he demanded.* Theſe Anſwers being brought to the King created many Doubts in his Mind what he ſhould do. He had neither Subjects nor Servants he could ſafely rely on, moſt approving of the Rebels Cauſe, if not of their Actions: Whereupon he with his Queen by the Advice of his Council departed to *Killingworth-Caſtle*, leaving no other Forces in *London*, but what was ſufficient to guard the *Tower* under the Command of the Lord *Scales* and Sir *Matthew Gough*, one of the moſt famous Captains in the *French* Wars.

The Rebels encamp at *Black-Heath.*

Cade and the Rebels march to *London.*

The King's Retreat from *London* being heard of by *Cade* and his Followers, they immediately broke up their Camp, and marched towards that City, himſelf lodging the firſt Night in *Southwark* at the *White-Hart*, where hearing what a great Party of the Commons of *Eſſex* were come to his Aſſiſtance, and were encamped at *Mile-End* he did not doubt to carry all before him. The Citizens of *London* ſeeing the Rebels ſo near their City, and expecting Admittance, were in doubt what to do: To deny him was very dangerous, and to give him Entrance would not prove leſs diſadvantageous to them: Whereupon the Mayor called a Council to determine and reſolve on what was to be done. Divers Opinions were among them, but moſt through Fear or Faction were for receiving him. *Robert Horn*, a Fiſh-monger and Alderman vehemently oppoſed them who were for entertaining him, which when the Rebels heard of, they were ſo enraged that the Mayor was forced to put him into *Newgate*, and open the Gates to give them Entrance, which happen'd *July* 2. At his firſt Entrance into the City (that he might gain the Favour and Love of the Citizens, and engage them more firmly to them) he cauſed a Proclamation to be made in the King's Name, ſtrictly charging and commanding all his Followers. *That no Man ſhould dare to offer any Violence or Wrong to any Man, to rob, or take any thing away from any Perſons without paying them for it, or commit any Outrages, or make any Quarrels in the Streets, or abuſe or corrupt any Women, but all ſhould behave themſelves civily and orderly upon pain of Death:* and then he paſſed through *London-Streets*, and going by *London-Stone* ſtruck it with his Sword, ſaying, *Now is* Mortimer *Lord of this City.* At Night he return'd again to his Lodgings at *Southwark*. On the 3d of *July* being *Friday*, this Captain of the Rebels returned again into the City, and having cauſed Sir *James Fines*, Lord *Say* and Treaſurer of *England*, to be brought into the *Guild-Hall* of *London*, had him arraigned before the Lord Mayor and ſeveral of the King's Judges, who by his Order ſat there to try him. The Lord *Say*, as in Law he might, demanded his Priviledge to be try'd by his Peers, but this Plea being dilatory, and he denying to anſwer to the Accuſations brought againſt him before ſuch incompetent Judges, *Cade* took him by force from the Officers and brought him to the Standard in *Cheapſide*, where he cauſed his Head immediately to be cut off, not giving him ſo much Time as to make an end of his Confeſſion. His Head he put on the top of a Spear, and had it carry'd before him, his Body he cauſed to be drawn naked at an Horſe's-Tail through the City as far as his Inn in *Southwark*, and there to be quartered. Nor was his Rage againſt this Nobleman hereby ſatisfied; but ſending to the *Fleet-Priſon* he fetched from thence Sir *James Cromer*, his Son-in-law, who married his Daughter, then Sheriff of *Kent*, and for ſome Extortions he had committed in his Office carried him to *Mile-End* to the *Eſſex* Rebels, and there beheaded him. His Head alſo he fix'd upon a Pole, and had it carried before him with his Father's into the City, the Bearers making them kiſs in every Street to move Laughter from the Beholders, and in his Return to *Southwark* had 'em ſet upon *London-Bridge.*

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Cade admitted in to the City.

The Lord *Say* tried by the Rebels.

Cade and his Captains treated by the Citizens.

Theſe two Days the Citizens had nobly feaſted and courteouſly entertained *Cade* and his Captains; for Alderman *Malpas* at his own Charge gave them a great Dinner; and one *Chorſtis* of St. *Margaret Patin*'s Pariſh did the like; but on the third Day they began ungratefully to requite their kind Hoſts, robbing their Houſes, with many other of the richeſt Citizens,

of

A. D. 1450. Reg 28. of whoſe Wealth they could get Information; and if they found no Treaſure, made them pay great Fines for the Safety of their Lives and Goods. Alderman *Horn*, who had a little before expoſed himſelf to their Rage by his Loyalty to the King, and Zeal for the Safety of the City, was now in Danger of loſing his Life; but his Wife and Friends perceiving that *Cade* loved Money, went to him, and for 500 Marks purchaſed his Liberty.

This Action of the Rebels frighted the Citizens, who ſeeing the ill Effects of admitting the Rebels, began to repent that they accepted not of Alderman *Horn*'s Advice. Neither their Lives nor Goods, Wives nor Daughters were ſafe from the Rapine and Abuſes of a rude Rabble: Wherefore they reſolved to keep out of their City this wicked Captain, and his miſchievous Company, and to that End they ſent to the *Tower* to the Lord *Scales* and Sir *Matthew Gough* to aſſiſt them. The Lord *Scales* readily conſented to their Deſires, and promiſed them to play upon the Rebels with the Cannon of the *Tower*, and appointed Sir *Matthew Gough* to aid the Mayor and Aldermen all he could in this Attempt, by whoſe Advice they having gotten together the Train-bands of the City, planted themſelves to keep the Bridge againſt them, and denied the Rebels Entrance. Their Captain hearing that the City oppoſed their Converſe among them, ordered his Men to force their Paſſage, by which means roſe a ſharp Fight upon the Bridge, ſometimes the Citizens, and ſometimes the Rebels having the better of it, but neither were able to drive the other quite from it. The Fight continued many Hours, till at length both Parties being wearied and tired, a Ceſſation of Arms was agreed upon till the next Day; but upon this Condition, That neither the *Londoners* ſhould go into *Southwark*, nor the Rebels into *London*.

Citizens' keep the Rebels out of the City.

This Conteſt tho' not great, coſt the Citizens ſome Lives of great Value, as Alderman *Sutton*, *Robert Haiſard*, and Sir *Matthew Gough*, a Man whoſe Life was worth a Million of theirs that ſlew him; but it was really the Conqueſt of the Rebels by the wiſe Improvement and Management of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, *John Stafford*. For this great Stateſman being then Chancellor obſerving, that the Hearts of the Rebels began to faint, having the City of *London* for their Enemy, and that *Jack Cade* to ſtrengthen his Party was forced to open the Priſons of the *King's-Bench* and *Marſhalſea*, and give Liberty to that raſcally Crew to ſupport the Cauſe, in which they were the only fit Perſons to engage, ſent for the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to him in the *Tower* (the latter at *Haliwel* for Safety) and having conſulted with him, formed a general Pardon for all Offences hitherto committed, and put the Broad-Seal to it, and paſſing into *Southwark* cauſed it to be publickly proclaim'd there. The poor deluded People, who long'd to be diſmiſſed, were ſo glad to hear it, that without any Reſpect to their Captain, they left him and departed Home, glad to ſecure themſelves, as faſt as they could. *Jack Cade* being thus deſerted by all but a very few, and not daring to ſtay for ſuch Succours as were promiſed him by the Favourers of the Duke of *York*, thought it the wiſeſt Courſe to provide for his own Safety by Flight; and having ſent the beſt of his Plunder by Water to *Rocheſter*, fled in Diſguiſe into *Suſſex* into the Wood-Country adjoyning to *Lewis*, thinking ſo to eſcape, and by gathering a Rebellion again to compaſs his Deſigns, which being known to the King's Council, a Proclamation bearing Date *July* 10. was put out to encourage all Perſons with the Reward of 1000 Mark to apprehend him, and bring him alive or dead to the King or his Council. *Alexander Eden* a Gentleman of *Kent* accidentally (*l*) ſeeing the ſaid *Cade* in a Garden at *Hothfield* in *Suſſex*, valiantly attempted to take him, and in fight with him ſlew him, and bringing him up to *London* in a Cart he receiv'd the Reward promiſed, and generouſly won. His Body was quartered, and the four Parts of it ſent into ſeveral Parts of *Kent*, his Head being ſet on *London-Bridge*.

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Arch-Biſhop's device to appeaſe the Rebellion.

Cade flies and is taken, but dead.

After this the King himſelf went into *Kent*, and ſat in Judgment upon ſeveral Perſons, who either were excepted in the Pardon, or had been again ſtirring up Rebellion in thoſe Parts, and cauſed many of them to be executed in almoſt every great Town as well in *Suſſex* as *Kent* to be a Terror to all Perſons, who ſhall offend in the like Nature for the future. But yet ſo merciful was the King, that whereas above 500 Perſons were obnoxious to his Juſtice, he puniſhed only the Authors, or chief Leaders in the Treaſon.

In the time of theſe Tumults about *London* there were alſo ſeveral Seditious Aſſemblies in other Parts, as in *Wiltſhire*, *Hampſhire* and *London* which did much Miſchief; and among other Things *William Aſcoth*, Biſhop of *Salisbury* after he had ſaid Maſs at *Edington*, was by his own Tenants taken from the Altar in his Albe, and with his Stole about his Neck, and being carried to the top of an Hill adjoyning to the Town, was there ſhamefully murthered on *June* 29. and ſtripped to the Skin: His Shirt which was died in his Blood they divided among them, and diſplay'd the Parts of it as Enſigns of their Wickedneſs which they glory'd in. His Chariot had been robbed the Day before of 10000 Marks.

Several ſeditious Aſſemblies of People.

While the Affairs of *England* were in this Confuſion, *Charles* the *French* King made uſe of the Opportunity to get *Aquitain* into his Hands, juſt as he had done *Normandy* before, and to that End ſent the Earls of *Penthievrres* and *Perigort* to beſiege *Bergerat* in *Guien*, ſituate upon the River of *Dourdon*, of which Captain *Gedding* was Commander. The *French* Forces conſiſted of 2500 Horſe and Lances, which was too powerful an Army for a ſmall Garriſon to oppoſe: Wherefore, becauſe the Captain could expect no Relief he made his Compoſition, that the *Engliſh* ſhould march out on Horſe-back, and have Liberty to carry out all their Goods, the Inhabitants enjoying their own as formerly, and ſo left the Town to the *French*. But yet the Lord *Camois*, Sir *George Seimour*, and Sir *John Arundel*, with divers other valiant Captains, who had the Government of the Country beſtirr'd themſelves much to preſerve it to the *Engliſh* by manning the Towns as well as they could, comforting the Hearts of the *Gaſcoignes* with Promiſes of Rewards, and ſending Letters into *England* for ſpeedy Aid, certifying the King, That unleſs they could have Relief ſoon the whole Country would inevitably be loſt. But all they could get was fair Promiſes, no Relief appeared, nor Aid came; whereupon the *French* Men purſuing their Victories got the Towns of *Fanſaike* by Aſſault, in which 35 *Engliſh* were killed, and all the reſt made Priſoners of War; *Monſerat*, St. *Foy* and *Chalois*, which all yielded upon Conditions, becauſe they ſaw it in vain to

French King gets *Aquitain*.

Reg. 29.

(*l*) *Holinſhead* writes, that he waited for him there. *Ibid.* 635.

ha-

A. D. 1450. Reg. 29. hazard their Lives and Eſtates. *Burdeaux* indeed made a ſmall Reſiſtance, having ſome Advantage upon *Monſieur de Orval*, Third Son of *Monſieur de la Breſh*, who was marching with 4 or 5000 Men to invade the Iſle of *Madock*. The Garriſon of *Burdeaux* having Intelligence of it, iſſued out with an equal Number of *Engliſh* and Townſmen to fight him, hoping, if they could vanquiſh them, to ſet a Period to the *French* Conqueſts. *D'Orval* was as ready to receive them, as they to attack him, and accordingly they came to a Battel, but the Men of *Burdeaux* were beaten with the Loſs of 600, and 1300 taken Priſoners. The *French* got not this Victory without ſome Hurt, for they loſt 800 Men; but the Glory of Conqueſt made Recompence for all, tho' the City yet held out.

Thirteenth Parliament, its Acts.

Upon St. *Leonard*'s Day, which is *November* the Sixth, began the Parliament to ſit at *Weſtminſter*, wherein little was done, but only One Act made, whereby *Jack Cade* was attainted of High Treaſon, and all his Lands, Tenements and Goods given to the King, and his Blood made for ever corrupt. In the Beginning of this Seſſion came the Duke of *Somerſet* out of *Normandy* into *England*; and tho' he was welcom'd Home by the King and Queen, and her Party, yet thro' the Duke of *York*'s Means, and becauſe of the great Loſſes which had happen'd in *France* under his Regency, he was but roughly entertain'd by the People, who cried out againſt him as the Cauſe of the Loſs of *Normandy*, and particularly of the City of *Caen*, the Metropolis of it (*m*). The Commons in Parliament aſſembled could not but take notice of the popular Clamours, and repreſenting to the King his ill Conduct in *France*, and treacherous ſurrendring ſeveral Places to the *French*, caus'd him to be arreſted and impriſon'd *December* the Firſt, which ſo animated the Rabble about *London* againſt him, that they got together in great Multitudes, and plunder'd his Houſe in the *Black-Friers*, carrying away ſuch rich Houſhold Goods, as were portable, and defacing and ſpoiling the reſt. The King hearing of theſe Tumults, put out a ſevere Proclamation, which he caus'd to be publiſh'd in ſeveral Streets of the City, making it Death for any Man to ſpoil or rob Houſes; yet this did not quiet the Rabble, till one of them was beheaded in *Cheapſide* for doing contrary to it.

Duke of *Somerſet* impriſon'd, and his Houſe robb'd.

A. D. 1451. Several Places more taken by the *French* in *Guienne*.

The Baſtard of *Orleans*, with his Brother *John*, Earl of *Angoleſm*, and many other *French* Captains, being encourag'd with almoſt the daily Succeſs of their Arms, carry on their Victories with great Zeal, that they might make their Maſter the compleat King of all his Country. And to this End, they beſieged *Montguion*, which held out 8 Days, and then deſpairing of Relief, yielded; and then went to *Blay*, a Town ſtanding on the Banks of the *Garonne*, which having been lately victuall'd and ſtor'd with Ammunition, ſtood out againſt them; but the *French* fearing no Force without, were reſolv'd that none within ſhould hold it out long; and to that End, beſieged it both by Water and Land, and after ſeveral Aſſaults, took it, having ſlain and taken Priſoners above 200 *Engliſh*. Some few got into the Caſtle with the Captains, but held it out no longer than they could make a good Capitulation, and then rendred it with themſelves into the Hands of the *French*. The other Towns, as *Burgh*, *Liborne* and *Acques*, delivered up their Keys at the firſt Summons. Other Captains of the *French* Party were as active in other Places; and *Dunois* took *Fronſac*, a Place impregnable. The Earl of *Arminack*, an inveterate Enemy to *England*, took the ſtrong Town of *Rion*, and the Earl of *Pontheur Chatillon* in *Perigort*. *Fronſac* held them out till the Feaſt of St. *John Baptiſt*, in hopes to have Relief; but none coming, they ſurrendred according to Covenant. The honourable Conditions upon which they ſurrendred, ſhew that the *French* were glad to gain it on any Terms. They were theſe,

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The Surrender of *Fronſac* and *Burdeaux*.

I. That the Garriſon ſhould march out with their Horſes and Arms, and leave their Artillery behind them.

II. That thoſe that would ſwear Allegiance to King *Charles*, ſhould enjoy their Goods and Eſtates, in whatever Part of the Kingdom they were, and be pardon'd all former Faults.

III. That all that would ſerve the King of *France* in his Wars, whether Citizens or Soldiers of the Garriſon, ſhould have like Entertainment as his other Soldiers.

IV. That ſeveral *Engliſh* Priſoners named, ſhould be ſet at Liberty without Ranſome.

Which being granted, the *Engliſh* left the Town, and went to *Burdeaux*, which was alſo ſoon after beſieged; but made no Reſiſtance, only demanded Time for the coming of Succour, which not appearing by the Day appointed, the Garriſon by Capitulation ſailed into *England*. Theſe ſtrong Cities being reſign'd, all the other Towns in *Guienne* ſurrendred immediately except *Baion*, which the Earl of *Dunois* beſieged *Auguſt* the Sixth. This was a very ſtrong Town, and withſtood the *French* Force, till a great Breach in the Wall being made by their Artillery, they ſaw they muſt be taken, and ſo came to an Agreement, but hard enough, *viz. That the Garriſon ſhould depart with their Arms, and the City pay 40000 Crowns.* The *French* Hiſtorians relate a Miracle that happenn'd the next Day after the Surrender of it, which much ſettled the *French* in their Allegiance to K. *Charles. In a clear Day, and ſerene Sky, there appeared a white Cloud in the Form of a Crucifix, with an Azure Crown on the Top of it, which afterward in the Sight of a Thouſand admiring Spectators, was changed to a Flower-de-Luce, and then within half an Hour after vaniſh'd.* This being generally known, was thus interpreted, *That God by this Prodigy of a White Croſs, did admoniſh them to relinquiſh their Subjection to the* Engliſh, *whoſe Badge was a Red Croſs, and become firm and faithful Subjects to their own King, whoſe Enſign was a White Croſs, and Arms, a Flower-de-Luce.* Whether this were true or no, it is not material to examine; 'tis certain, that all theſe Revolts from the *Engliſh*, proceeded ſo much from a real Affection to the *French* King, and were accompanied with ſuch Hatred to the *Engliſh*, that they were never likely to recover any of their Loſſes again, if they could retain the Little they had left, which was only *Callis*, *Hames* and *Guiſnes*. Thus thro' the Factions of the Nobles and Commons in *England*, caus'd by the Queen's ill Management, was the *Engliſh* Intereſt in *France* quite neglected, and all their Territories loſt.

A Prodigy in the Air.

The Duke of *York* yet being in *Ireland*, was nevertheleſs believ'd to be the Fomenter and Stirrer up of *Jack Cade*'s Rebellion, and the other Diſorders of the Nation by his Friends and Emiſſaries; and tho' he was at firſt thought

Duke of *York* ſuſpected to favour the Rebels.

(*m*) *Roan* is the Metropolis or Capital City of *Normandy*.

to

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to have done the King Service by allaying the Sedition in *Ireland* with ſo much Mildneſs and Gentleneſs, yet now it was interpreted at Court, as nothing but Policy to ingratiate himſelf with the People, that he might gain their Aſſiſtance to compaſs his Deſigns in *England*; and therefore it was fear'd, that when ever he return'd, he would bring an Army with him, and diſturb the Peace of the Nation. For theſe Reaſons the King ſent out his particular Orders into *Wales*, *Cheſhire*, *Shropſhire* and other Places, to hinder the Duke from Landing, if he brought any Number of Men along with him; and ſeveral Perſons were employ'd to ſet their Friends in *Ireland* a-work, to take notice of his Motions and Actions which might tend to Rebellion; that if any Thing of that Nature appear'd, the King by timely Intelligence might provide for it. This after it was known to the Duke, he took very ill, and by Letter expoſtulated concerning it to the King, aſſuring him, *That he always had been, and ever would be the King's true Subject.* The King denies not the Fact, but owns that he did give ſuch Orders, becauſe of the ſeveral ſeditious Speeches which had been given out concerning him, as well by Seamen as others, which he took to be juſt Cauſe of Fears; but ſince he had declar'd, That he had never intended any ſuch Thing, the King in his Anſwer concludes his Letter thus. *For the Eaſing of your Heart in all ſuch Matters, We declare, repute, and admit you, as our true and faithful Subject, and faithful Couſin.*

King *Henry*'s Progreſs and his Acts at *Exeter.*

Towards the Latter End of this Year of the King's Reign, King *Henry* took a general Progreſs over the Nation, and came to the City of *Exeter July* 16th. being St. *Kenelm*'s Day, where he was honourably receiv'd by the Clergy, who met him Three Miles from the City, and convey'd him to the Cathedral firſt, and then to the Biſhop's Houſe, where he lodg'd. During his Abode, he caus'd a Seſſions to be held before the Duke of *Somerſet*, to try ſeveral notorious Criminals and Traitors, who had fled to that Sanctuary, and condemn'd ſeveral of them to Death. The Biſhop and Clergy hearing of it, came with heavy Complaints to the King, that by holding a Seſſions there, he had violated the Priviledge of the Sanctuary, and that theſe actions being againſt Law, were of no effect. The King and his Council told the Biſhop, 'That it was a Scandal to the Church 'and Religion, that ſuch holy Places ſhould be 'a Patronage and Defence to ſuch wicked 'Men, which the Law of God had commanded 'to be puniſh'd by the Magiſtrate's Sword: 'That the Perſons condemn'd, were the moſt 'notorious Malefactors found guilty upon a 'Legal Examination and Tryal, and ought to 'be puniſh'd for a Terror to others: That if 'all Sorts of Crimes might find a Safety in San'ctuaries, contrary to their firſt Intention, Ju'ſtice would be laid aſide, and none puniſh'd 'but ſuch as were not nimble enough to get in'to theſe Places. All theſe Arguments would not prevail. Holy Church, nor the Sanctuary muſt not be prophan'd (as they ſaid) with deciding of temporal Matters, and paſſing Sentences of Condemnation; tho' God orders expreſly, *That all wilful Offenders ſhould be taken from the Altar and puniſh'd.* Theſe Exclamations mov'd the mild King ſo, that he let fall his lawful Proceedings, and releas'd many notorious Traitors and Criminals, tho' as he judg'd to the Diſgrace of the Church; and ſoon after return'd to *London.*

The Duke of *York*, having receiv'd Intelligence in *Ireland* of the bad Succeſs of his Affairs in *England*, that *Jack Cade* was defeated, and his Company wholly routed, reſolv'd to go himſelf into *England* to conſult with his Friends, and lay a better Foundation for his Proceedings. About *Michaelmas* he left *Ireland*, and came to Shore in *England* at *Beau-maris*, an Haven of *Angleſey*, in *Northwales*, intending to have landed there; but by the King's Order and Command, he was kept from it by certain Officers ſent by the King thither, *viz. Henry Norrice*, Deputy-Chamberlain, *Tho. Norrice*, his Brother, *William Buckley*, *William Gruſt* and *Bartholomew Bold*, ſaying, *That he was a Traitor, and an Enemy to the King, and ſhould have neither Landing, Refreſhing, nor Lodging for Men or Horſes there.* Theſe Words highly offended the Duke, but he had no Remedy but Patience; wherefore Coaſting a while, he got a ſafe landing Place, and poſted with all Speed to his Friends and Well-wiſhers, who waited for his Arrival at *London.* His chief Aſſiſtants and Counſellors were *John Mowbrey*, Duke of *Norfolk*; *Richard Nevill*, Earl of *Salisbury*, in Right of his Wife, who was Daughter and Heir to the valiant Hero, *Thomas Montague*, who was ſlain in the fatal Siege of *Orleans*; the Lord *Richard Nevill*, his Son, who was afterwards Earl of *Warwick*, by the Marriage of the Lady *Ann Beauchamp*; *Thomas Courtney*, Earl of *Devonſhire*, who married the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Daughter, yet ſided againſt her Father; and *Edward Brook*, Lord *Cobham.* All of them Perſons of great Authority, numerous Attendants, and daring Valour. Theſe with others of his Friends of leſs Note, had divers Meetings and Conſultations how to raiſe him to the Throne; and at laſt came to a Reſolution, *That the Duke of* York *ſhould raiſe an Army under a Pretence of the Publick Good*, viz. *to remove the bad Counſellors about the King, and revenge the manifeſt Injuries and Wrongs done to the Kingdom by the Perſons now in Authority, and particularly the Duke of* Somerſet, *who had loſt* Normandy; *and being chief in Favour with the Queen, was ſuppos'd to manage all.* But that he might have the fairer Pretences to do this, it was adviſed, *That he ſhould firſt advertiſe the King himſelf of it by Letter, that it might be redreſs'd; and if he obtain'd it not, (as he knew 'twas not any ways likely he ſhould) then his taking Arms would be the more juſtifiable, and the People would the more certainly and readily take part with him.* The Duke was not ſlack to follow theſe Methods, and accordingly in a few Days diſpatch'd a Letter to the King, in which he ſubmiſſively tells him, *That great Murmur and Grudging was univerſally in the Realm, becauſe Juſtice was not duly adminiſtred againſt ſuch as treſpaſſed and offended againſt the Laws; and eſpecially againſt ſuch as were indicted of High-Treaſon, or ſaid openly to be guilty of it, whereby great Inconveniences have riſen to the Realm. Wherefore he counſels and adviſes the King, offering himſelf to be an Aſſiſtant in it, forthwith to ordain and provide, that impartial Juſtice be done to puniſh the ſaid Offenders, and and redreſs all Diſorders in Government; and to that End, to ſend his Writs out to arreſt ſuch Perſons as are guilty of it, of what Eſtate or Degree ſoever they be, and to commit them to the Tower of* London, *and other Priſons, there to remain without Bail or Mainprize, till they ſhall be deliver'd thence by Courſe of Law, and particularly the Duke of* Somerſet. The King not ſuſpecting the Deſign, nor obſerving how he ſought an Occaſion to quarrel with him, returns him this Anſwer. *That he had determin'd ſometime ſince with himſelf to erect a Council, (of which he had appointed the*

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Duke of *York* goes into *England* from *Ireland.*

Duke of *York* and his Friends contrive a Rebellion.

The Duke of *York*'s Letter to the King.

The King's Anſwer.

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the Duke of York *to be one*) *and give them a more ample Authority and Power, than ever any had before, to reform all Diſorders, and puniſh all ſuch notorious Crimes as he complain'd of; but being a Matter of great Importance he would adviſe firſt with his Chancellor, and other Lords of his Council about it, and with them take ſuch Orders as ſhould be for the Publick Benefit of the Nation, and in the mean time would keep the Duke of* Somerſet *under ſuch Safe-guard, that he ſhould be ready to anſwer to the Crimes objected againſt him.*

A. D. 1452.

Duke of *York* raiſes an Army in *Wales*, and marches to *London*.

This Anſwer, tho' as full as could be expected from a King to a Subject, did not at all ſatisfie, but the Duke immediately goes into *Wales* to levy an Army under Colour of removing bad Counſellours, and preſerving the Nation from Ruin, and in a little time gather'd a great Number of People to aſſiſt him in his Enterprize. The King had ſoon Information of the Duke's Actions and Doings in thoſe Parts from his Friends there, and having raiſed a ſtrong Army, marched into *Wales* with the Duke of *Somerſet* (now ſet at Liberty) along with him, intending to ſuppreſs the growing Rebellion in its Riſe; but the Duke of *York* had Notice of the King's March towards him, and declined him, hoping to increaſe his Numbers in his Paſſage and to get Poſſeſſion of *London*, to which he was reſolv'd to go directly. The King was not preſently ſenſible of the Duke's March by him, and ſo he recovered *London* before the King could overtake him; tho' after he heard that he was march'd that way, he followed him with all convenient Speed. The Duke ſent ſome of his Friends before him to the Citizens to repreſent his Undertaking to them, and ſhew them, that he had put his Life in his Hands, and adventured the Loſs of all that was dear to him, that he might retrieve the Nation from impending Ruin; and ſince *London* was the Capital City, they were chiefly concerned to join with him in ſo noble an Attempt, which if they would do, he doubted not of ſuch Succeſs as ſhould enable him to requite their Favours with infinite Advantage to them: But the *Londoners* dared not to venture a ſecond Time, ſince they had been ſo Unſucceſsful in *Jack Cade*'s Rebellion, and ſo deny'd to receive him into their City. The Duke tho' greatly diſappointed diſſembled his Anger, and croſſing over the Bridge at *Kingſtone*, pitched his Camp on *Burnt-Heath* near *Dartford*, within Ten or Twelve Miles of *London*, with Trenches and Artillery. The King who followed the Duke the faſter becauſe he ſeem'd to flie, came up to *London* ſoon after and encamped his Army on *Black-Heath*, a few Miles diſtant from him; but before he would come to a Battle being very ſparing of his Subjects Blood on both Sides, he ſent the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Thomas Bourchier*, Biſhop of *Ely*, *Richard Woodvile*, Lord *Rivers*, and *Richard Andrews*, Keeper of his Privy-Seal to know of the Duke for what Cauſes he had taken up Arms to diſturb the Peace of the King and his Good Subjects, and to exhort him to ſubmit to the King's Mercy and lay down his Arms. The Meſſage was deliver'd to him by theſe Perſons, and he anſwer'd, *That he had taken up Arms not to do any Damage to the King, either in his Honour or Perſon, nor any of the King's good Subjects, but to remove from him ſeveral ill-diſpoſed Perſons of his Council, Enemies of their Country and King, who abuſed the Nobility, oppreſſed the Clergy, and impoveriſhed the Commons, of whom the Duke of* Somerſet *was the Chief, and if the King would put him into ſafe Cuſtody, till he ſhould in Parliament make a Defence to ſuch Things, as ſhould be objected againſt him, he would diſmiſs his Troops, and preſent himſelf before the King, and ſerve him as all good Subjects ought to do.* The Biſhops and Lords, who were ſent from the King, had a Commiſſion to grant any reaſonable Terms of Agreement which the Duke ſhould require, and therefore aſſured him, that the Duke of *Somerſet* ſhould immediately be clap'd up in Priſon, and ſo the Duke on the firſt of *March* diſmiſſed his Army, and broke up his Camp according to his Promiſe.

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Duke of *York* diſmiſſes his Army.

This Peace which might ſeem to ſavour of Cowardiſe, was made by the Duke out of Policy and good Conſideration; for the King's Army was much greater than his, and conſiſted of much better Soldiers, ſo that he was in danger to have loſt all, if he had come to a Battle; Beſides, he had a further Reaſon to diſmiſs his Army, which he more relied on, and that was, That by diſmiſſing his Men upon Promiſes of a Reformation, he would give the Nation a Proof, that he purely ſought their Good, and not his own Advancement, that he aimed not at the Crown, but publick Welfare.

Some Days after Things were thus compoſed the Duke of *York* went to the King's Tent at *Black-Heath*, but contrary to his Expectation finding the Duke of *Somerſet* at Liberty, he burſt out into a Paſſion, and complain'd of the King's Breach of Promiſe in not impriſoning him, whom he accuſed of Treaſon, Bribery, Oppreſſion, and many other Crimes, but *Somerſet* as hotly recriminated, telling him, *that he was the greateſt Traitor*, affirming, *that had contrived with his Friends and Accomplices to depoſe the King and aſſume the Crown to himſelf and Poſterity.* The King was amaz'd at the Words of both Sides, and put off the Hearing of them to a full Council, which he reſolved immediately to call; and to that End return'd to *London* with all ſpeed, and ſummon'd all his Nobles together at *Weſtminſter*. By the Way it was much wonder'd at, that the Duke of *York* was carried as a Priſoner, but *Somerſet* went at large. Before the King and his Council thus met the two Dukes charged each other with great Crimes. *York* urged all the popular Accuſations, as the Loſs of *Normandy*, Bribery, and Oppreſſion of the People with much Zeal, and many Aggravations. *Somerſet* anſwer'd them all, and added further, *That the Duke of* York *had long ago reſolv'd upon the Ruin of the King, and the Houſe of* Lancaſter, *that he might make himſelf King, and transfer the Crown upon himſelf and his Family, and to that End had conſpired with many others how he might do it with moſt Certainty and leaſt Danger: That if the Duke of* York *and his whole Family were not now puniſh'd with Death for theſe Crimes, ſuch a Civil War would enſue as would prove the utter Deſtruction of the King and Kingdom.* The Duke of *York* utterly denied this heavy Charge, and the Council was inclined to accept his Denial, as an Argument of his Innocency, partly becauſe they thought, that if he had really been guilty of any ſuch Crime, he would not have diſmiſſed his Army ſo eaſily, and partly becauſe there was a Rumour ſpread abroad, that the Earl of *March* the Duke of *York*'s Eldeſt Son was coming up to *London* with a great Army of *March-men* to deliver his Father, which concurring with ſome Neceſſities of State to uſe the King's Army in *Gaſcoigne*, which Province having ſent the Earl of *Kendall* and Lord *D'Eſpar* to offer their Obedience again, if they could be ſure of Defence from the *French*, the Duke of *York* was diſcharged after he had taken an Oath in St. *Paul*'s Church before the King and all his Nobility,

Duke of *York* encamp'd at *Burnt-Heath*, and the King on *Black-Heath*.

Dukes of *York* and *Somerſet* accuſe each other.

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Duke of *York* ſwears Allegiance to K. *Henry.* See the Oath at length in *Holinſhead* and *Stow.*

to this Effect. 'That he is, and ever would 'be the King's humble and faithful Subject, and 'bear him Faith and Truth all the Days of his 'Life; That he would at no Time aſſent to 'any thing attempted or done againſt his no-'ble Perſon, and if he had Knowledge of any 'ſuch Purpoſes would diſcover them to the 'King's Highneſs, and do all he could to hin-'der them; That he would never take any 'thing upon him againſt the King's Royal State 'or Obeiſance, nor ſuffer others ſo to do, but 'come always at the King's Commandment, un-'leſs hindered by Sickneſs; That he would not 'for the future aſſemble or gather together any 'People unleſs at the King's Command, or in 'his own Defence, but if he were wronged or 'aggrieved would proceed after a Courſe of 'Law for Remedy of them: All this he promi-'ſed to obſerve and keep by the Holy Evange-'liſts, which he laid his Hand on, the Croſs, 'which he touched, and the Holy Sacrament, 'which he was about to receive; and deſired 'that if he ever attempted any Thing by Arms 'againſt the King's Majeſty, he might be for 'ever accounted a forſworn Man, and depri-'ved of his Eſtate and Dignity; declaring, 'that he did all this without any Conſtraint, and ſo ſubſcribed and ſealed it. The Duke of *York* being ſet at Liberty by theſe Means, went to his Caſtle of *Wigmore* in the *Marches of Wales* and there kept himſelf as it were in Private, yet not without his Spies upon the Court, and the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Actions, who after his Departure was freed from his Rival, and roſe higher in the Favour of the King and Queen than ever, ruling and governing all, as he pleaſed.

The King and Council having wiſely compoſed this Domeſtick Broil, though indeed it was but like a Sore skinned over for the preſent, which breaks out more violently, fell cloſe to a Conſultation, how to anſwer the Expectation of the People of *Gaſcoigne*, who being oppreſſed with the King of *France*'s Army, and with Taxes, longed for the old Liberty they enjoyed under the *Engliſh*, and grew weary of the *French* Yoke. Delays in this Caſe are dangerous. The Commons are fickle and unconſtant. The *Gaſcoignes* if not eaſed might and would change their Minds, and turn to the *French* again: Whereupon an Army was diſpatched into *France* under the Command of the valiant Lord *Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who though a Perſon always diligent, yet in this Caſe out-did himſelf, and with 3000 men arrived in the Iſle of *Madocke* before he was ſuſpected. His Deſign was to march directly to *Bourdeaux*, but was ſtopped in his Way a few Days by the ſtrong Town of *Fronſacke*, which held out againſt him, yet after a fierce Aſſault yielded; and he uſed the Inhabitants the more ſeverely, becauſe he would terrifie the neighbouring Towns, which without more ado returned to their Obedience. The City of *Bourdeaux* hearing of *Talbot*'s Arrival ſent Meſſengers by Night to him to take Poſſeſſion of the City, which he neglected not one Moment to do, and got before the Town, the *French* having no Suſpition of them. At his Arrival the Citizens opened a Gate to give the *Engliſh* Entrance, which when the *French* Garriſon obſerved, they endeavoured to have ſaved themſelves at a Poſtern, but being purſued moſt of them were taken and impriſoned, but very few or none ſlain, either of them or the Townſmen. The Lord *D'Eſpar* and his Friends were very ſerviceable to the *Engliſh* in taking the Town. The Lord *Talbot* fix'd here a while to fortifie the City, and confirm them in their Duty to K. *Henry*,

An Army of *Engliſh* ſent into *Gaſcoigne.* Reg. 31.

Bourdeaux gain'd by the Lord *Talbot.*

that he might more ſafely leave them to regain the adjoyning Country.

A. D. 1452. Reg. 31. *A. D.* 1453.

While he was doing this, K. *Henry* ſent over a Recruit of 2200 Men to join with him with Victuals and Ammunition under the Command of the Baſtard of *Somerſet*, Sir *John Talbot*, Son to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Lords *Moline*, *Harington* and *Camois*, and ſome others, with which he marched into the Country about *Bourdeaux*, and obtained many Towns and Villages without ſtriking a ſtroke, the Inhabitants gladly embracing the Opportunity of ſubmitting to the *Engliſh* under the Pretence of Fear and Force, to which they had ſuch Inclinations through the Severity of their new Lord. The King of *France* hearing of this Invaſion by the *Engliſh*, and with what Succeſs they went on in taking Towns, raiſed an Army to oppoſe them, and ſending his Son-in-law Count *Clermont*, and *Meſſiers de Lorhac* and *Orvall* with 600 Horſe, and 1200 Croſs-bow-men to put ſome ſtop to their Progreſs till he could gather a bigger Force, came in a few Days to them with 22000 Men, of which he kept 15000 in a Body, and ſent the reſt under the Marſhal *De Lorhac* to beſiege *Chaſtillon*, a Town which had lately revolted to the *Engliſh*. The Lord *Talbot* was as zealous to keep what he had gotten as to gain more, and therefore made haſte to raiſe the Siege, having with him 5000 Foot, and 800 Horſe. In his Way he took a Tower fortified by the *French*, and meeting with a Party of 500 which were come out a Foraging, he encountred them, ſlew and took many of them, the reſt flying to the Camp at *Chaſtillon*, gave Notice to them of *Talbot*'s Approach. The *French* hearing it were afraid to hold on their Siege, and withdrew in good Order into their Camp which they had trenched, ditched, and fortified with Ordnance. *Talbot* had information, that the Siege was remov'd, and that the *French* had ſo placed themſelves, that he could not attack them but at a great Diſadvantage, yet knowing that the main Army of the Enemy was near, and that it would be almoſt impoſſible to free himſelf of it without fighting, he went on and aſſaulted the Camp with ſo much Fierceneſs, that he at laſt gain'd the Entry into it after a long and dubious Conteſt; but riding himſelf in the midſt of his Soldiers to encourage them in this brave Action, was ſurrounded by his Enemies, and with an Hand-gun-ſhot through his Thigh, which killed his Horſe, and he fell to the Ground, and ſo being in their Power was ſlain. His Son Sir *John Talbot*, Lord *Liſle* was cloſe by his Father when this Accident happen'd, who adviſed him to ſave himſelf by Flight, becauſe the Victory was loſt, and it would be Fool-hardineſs, not Courage to oppoſe a deſperate Fate. He was young and might do his Country Service, if he would reſerve himſelf to a more lucky Juncture, but it would ſtain all his former Actions ſo to do. The young Man, though never in a Battle before, yet had ſo much of his Father's Courage in him, that he would not ſhrink back, and choſe rather to die with his Father than accept that Advice which might make him look not like his Son. With him died alſo Sir *Henry Talbot* his Baſtard Brother, and Sir *Edward Hall* with 300 others, Men of Note and Valour. The Lord *Molins* and 60 more were taken Priſoners, the reſt that ſaved themſelves eſcaped to *Bourdeaux*, the Slain on the *Engliſh* Side were 1000, the *French* ſay 2000. The Lord *Talbot* being thus kill'd in the 80th Year of his Age, and the *Engliſh* Army routed, *Chaſtillon* ſurrender'd it ſelf into the Hands of the *French* upon Conditions, That the *Engliſh*

King of *France* raiſes an Army to oppoſe the Lord *Talbot.*

The Earl of *Shrewſbury* killed and his Son.

July 13.

A. D. 1453. Reg. 31. Garriſon might march out with their Goods, and paſs ſafely to *Bourdeaux*. The Body of this brave Man lay ſometime among the Dead undiſcover'd, but being after found out by his Friends, was carried to *Whitchurch* in *Shropſhire*, and there interr'd. After this Defeat, the *French* Towns revolted as faſt from the *Engliſh* as they before came over to them, ſo that the *French* King in a few Weeks recover'd all *Gaſcoigne* except *Bourdeaux*, which being the laſt that held for the *Engliſh*, the *French* King beſieg'd it in Perſon with his whole Army, reſolving not to leave it till he had taken it. The Citizens valiantly defended themſelves as long as they had any Proviſions left, but being oppreſſed by Famine, were forc'd to capitulate. The *French* King willingly accepted their Propoſals, and granted them almoſt as eaſie Conditions as they could deſire; for his Army was as ſeverely afflicted by the Plague without, as the Beſieged were by Famine within; ſo the City of *Bourdeaux* was yielded to the *French* on theſe Conditions.

Burdeaux retaken.

I. That the *Engliſh* might have Liberty with all their Subſtance to depart ſafely into *England* or *Calis*, and the *Gaſcoignes* enjoy their Goods and Poſſeſſions.

II. That the Lords *D'Eſpar*, *Duras*, and 30 others, ſhould never upon pain of Death be found in any of the *French* King's Dominions.

And thus was the Dutchy of *Aquitain* wholly loſt, after it had been in the *Engliſh* Hands near 300 Years.

Reg. 32. In the Beginning of this Year of his Reign, had King *Henry* a long Sickneſs at *Claringdon*, in which he was in great Danger of his Death, and happy had he been if God had taken him away from the Troubles, which were ſhortly to come upon him; but it pleaſed the Almighty to lengthen out his Life, and by the Uſe of Means to reſtore him to his former Health, which concurring with another great Bleſſing to the Royal Family, the Birth of a Prince, caus'd great Joy at Court, and thro' the whole Nation, with thoſe who bore a good Will to the *Lancaſtrian* Line. For Queen *Margaret* was deliver'd of a Son at *Weſtminſter*, *October* 13. who was ſhortly after Chriſtned by the Name of *Edward*. But the *Yorkiſts*, who ſought to eſtabliſh the Duke of *York* and his Family in the Throne, and were hot in contriving the Ways to it, ſpake diſgracefully and ſcornfully of this Birth; and gave it out, That the King was inſufficient and unable to get a Child, and therefore it was an adulterous Brat; but others thinking this Slander too notorious, becauſe the King was not above Two or Three and Thirty Years Old, and might well enough be ſuppos'd able to father a Child, unleſs a natural Impotency could have been prov'd againſt him, which neither was, nor could be, denied not that the Queen had a Child; but dying ſoon after its Birth, the Prince was another's Child put in his ſtead. The King and Queen were much diſturb'd at theſe vile Reports of their Enemies; but the King was not at all diſpleas'd with the Queen, which ſhew'd he had no Suſpicion of her; and it can't be reaſonably ſuppos'd, that a Perſon of ſuch eminent Piety, as K. *Henry* was allow'd to be by his Enemies, would be privy to ſo ill a Deſign, as to accept another's Child for his own, ſo that the Satisfaction which the King took in the Birth of the Prince, and teſtified in Feaſting the Court, and creating divers Noblemen, as his Two Brethren by Mother's ſide, he made *Edmund*, Earl of *Richmond*, and *Jaſper*, Earl of *Pembroke*, muſt be allow'd Arguments ſufficient to clear the Queen's Innocency with all impartial Perſons, tho' they would not ſatisfie their Enemies, who were reſolv'd to deprive both Father and Son of the Crown.

K. *Henry* dangerouſly ſick.

Prince *Edward* born, and the Queen aſperſed about the Birth.

A. D. 1453. Reg. 32.

John Norman, who this Year was made Mayor of *London*, was ſworn at *Weſtminſter* according to the common Cuſtom, upon the Morrow after the Feaſt of St. *Simon* and St. *Jude*'s Day; but whereas formerly the Mayor uſed to ride with great Pomp, attended with the Aldermen, and a numerous Train thro' the City to *Weſtminſter*, to be ſworn This Mayor was rowed in Barges to the great Advantage of the Watermen, who foreſeeing the Profit, made a Song upon his Commendation, beginning, *Row the Boat* Norman, *Row to the* Lemman, *&c.* From him and his Time hath the Cuſtom been deduc'd which ſtill continues, for the Mayor to go by Water to *Weſtminſter* to be ſworn, and pity it is, it ſhould be ever alter'd, which is ſo beneficial a Cuſtom to the poor Watermen.

Mayor of *London* firſt went to *Weſtminſter* by Water to be ſworn.

The. Bourchier made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *A. D.* 1454.

A little befor *Chriſtmas* in this Year died *John Kemp*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who was tranſlated from the See of *York* to that See in the Room of *John Stafford*. *Thomas Bourchier*, Biſhop of *Ely*, Son to the Counteſs of *Stafford*, and Brother to *Henry Bourchier*, Earl of *Eſſex*, was remov'd to the See of *Canterbury*, being made Biſhop of that See, by *Nicholas* V. then Pope of *Rome*. He behav'd himſelf ſo well in this great Station, that King *Henry* made him his Chancellor, and Pope *Paul* II. rais'd him to the Dignity of Cardinal, ſo that he was as great a Man, as ever ſat in that Archiepiſcopal Seat.

The Beginning of the Wars between the Families of *York* and *Lancaſter*.

The Wars of *France* being now at an End, the Civil Diſſentions between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter* began in contending for the Crown. *Richard*, Duke of *York*, was the Author of this War, and tho' he had ſworn to King *Henry* never to diſturb his Peace, nor move any Rebellion againſt him; yet his ambitious Deſire of Rule would not let him reſt, till he had the Crown on his Head. His Title indeed was very fair according to the Laws of this Realm, being the great Grandſon of *Lionell*, Duke of *Clarence*, Elder Brother to *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, by whom the Three *Henries* derived their Right to the Crown. But King *Henry* VI. tho' his Title was not ſo fair and clear, yet not being the Uſurper himſelf, but ſucceeding upon the Uſurpation of his Father and Grandfather, Two moſt excellent Princes, and being himſelf of known Goodneſs and Piety, had ſo deep an Hold in the People's Affections, both for his Father's Sake as well as his own, that any barefac'd Pretenſions to the Crown, eſpecially conſidering that none of the Line of the Duke of *Clarence* were ever in Poſſeſſion of the Throne, would have appear'd both ſtrange and ridiculous. And therefore the Duke of *York* ſpent moſt of this Summer in inſinuating Jealouſies into the Heads of the People, and by common Bruits and Reports to foment their Diſcontents. The Two Things which he chiefly buzz'd into their Ears, were,

York's Inſinuations into the Commons and Nobles.

1. That King *Henry*, tho' a very pious, good Man, was too meek and mean-Spirited to rule a Kingdom, which not his Enemies only thought of him, but his Friends, who abus'd his Weakneſs, and uſurp'd his Power; the Queen and the Duke of *Somerſet* ruling all at their Pleaſure, and leaving him nothing but the Name of King, which certainly was an intolerable Encroachment upon the People, and a Shame to *England* all over the World, to be govern'd by a Woman and her Minions. That the Condition of the

A. D. 1454. Reg. 32. Reg 33.

the preſent Times were ſuch, that they requir'd a King of Valour, Activity and Judgment, who by his Virtues and Wiſdom, might ſettle Affairs both Abroad and at Home.

2. That notwithſtanding he had once taken up Arms to reſcue the Kingdom out of the Hands of the Duke of *Somerſet*, and bring him to an Account for the unfaithful Management of his Truſt in his Regency in *France*, in loſing the whole Dukedom of *Normandy*, and had by Agreement laid down his Arms upon the King's Promiſe, that *Somerſet* ſhould be kept in ſafe Cuſtody, and give an Anſwer to all Accuſations brought againſt him the next Parliament, which was ſoon to meet for that Purpoſe, yet nothing was done in it. The Duke enjoy'd not only Liberty, but was in greater Favour and Power than ever, and no Parliament likely to meet, ſo that the Kingdom was in as bad or worſe Condition than before; and the Men who were the Ruin of the Nation, were honour'd and encourag'd. A lamentable Poſture of Affairs! And ſhall the Lovers of their Country ſtand ſtill and ſee its Deſtruction, without putting an helping Hand to deliver it?

York's Friends.

By theſe and ſuch like Speeches he had diſpos'd the Nation to a Rebellion, not againſt the King, (for no Harm was meant him good Man, who did no Ill to any Man, and deſir'd the Nation's Welfare in all Things) but againſt the Queen, Duke of *Somerſet*, and the reſt of the Cabal, who uſurp'd the King's Authority. The Duke in the mean Time wrought himſelf into the good Opinion of the Nobility, who moſt of them hated the Queen's Doings, and envied *Somerſet*'s Greatneſs, and eſpecially made the Two *Nevills*, Father and Son, the one Earl of *Salisbury*, and the other Earl of *Warwick*, his Friends; *Salisbury* the moſt eminent for Policy and Council, the Earl of *Warwick* very popular, and admir'd for his innate Valour and Magnificence, Men able to raiſe and depoſe as they pleas'd. Things being thus concerted among theſe Noblemen, and contriv'd to be put in Execution. The firſt Attempt they made was upon the Duke of *Somerſet*, whom they caus'd to be arreſted in the Queen's Bed-Chamber, and ſent him to the Tower of *London*, where he kept but a ſad *Chriſtmas*, under the Fears of his Enemies Malice, who were preparing a Bill of black Accuſations againſt him to be ready for the Parliament, which was to meet ſoon. The King was very ſick and hardly ſenſible when theſe Things were done by the Duke of *York*, to whom, as ſome write, the Regency of the Kingdom was committed by the Council, during the King's Weakneſs, and by Virtue of this Authority it was, that he call'd the Parliament to meet within a few Weeks after *Chriſtmas*, and there openly before all the Lords and Commons aſſembled, accus'd the Duke of *Somerſet* of High-Treaſon, and many other heinous Crimes, as the Loſs of *Normandy*, and the late Miſchance which happen'd in *Guien*. But the Queen, who was as intent for the Delivetance of the Duke of *Somerſet*, as his Enemies were on his Deſtruction, had ſo contriv'd Matters, that nothing ſhould be done againſt him; for the King being ſomething amended, and come well to his Senſes, ſhe caus'd him, tho' very weak, to be carried to the Houſes, and there to diſſolve the Parliament for the preſent; and ſo nothing was determin'd in the Matter. This being done, *Somerſet* was immediately ſet at Liberty, and that he might be out of the Reach of his Enemies Malice, he was made Captain of *Callis* and *Guiſnes*, the only Parts of *France* that remain'd in the King's Hands, which caus'd a freſh Diſcontent both among the Nobility and Commons, who did not ſpare to ſay openly, *That he was a very unfit Perſon to be entruſted with thoſe important Places, who was better at ſurrendring Towns than keeping of them; and if he was not afraid to yield up all* Normandy *to the Enemy, he would not ſcruple to deliver Two Forts only.*

A. D. 1455. Reg. 33.

A. D. 1455. Duke of *Somerſet* impriſoned, and accuſed in Parliament.

Fourteenth Parliament, its Acts.

The Duke of *York* being thus enrag'd at his Second Diſappointment, grew reſolute to revenge himſelf by Arms, and having obtain'd an Abſolution from the Obligation of his former Oath from the Pope, went into *Wales*, accompanied with his ſpecial Friends, the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, the Lord *Cobham* and others, to gather another Army, and come up to *London*, which being known to the King and his Party, they prepared what Aids they could for their own Defence, and having gotten together a Body of about 2000 Men, the King himſelf in Perſon, with the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Buckingham*, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Dorſet*, *Devonſhire*, *Wiltſhire* and *Pembroke*, left *London*, (becauſe it was thought the Duke of *York* had too many Friends there) and march'd *May* 21. to meet and engage him by the way. They came the firſt Night to *Wadford*, and the next Day to St. *Albans*, where hearing of the Approach of the Duke of *York*, he encamped and pitched his Standard in a Place call'd *Goſlow*, or *Sandiford*, in St. *Peter's* Street. The Duke of *York* by his Spies knew all the King's Motions, but ſtill kept on his March to St. *Albans*, and encamped in *Keyfield* near the ſame Town, his Army conſiſting of about 3000. The Duke and King being thus in Sight of one another with their Forces, the King after his peacable Manner, ſends Meſſengers to the Duke (tho' others ſay, that the Duke firſt ſent Letters to the King) *viz.* the Duke of *Buckingham* and ſome other Nobles, to know of him what he meant by appearing in ſuch an hoſtile Manner, to the Diſturbance of the Peace and Quiet of the Nation, contrary to his former Oath and Promiſes. The Duke of *York* return'd them Anſwer, 'That 'both he himſelf and all with him were the 'King's faithful and loyal Subjects, and intended 'no Harm to his Perſon, but came to require 'that wicked and haughty Man the Duke of '*Somerſet*, who had loſt *Normandy*, neglected '*Gaſcoigne*, and brought the Realm into this 'miſerable State; That whereas it was once 'and lately the Terror, now it is the Scorn 'and Deriſion of the World; That they would 'not be put off with fair Promiſes as they had 'formerly been, but would have him that hath 'deſerv'd Death, or die in the Quarrel; yet 'if it would pleaſe the King to reſign that bad 'Man into their Hands, they were ready with-'out Trouble, or farther Breach of the Peace 'to lay down their Arms, and return into their 'own Countries. The King hearing this Anſwer, grew angry, and told the Meſſengers from the Lords, 'That he would not deliver 'up the Duke of *Somerſet*, nor any Man in his 'Army to his Enemies, who had faithfully ad-'hered to him againſt them, commanding them 'all to lay aſide their Arms, and threatning 'them to hang them as a Terror to others, if 'they ſhould dare to appear or fight againſt 'him. As ſoon as the Duke of *York* receiv'd his Anſwer, he returned himſelf to his Men and ſaid, 'Since our Soveraign Lord will not be re-'form'd by our Intreaties, nor underſtand the 'Intention of our Meeting together, but is fully 'purpoſed to deſtroy us, and hath confirm'd his 'Reſolution with a great Oath, let us conſider

Duke of *York* abſolv'd from his Oath of Allegiance gathers an Army.

The King meets the Duke of *York* at St. *Albans* with an Army.

A. D. 1455. Reg. 33.

'the Danger we are in, and to avoid this Miſ-
'chief quit our ſelves like Men, and rather die
'with our Swords in our Hands, than to be put
'to an *ignominious Death* to ſhame our ſelves and
'our Poſterity. And *God Almighty*, who reigns
'in Heaven keep us in our Right, and make us
'ſtrong to oppoſe the Malice of them that ſeek
'our Ruin. And ſo gave Order to ſound for the Battel. But while theſe Things were doing at one End of the Town, the Earl of *Warwick* arriv'd (*n*) with his March-Men at the other, and with great Fury fell upon the King's Vanguard, which having routed before the Duke of *Somerſet* could come to relieve it, he brake into the Town about the middle of St. *Peter*'s Street. The Duke of *York* ſeeing that fell on alſo with his Men, and ſo a furious Battel was commenc'd, which laſted ſome Hours with ſo much Slaughter, that it was thought there would not have been a Man left on either Side alive; but the Duke of *York* being much the ſtronger Side, and having kept back a certain Number of Men to renew the Battel, when the reſt were wearied and tired, he ſo ordered the Matter at laſt, that by their Means the Victory became compleatly his; the King's Army was routed with the Loſs of 800 of his Men, among whom were *Edmund*, Duke of *Somerſet*, *Henry*, Earl of *Northumberland*, *Humphrey*, Earl of *Stafford*, Son to the Duke of *Buckingham*, *John*, Lord *Clifford*, and many other Perſons of Note. *Humphrey*, Duke of *Buckingham* was wounded, and left the Battel when he ſaw that it would go againſt the King, as did alſo *James Butler*, Earl of *Wiltſhire*, and *Tho. Thorp*, Lord Chief Baron, with many other of the King's Retinue, who gave a bad example to the timorous Soldiers, and loſt the Day. The King, tho' none of the beſt Warriors, remain'd till the laſt; but ſeeing himſelf forſaken, retir'd into a poor Man's Houſe, where he might lurk as he thought unſuſpected, till the Enemy withdrew, and he might have Opportunity to provide better for his own Safety; but he could not lie hid long. The Duke of *York* had Notice where he was, and immediately went to him, with the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, and being come into his Preſence, beſought him on their Knees, to 'forgive them what they had done that Day, and 'accept them for his Loyal Subjects; for now 'the Duke of *Somerſet*, the common Enemy of 'the Nation, and the Cauſe of this Commotion, 'was dead, he and all adherents would remain during their Lives his faithful and obedient Subjects, and be ready in all Points to 'ſerve him as their Duty obliged them; and 'the Kingdom being in Peace, he ſhould now 'reign in the greateſt Happineſs that ever King 'did; ſo that the Deſtruction of *Somerſet* was 'his Preſervation. The King being little comforted at theſe good Words, deſir'd them to 'take care there were no more Hurt done, and 'keep their Soldiers from plundering and killing his People. (For the *Northern* Men after the Victory, behaved themſelves very outrageouſly to the Townſmen and others, who had fought on the King's Side, killing and robbing as they pleaſed.) Whereupon the Lords put out a Proclamation in the King's Name, *That all manner of Perſons ſhould lay aſide their Malice one to another, and not commit any Acts of Hoſtility againſt any Man*: And ſo all was quieted. The Duke of *York* and the Lords with him, having the King in their Power, conducted him with great Honour and Reverence to St. *Alban*'s Shrine, and after to his Lodgings, where he reſted that Night. The next Day they remov'd with the King to *London*, and took up their Abode in the Biſhop's Palace, where they kept their *Whitſuntide* with great Mirth and Solemnity, concluding there to call a Parliament to ſettle and compoſe all Things for the Good of the King and his People. This Battel of St. *Albans* was fought *May* 23. The Bodies of the Noblemen ſlain in it were buried in the Chappel of our Lady in the Abby there, and the reſt in the Field adjoyning. The Duke of *Somerſet* left three Sons, *Henry*, *Edmund* and *John*, who to revenge their Father's Death took always King *Henry*'s Part.

The Armies of the King and Duke of *York* encounter at St. *Albans*, and the King is vanquiſh'd.

The King taken by the Duke of *York*.

A. D. 1455. Reg. 33.

K. *Henry* carried by the Duke of *York* to *London*.

Fifteenth Parliament, its Acts.

The Parliament met as by Appointment of the King and Lords upon *July* 9. and ſettled all Things according to the Lords Minds, but under the Pretence of doing them for the common Good. Some few Acts of Parliament were made for a Colour of the Juſtice, and Care of the Lords to the common Safety, *viz.* That Servants of Perſons lately deceaſed, who have embezill'd their Maſter's Goods before the Executors could enter upon them, ſhall be attainted of Felony if they are found Guilty: That whereas the Officers of the *Exchequer* were guilty of great Extortion in exacting Fees on the People, it was hinted what Fees ſhould be taken by them in the ſeveral Cauſes there adjudged and decided: That there ſhould be but Six Common Attorneys in *Norfolk*, Six in *Suffolk*, and Two in *Norwich*, becauſe it was found by Experience, that the Multitude of Attorneys in thoſe Countries ſtirred up and procured many Suits of Law for ſmall Treſpaſſes, little Offences, and ſmall Debts. Theſe Acts were only to be a Specimen to the People, what a Reformation there would be if the popular Lords had the Rule, which was a curious Prologue to what followed, and was chiefly intended, and which began with theſe Votes.

Popular Votes, and a Settlement upon it.

1. That the Government as it was managed by the Queen, Duke of *Somerſet*, and their Friends, had been of late a great Injuſtice and Oppreſſion to the People.

2. That the King, who was of himſelf a pious and good Prince, had been abuſed by thoſe that counſelled and adviſed him, to his great Diſhonour.

3. That the Duke of *Glouceſter*, whoſe Memory had been ſtained with a Charge of Treaſon and Rebellion ſince his Death, was a true and faithful Subject both to King and the Realm.

4. That all Alienations and Gifts of the Revenues and Lands of the Crown, whether made by the King himſelf or his Parliament, from the firſt Year of his Reign ſhould be revoked, and the ſaid Lands and Revenues reſumed and taken into the King's Hands.

5. That no Perſon or Perſons ſhould judge or report, that the Duke of *York*, Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick* were guilty of Rebellion or Treaſon in coming in a Warlike Manner againſt the King at St. *Albans*, ſince the Action was neceſſary and taken in Hand to free the King from Captivity, and bring Peace and Safety to the Nation, but all the Blame was to be laid upon the Duke of *Somerſet*, Lord Chief Baron *Thorp*, and *William Joſeph*, Eſq; who out of a malicious and evil Deſign kept a Letter ſent by the Lords from the King's Knowledge, which if it had been deliver'd to the King's Majeſty would have taken away the Occaſion of theſe Diſorders.

(*n*) *Hall* ſays the Earl of *Warwick* fell upon the King's Men while there was a Treaty of Peace on Foot.

By

A. D. 1455. Reg. 33.

The Settlement of the Government upon the Duke of *York* and his Party.

By these Votes and Acts they made way for the Resolution, which was the main drift of all, and by which it was appointed, that the Duke of *York* should be the Protector of the Realm; That the Earl of *Salisbury* should be Lord Chancellor, and to that End the great Seal was delivered to him, and the Earl of *Warwick* was made Governour of *Calis*, and the Territories thereunto belonging, and so all Authority both Civil and Military was in a manner put into the Hands of the Lords, and *Henry* had only left him the Name of a King, nor should have that, 'tis probable, but that his Innocency and Holiness was had in so great Veneration among the common People, that had K. *Henry* suffered any Evil from the Lords, they would have immediately forsaken them, and turned their Fury upon them. This the Lords were very sensible of, and therefore would venture no further against him, than might fairly justifie their Pretences to reform the former ill-Government, and establish the Commonwealth in its ancient flourishing Condition, and to this End they displaced all such Persons from Offices of Trust in the Court, and from the Privy-Council, as the King loved, or Queen favoured, had any Principle of Loyalty, or had been Supporters of the *Lancastrian* Line; They were also careful to administer Justice impartially, and avoid Delays of Suits, and punish Bribery to ingratiate themselves with the People. And tho' they ventured upon one Thing, which never any King durst do, which was to take *John Holland*, Duke of *Exeter* out of the Sanctuary at *Westminster* to imprison him in *Pomfraict-Castle*, a Sacriledge much complained of by the Abbot and his Monks, and contrary to an Order made in the last Parliament, yet the plausible Pretence of doing it for the publick Good made the People to swallow it patiently, and dispense with the Injury done to the Church.

Reg. 34.

The Queen and her Friends unsettle the late Orders in Parliament, and contrive to restore the King.

Thee Queen, who while the King was in his Enemy's Hands, and ruled by their Councils, or rather over-ruled by their Threats and Policy, beheld all these Transactions with great Regret, as soon as he was deilvered, sought all means to revoke what they had settled, and place the King on his Throne again with his undoubted Authority and Power. She was sure of the Assistance of several eminent Lords in this her Design, and being a Person of Masculine Spirit was not afraid to undertake any Thing to keep up the Dignity of her Husband's Crown. *Henry Beaufort* now Duke of *Somerset* by the Death of his Father, was eager to revenge it, and *Humphrey*, Duke of *Buckingham*, who at the same time lost his Son and Heir, was no less zealous to pull them down, who had raised themselves upon his Loss. All the Lords of the *Lancastrian* Faction, evidently seeing the Tendency of the Duke of *York*'s Actions to be towards the Crown, thought it for their own Safety to join with the Queen in pulling him down from his Usurpation, and to that End they all met in a Great Council at *Greenwich* by the Queen's Appointment, and after a full Debate upon what had passed came to this Resolution. *That the King was no Child, and consequently needed no Tutor, but it being a Reproach to his Majesty to be governed at the Discretion of others, the Duke of* York *should be put out of the Protectorship, which he had so injuriously assumed, and the Earl of* Salisbury *deprived of his Chancellorship*, which the King being very easily perswaded to do, an express Order under the King's Seal was dispatched to them to resign their Offices. The Duke of *York* was amaz'd at this sudden turn of Affairs; but since it was an undoubted Prerogative of the Crown to place or displace the Officers of it as he pleased, he dar'd *not* oppose it, least he should be plainly guilty of Rebellion, and so with a faigned Patience he yielded to it, tho' to the great Discontent of his own Party; but immediately left the Court, as if being discharged from publick Business, he would retire to attend his Private, having still in his Mind the same Designs of raising himself to the Throne, as well as of revenging this Affront, when Opportunity offered it self, which could not be long to such restless Spirits, as both he himself and many of his Party were of, who if they find not an Occasion to execute their ambitious Contrivances will make one. And this seems to be first attempted within a few Months after in the City of *London*, where the Duke of *York* had many Friends ready to stir up Tumlts for his Advantage, and who watched the least Stirs to inflame them into open Rebellion, which thus first happened.

A. D. 1455. Reg. 34. *A. D.* 1456.

The D. of *York* discharg'd of his Protectorship.

A Tumult in *London* raised by the Duke of *York*'s Friends.

In *May* a certain *English* Merchant, who while he was in *Italy* had been prohibited by the Magistrates to wear a Sword, or any other Weapon, according to the Custom of *England*, met an *Italian* in *Cheapside* wearing a Dagger, and told him, *That the* English *were not allowed to wear a Sword in* Italy, *he ought not to wear one in* England. The *Italian* angry at this Rebuke gave him a rough and uncivil Answer, which so provoked the young fiery Merchant, that he not only took away the *Italian*'s Dagger, but with it broke his Pate. The *Italian* immediately goes to the Mayor and complains of the Abuse, and the Merchant being summon'd to answer for it, was for want of a good Excuse imprison'd. The seditious Citizens, and especially the Prentices, made this an Occasion of rising, and gather'd together in great Numbers to deliver the Merchant out of *Newgate*, which when they had done, they in great fury went and pillaged the Houses of the *Italians* in several Parts of the City. The Mayor and Aldermen with the Assistance of many grave Citizens opposed the Rabble, and at length appeased them, putting several of the Chief of them into *Newgate*. The Queen and her Council, who now again ruled all, hearing of these Tumults in the City, and easily guessing at the Reason and Cause of them, sent the Dukes of *Exeter* and *Buckingham* with some other Noblemen to joyn with the Mayor and Aldermen in punishing such as were in hold for it severely, that they might be a Terror to others; but when the Commons of the City heard of it, and that the said Dukes and Mayor were set to try them according to their Commission, they rose again, and threatning the Judges, if they determin'd any thing severe against them, so frighted them, that they left *Guild-Hall* and departed, and so nothing was done that Day. But afterward the Mayor calling together a Common-Council took such effectual Course with the Wardens of the several Companies, that all were still, and the Commissioners had Liberty to sit in *Guild-Hall*, where they condemned several Persons for this Riot, Three of which were hanged at *Tyburn*, and the rest fined.

Some of the Seditious taken and punished with Death.

Reg. 35.

K. *Henry* removes his Court to *Coventry*.

The Queen, who was as suspicious and watchful as her Enemies were active, was very busie to countermine all their Contrivances and Plots; and because she had some Fears, that the City of *London* was false to the Regal Interests, she caused the King to remove his Court from *Westminster* to *Coventry* in *Warwickshire*, yet under the Pretence of taking the Air, and spending

some

A. D. 1456. Reg. 35. some time in the pleasant Pastimes of Hawking and Hunting. Here in the Intervals of their Sports she and her Council had many private Meetings to contrive the Ruin of the Duke of *York*, and his two potent Confederates *Warwick* and *Salisbury*, as knowing, that as long as he lived, and had such potent Friends to abet his Claim to the Crown, it was impossible that K. *Henry* could quietly enjoy his Throne. Divers Ways were propounded, but at length they agreed upon this, which they judged most plausible and likely to take effect, *viz.* That it should be pretended, that some Matters of great Importance to the State had unexpectedly happen'd, which required the Council and Advice of the wisest and sagest Peers of the Realm, and that the King and Queen extreamly desired that the Duke of *York*, and Earls of *Warwick* and *Salisbury* should be present, with other Lords to consult about it, and to that End the King should send to each of them a very kind and obliging Letter under his Privy-Seal to desire their Attendance and Assistance at *Coventry* upon a certain Day and Hour therein named, with a Charge not to fail in their personal Appearance. The Duke, and Earls believing all these faigned Pretences to be real, and having not the least Suspicion of Danger, set forth at the time appointed to wait upon the King at his Commands, as their Duty obliged them, but in the Way they received a certain Information from some Friends, what Mischief was really intended them, which they would hardly be able to avoid if they ventured themselves into the City. Whereupon the Lords, who were surprized at such base *Treachery*, thought it best to provide for their own Safety, and sending their Retinue before them into *Coventry*, as tho' they themselves were coming, they fled every one to their Castles, *viz.* The Duke of *York* to *Wigmore* in the *Marches* of *Wales*, *Salisbury* to *Middleham* in *Richmondshire*, and *Warwick* to *Callis*, having contrived and agreed at their Parting upon a secret Way of holding Correspondence by Letters, till they could meet again with greater Terror to their Enemies. The Queen was not a little disappointed at this their Retreat, and loss of her Prey, but was forced to sit down contented with the Satsfaction, that tho' she had not obtained her Desire, yet she had so terrified them, that they were parted one from the other for Safety, and so were become less formidable to her.

The Queen and her Council contrive the Lords Destruction.

Two Prodigies appear in *England*.

In *November* in the Island of *Portland* not far from *Weymouth* in *Dorsetshire* was seen a Cock with a great Crest upon his Head, great red Gills, and Legs half a yard long, who stood upon the Sea and crowed Three times, turning himself every time a several way, and nodding his Head towards the *North*, *South* and *West*, he was particoloured like a *Pheasant*, and when he had so done he vanished. A little after there was taken at *Erithe* within 12 Miles of *London* Four wonderful Fishes, *viz.* Two *Whales*, One *Sword-Fish*, and a Fish called *Mors Marina*. These Prodigies were a little amazing to all Men, and such as would venture to prognosticate the Signification of them, gave it out, that they were Fore-runners of Wars and Troubles in *England*, which after proved true.

A. D. 1457. King of *France* plunders the *English* Coasts.

The Dissentions which had for some time been in *England* between the King and his Nobles continuing and daily increasing, put the *French* King in Mind of revenging the Worngs and Injuries, which *France* had suffered from the *English*; and tho' he could not pretend any Right or Title to the Crown, nor hope to form an Invasion with Success, yet he might endamage and plunder the Coasts without any Resistance or great hazzard to his Men. And for this End he caused all suitable Preparations to be made both of Ships and Men against the Spring, which when equipped and fitted out he divided into Two Navies, and sent them to Sea under the Command of *William*, Lord *Pomiers*, and Sir *Peter Bressy*. At the Mouth of the *Saine* these Two Fleets parted, and went the one Eastward and the other Westward. Sir *Peter Bressy*, who sailed East, coasted along the Shore of *Sussex* and *Kent*, but not daring to land, staid in the *Downs* till they could get Information about the State of those Counties, and being at length certified, that *Sandwich* was neither well Peopled nor fortified, because being lately infected with the Plague, the Magistrates and most of the chief People were remov'd out of it, and gone to the neighbouring Villages and Towns; he entred into the Haven, and pillag'd the Town, taking such poor Stuff as was found therein, and then hastned away, because he heard that the Country was rising upon them. The Lord *Pomiers*, who took his Course Westward, in the mean time committed the like Outrages in *Devonshire*, in plundering and robbing the Town of *Fulney* or *Fowey*, (o) which done, they both retir'd into *Bretagne*, but hardly with Prey enough to recompense the Charge the *French* King had been at in setting them out.

A. D. 1457. Reg. 35.

The *Scots* invade *England*.

While the *French* thus molested the Coasts, the *Scots*, who ever joyn'd with the *French* against *England*, invaded the Borders, and entring *Northumberland* in a good Body under the Command of their King, *James* II. burnt and plundered several small Villages and Houses. But the Duke of *York* hearing of their Attempts, got together a good Army, and hasted with all speed to drive them out of the Country, which when the *Scots* had Knowledge of, they immediately returned Home with little Profit to themselves, tho' they had done no small Damages to the *English*. Besides these Troubles which *England* suffered from her Enemies Abroad, the Disorders caused by the Nobility at Home, wrought no small Prejudices to it; for at the same time in the Northern Parts there happen'd a great Fray between Sir *Thomas Piercy*, Lord *Egremont*, and the Earl of *Salisbury*'s Sons whom the said Lord hated for their Father's Sake, as being of the opposite Faction to himself and Family, fell upon them and their Retinue in open Field, and slew and wounded many of their Followers, and then fled. The King and Queen, tho' they did not much dislike the Action in themselves, yet least by overlooking the Wrong, they should provoke their Father and his Friends to any new Attempts, they gave out strict Orders for apprehending the said Lord, and having taken him, he was examin'd and tryed before the King's Council, by whom he was found guilty of an high Misdemeanour, and condemn'd to pay a large Fine to the Earl of *Salisbury*, and because he would not pay it, nor give him Security for the same, was committed to *Newgate*, with his Brother Sir *Richard Piercy*, who was guilty of the same Riot, but whether thro' the Negligence of the Keeper, or by the Weakness of the Prison, in a little time after he made his Escape, and let out several other Prisoners with him, to the great Trouble of the Sheriffs of *London*, who were oblig'd to find them out again,

A Fray between the Lord *Egremont* and Earl of *Salisbury*'s Sons.

The Lord *Egremont* imprisoned, but escapes. Reg. 36.

(o) *Fowey* is in *Cornwall*.

The

A. D. 1457. Reg. 36. The Lord *Egremont* kept himſelf private for a while, but at length by his Friends obtain'd his Pardon, and Releaſe of his Fine of the King, and ſo was reſtor'd to his Liberty. Not long after the like Deſſention happen'd between the Young Duke of *Somerſet* and Sir *John Nevil*, the Earl of *Salisbury*'s Son, who met at *Salisbury* with large Retinues, and threatned each other with Slaughter and Deſtruction, but by the Vigilance and Care of the Mayor, who kept ſtrong Watches and Guards upon both Parties, they were hindred ſo long from joyning, that by the Mediation of Friends their Anger was pacified and no harm followed at that time. Thus was *England* miſerably haraſſed at Home and Abroad thro' her own Diviſions, and ſhe that was ſo lately formidable to all her Neighbours, was made a Prey to the Meaneſt of them.

The Troubles of *Reginald Peacock*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*.

Soon after the Feaſt of St. *Michael* in this Year began the Troubles of that learned and godly Divine *Reginald Peacock*, then Biſhop of *Chicheſter*. He had for many Years lived in very great Reputation for his Holineſs and Piety, and for the promoting of the Truth of the Goſpel had wrote ſeveral Books, which he entitl'd, 1. *Of the Chriſtian Religion in general.* 2. *Of Marriage.* 3. *Of the juſt expreſſing of the Holy Scripture in Three Parts.* 4. *The Donet of Chriſtian Religion.* 5. *The Follower of the Donet.* 6. *A Book of Faith.* 7. *The Book filling the Four Tables.* 8. *The Book of Worſhipping.* 9. *The Provoker of Chriſtian Men.* 10. *The Book of Counſel.* Beſides theſe Writings which were intended chiefly for the Benefit of the People, he had moved ſeveral Queſtions in the Univerſities about the *Annates*, *Peter-pence*, and the Juriſdiction of the Pope which he exerciſed here in *England*, and delivered his Opinion freely concerning them, but no ways in Favour of the Pope. He is alſo ſaid to have pitied the Ignorance of the People ſo much, that he ſpent many Years Labour in tranſlating the Bible into the *Engliſh* Tongue. By all theſe Things he very much angred the *Hierarchy*, but nothing was attempted againſt him ſo long as his great Patron, and Favourer of his Piety and Learning lived *Humphrey*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, by whoſe Means he was firſt made Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, and then of *Chicheſter*. But ſoon after that good Duke was murthered, the Biſhop was then expoſed to his Enemies, who reading over his Books and picking up his Aſſertions delivered in his Diſputations brought an heavy Charge of Hereſie, and other Crimes againſt him to *Thomas Bourchier*, then Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, who being a Perſon zealous for the Papal Grandure and Power was forward and active in the Proſecution of him. This Arch-biſhop began his Proceſs againſt him *October* 22. ſending out a Citation to all Perſons who had any thing Heretical and Erroneous to charge the ſaid Biſhop of *Chicheſter* with, to appear before him within 20 Days after Summons, to ſpeak, propound, alledge and affirm fully and ſufficiently in Writing whatſoever they had to ſay againſt him, ſtrictly forbidding all Perſons as well of the Clergy as Laity in the mean time to inveigh againſt any Propoſitions laid down by the ſaid Biſhop in his Books ſo long as the Examination of them was depending in the Arch-biſhop's Court. Upon the Day appointed not only the Enemies of the Biſhop, but the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* himſelf, being as valiant for the Truth as his Enemies were furious againſt him, appeared before the Arch-biſhop, and the Divines and Lawyers belonging to his Court at *Lambeth*. The Articles laid to his Charge by his Adverſaries were theſe, *viz.* That he had in his Books, Works and Writings aſſerted many Hereſies and erroneous Doctrines contrary to the true Catholick and Apoſtolick Faith: As, *A. D.* 1457. Reg. 36.

His Opinions alledg'd againſt him.

1. *That it is not neceſſarily to be believed, that Jeſus Chriſt after his Death deſcended into Hell.* 2. *That it is not neceſſary to Salvation to believe in the Holy Catholick Church.* 3. Or *in the Communion of Saints.* 4. *That it is not neceſſary to Salvation to believe the Body of Chriſt to be materially preſent in the Sacrament.* 5. *That the univerſal Church may err in Matters of Faith.* 6. *That it is not neceſſary to Salvation to believe, that what every general Council doth ordain, approve or determine ſhould be holden and approved by all Chriſtians.* Other Opinions and erroneous Aſſertions he was charged with, as that he ſaid, *That the Office of a Chriſtian Biſhop is chiefly to preach the Word of God; That Biſhops who bought their Admiſſion to their Sees of the Biſhop of* Rome; *did ſin; That no Man is bound to obey or believe the Determinations of the Church of* Rome; *That the wilful begging Friers were an idle and needleſs Order; That Spiritual Perſons ought not to have any Temporal Poſſeſſions; And that perſonal Tithes were not due by the Law of God.* But theſe laſt, with many of the like Nature, were imputed to him to blacken his Name, and make his Condemnation ſeem deſerved. The former Six were in all probability the Articles proved upon him out of his Books, Sermons and Diſputations, when he was brought before the Arch-biſhop in his Conſiſtory, and theſe he defended very ſtrenuouſly and boldly in the Preſence of the Arch-biſhop and many great Lords, but at length partly by Menaces and Threats, and partly by Flattery, and Perſwaſions, he was prevailed withal by his Brethren the Biſhops to recant his Opinions, which he did *Decemb.* 4. at St. *Paul*'s Croſs in the *Engliſh* Tongue, conſenting that his Books ſhould be burnt as a Terror to others, and exhorting all Men preſent to give no Belief to any of the Doctrines delivered in them. But tho' he recanted, yet he was not thought by the Biſhops themſelves to renounce his Errors heartily, and therefore he was not only deprived of his Biſhoprick, but kept in Priſon all the remaining part of his Life, where whether he died of Trouble and Grief, or was deſtroy'd by his Enemies is uncertain, but ſure it is he lived not long after. (*p*)

He recants his Opinions.

He is accuſed of Hereſie.

A. D. 1458.

King *Henry* and his Council obſerving, that notwithſtanding ſeveral Provocations had been given the Lords to rebel by the Queen and her Friends, yet they retain'd a great Deſire of Peace, as they had teſtified partly by their living quietly upon their Eſtates, and partly by ſending their Friends to him to mediate for an Agreement, removed to *London* about *Chriſtmas*, and ſoon after his Arrival ſummoned a great Council, and there freely and openly declared, That ſince he perceived that the Diviſions which of late had happened between himſelf and ſome of the chief of his Nobles had been the only Encouragement to the *Scots* and *French* to moleſt and invade his Kingdom the laſt Summer, and would ſtill more embolden them to do the like, if theſe Home-Animoſities continued, it was his Deſire, that a Reconciliation ſhould be made with all convenient Speed, promiſing upon his Salvation, that no Injuries done to his Perſon or Friends ſhould be any Impediment to a perfect Amity between them, but at their Deſires all Things ſhould be forgotten and forgi-

K. *Henry* returns to *London*, and offers a Reconciliation with the Lords.

(*p*) He was confin'd firſt to his own Houſe, and then he had leave to retire to an Abby, where he had a Penſion aſſign'd him for his Maintenance.

ven,

A. D. 1458. Reg. 36.

ven, and the Duke of *York* and his Friends taken into eſpecial Favour and Love, that ſo the Nation might unanimouſly oppoſe its Enemies. The King, who was at all times a Stranger to Diſſimulation, was immediately by all the Council judged to ſpeak theſe Things with his uſual Candor, and out of a pure Deſire of the Peace of the Nation, and therefore purſuant to his Order certain Perſons of Quality, who were judged fitteſt to mediate between the King and the Duke of *York* for their Gravity and Moderation, were diſpatched to the Lords of the *York* Faction, to command them to repair to the King's Court without Delay, there to treat and conſult with the King about a Pacification of all Parties for the good of the Publick. This Meſſage was accepted by the Lords with great Readineſs, and accordingly on the 15th Day of *January* the Earl of *Salisbury* with a Retinue of 500 Men arrived in *London*, and lodged by the King's Appointment at his own Houſe, called *the Harbour*, and on the 26th of the ſame Month came the Duke of *York* with a Train of 400 Men, and took up his Reſidence at *Bainard's-Caſtle*. Soon after him came the Dukes of *Exeter*, *Buckingham* and *Somerſet* with a mighty Throng of Attendants, *viz.* 800 Men, and had their Lodgings ordered them without *Temple-Bar*. Next arrived the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Egremont*, and the Lord *Clifford* with a Train of 1500 Men, and had their Quarters allotted 'em in the Suburbs of the City. The Earl of *Warwick*, who was Captain of *Calis*, and reſided there, required a greater Time to prepare and come over, and therefore came up to *London* not till *February* 14. but appeared with the greateſt Splendour, having 600 Men to attend him, all in Red Jackets with White ragged Staves embroidered on them behind and before, and made his Abode in the *Black-Friers*. When all the Lords were arrived, the King and Queen followed on *March* 17. with a very ſtrong Guard and Attendance, and lodged in the Biſhop's Palace. And tho' the King and his Council had well provided, that the two Factions might be ſo ſeparated, *viz.* the one in the Suburbs, and the other in the City, that there might happen no Quarrels, between them; yet leaſt any unexpected Difference ſhould ariſe, the Mayor and Magiſtracy of the City were order'd to keep up a Body of 5000 armed Men to maintain the Peace indifferently between them, who accordingly Day and Night kept a ſtrict Guard, and rode up and down the Suburbs and City with them to prevent all Diſorders which might ariſe. The King and his Nobles on the one part held their Conſultations apart at firſt in the *Chapter-houſe* at *Weſtminſter*, and the Duke of *York* with his Party met at *Black-Friers* to debate upon ſuch Conditions of Peace as they ſhould agree to accept, and when Things were ſettled among themſelves, the Arch-biſhop and Biſhops, who perſwaded both parties to moderate Terms, brought 'em to a Communication together, and at length after many Debates and hot Conteſts on both Sides, they promiſed to forget all Wrongs and Injuries done on either Side, and to be Friends to each other, and obedient to the King, but upon theſe Conditions, which being ſet down in Writing were ſigned, ſealed and delivered by both Parties *March* 23. and were to this Effect, *viz.*

The Lords accept the King's Offer, and come to *London*.

Articles of Agreement between the King and Lords.

I That the Duke of *York* and Earls of *Warwick* and *Salisbury* ſhould ſettle 40 *l.* a Year upon the Abby of St. *Albans* for ever, for Suffrages and Obits to be kept, and Alms to be employ'd for the Souls of *Edmund*, Duke of *Somerſet*, *Henry*, Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Thomas*, Lord *Clifford*, with the reſt of the King's Friends, who were ſlain in the Battle of St. *Albans*, which Lords were declared faithful Subjects to the King at their Deaths, as well as the Duke of *York*, and Earls of *Warwick* and *Salisbury*.

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II. That the Duke of *York* ſhould pay *Eleanor*, Dutcheſs of *Somerſet*, and Duke *Henry* her Son, the Sum of 5000 Marks to be divided as the King ſhould think convenient among the younger Children of the ſaid Dutcheſs, and the Earl of *Warwick* 2000 Marks to the Lord *Clifford* to be diſtributed among his younger Brethren and Siſter by the King.

III. That whereas Sir *Thomas Piercy*, the Lord *Egremont*, and *Richard Piercy*, Sons of the Counteſs of *Northumberland* were fined to pay to the Earl of *Salisbury*, his Wife and Sons, *Thomas* and *John Nevill* 14800 Marks for Treſpaſſes found by *Richard Bingham* and *Ralph Pool* the King's Judges to be done to the ſaid Earl of *Salisbury* and his Sons, it was agreed, that the ſaid Sums ſhould be releaſed by them to the ſaid Offenders, yet upon Condition, that the Lord *Egremont* and his Brethren ſhould enter into a Recogniſance in *Chancery* to keep the Peace with the ſaid Earl of *Salisbury*, his Wife, Children, Servants and Tenants, and the ſaid Earl ſhould diſcharge the Tenants of the Earl of *Northumberland* and Lord *Egremont* from their Obligations to ſtand to their Order and Government.

IV. That all Variances, Diſcords and Debates, all Controverſies, Appeals and Actions perſonal, that are or have been between any of the ſaid Lords and their Servants ſhall be for ever determined and ended, ſaving to every one their Title, Action and Right to all Arrerages of Rents, Services, Accounts, Detinues or Debts due by any Contract or Deed, and that Releaſes ſhould be given to each other accordingly.

V. That if any Action, Suit or Quarrel chanced between any of the Servants or Tenants of the ſaid Lords for any Matter or Thing, that none of the ſaid Lords ſhould ſupport, maintain or aid the Perſons ſo ſuing, but uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to bring them to Peace and Quietneſs.

VI. That if any Party complained of the Breach of this Agreement he ſhould not bring his Action, unleſs the King's Council ſee juſt Cauſe to allow it.

VII. That if any Variance aroſe about the Recogniſances, Releaſes or Acquittances between the Council of both Parties, it ſhall be determined by the two Chief Juſtices.

VIII. That whereas the Perſons bound in *Chancery* by this Award were obliged to obey it in great Sums, the King ſhould not pardon them without the Conſent of the Party aggrieved; and if they were recovered, the King ſhould have one Moiety and the Complainant the other.

This Award and Agreement was ſealed with the Great Seal at the King's Palace of *Weſtminſter*, *March* 24. in the Thirty Sixth Year of the King's Reign; and the next Day being openly proclaim'd and publiſh'd, was receiv'd with univerſal Joy, and a ſolemn Proceſſion celebrated by the King and Court, within the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul* in *London*, in Teſtimony of their Thankfulneſs to God for this happy Union. In this Proceſſion all Things were contriv'd to declare a perfect Amity between the Factions; for before the King, went the Duke of *Somerſet*, and Earl of *Salisbury* Hand in

A Proceſſion after the Sealing of it.

A. D. 1458. Reg 36. in Hand; the next the Duke of *Exeter*, and Earl of *Warwick*, and ſo on, the one of the one Faction, and the other of the other, being join'd together. The King came behind them in his Regal Robes, and the Crown on his Head; and after him the Duke of *York* leading the Queen, who was very familiar with him, as if ſhe had a real Favour for him; but as ſhe was always a great Artiſt at Diſſimulation, ſo ſhe never more uſed it than at this Juncture, when it ought to have been quite laid aſide, as the following Tranſactions will evidently ſhew.

All Things being thus concluded, the Lords parted from the King and Queen with all outward Signs of Friendſhip; and the Duke of *York* and Earl of *Salisbury* went to *York*, but the Earl of *Warwick* ſtaid at the Court a while about the Buſineſs of *Callis*, and about *Whitſuntide* paſſed over to his Charge. While he continued there, he went out with Fourteen of the King's Ships, (for he was alſo made Admiral of the Narrow Seas) to ſcour the Coaſts, and met with a Fleet of *Spaniards* laden with Merchandize, but well furniſh'd for their Defence. The Earl was not able to deal with them, yet being unwilling to part with ſo rich a Prey, he reſolv'd to encounter them, and ſo began the Fight, which they as reſolutely maintain'd againſt them. The Battel continued almoſt two Days, but at laſt determin'd in Favour of the Earl, who took Six of their Ships laden with Wine, Oil, Wax, Iron and other rich Merchandizes, worth 10000 Pounds Sterling; and ſunk and put to flight Twenty-ſix more, having ſlain a 1000 of their Men in the Fight, and taken many Priſoners, with the Loſs of not above an 100 Men. This Victory not only increaſed the Fame of this great Earl, but by his generous Temper in carrying (*q*) over into *England* the Goods he had taken; he cauſed thoſe Things to be ſold for a Shilling which before would have coſt Two.

Earl of *Warwick* takes Six *Spaniſh* Ships.

Among this Fleet of the *Spaniards* were Five *Genoa*'s Carricks, of which Three were taken; and the other Two which fled Home, bringing the News of the Loſs, incenſed the *Genoeſes* to revenge it upon ſuch *Engliſh* Ships as they could light on, which not long after they did in this Manner. One *Sturmyne*, a *Briſtol* Merchant, had been traveling ſome Years in divers Countries of the *Levant*, and other Eaſtern Parts, from whence he was returning with rich Merchandizes, and as was ſaid, brought green Pepper and other Spices with him, to have ſet and ſown in *England*. The *Genoeſes* having Intelligence of his Return, laid wait for his Ship, and taking it, ſpoiled it of all its Goods, and ſeveral others with it. The News of this Action being heard of by the King and his Council, an Order was ſent out to ſeize all the Merchant *Genoeſes* in *London*, and commit them to the Fleet, till they could find ſufficient Security to anſwer the Damages done by their Country-Men to the *Engliſh* Merchants; and becauſe they did not or could not do it, they were made to pay 6000 Marks for the Damages done to *Sturmyne* and this Realm, and then diſmiſſed their Impriſonment.

The *Genoeſes* take ſome *Engliſh* Ships, and are puniſhed for it.

In this Year Hiſtorians ſay, that Printing began to appear in Publick, which had lain hid about Ten Years, after this Manner. One *John Fauſtus*, a Goldſmith and Citizen of *Mentz*, having caſually engraven ſome Letters upon a Piece of Metal, laid Ink upon them, and finding they made a fair Impreſſion, fram'd them into Words, and ſo arriv'd at ſome Probability of improving it into a more ſpeedy Way of putting out Books, which he communicated to certain Friends of his of the ſame City, *viz. John Cuthemburge* and *Peter Schaffard*, yet with an Injunction to keep it ſecret for a Time, that they might improve it. *John Cuthemberge* being a Man of a more publick Spirit, could not endure to keep ſo uſeful an Art private long, and therefore this Year began with *Fauſtus* to exerciſe it in publick at *Strasburg*, and by imparting the Knowledge of it to the Inquiſitive, he was a Means, that it not only was much improv'd by others, but was carried into ſeveral Parts of *Europe*, as *Rome*, by *Conradus Gallus*, a *German*, and to *England* by *William Caxton*, a Mercer of *London*, who introduced it into the Abbey of *Weſtminſter* in 1471, and afterward it ſpread it ſelf into many other *Engliſh* Monaſteries.

Printing uſed in publick this Year.

A. D. 1458. Reg. 36.

The Earl of *Warwick* about *Michaelmas* returned into *England*, and remain'd about the Court, moving and carrying on divers Affairs, as well in reference to the Publick as belonging to his own Charge. In *November* it happen'd, that as he ſat in Council in the Palace Royal at *Weſtminſter*, one of the King's Servants affronting a Yeoman of the Earl's Attendants, they fell to Blows, and the Earl's Servant having ſorely hurt and wounded the King's, he fled to ſecure himſelf. The King's Guards and other of his menial Servants, ſeeing their Fellow-Servant harm'd, and the Offender eſcaped, reflected upon the Earl his Maſter, as an Enemy to the Court and King, and ſince they could not be avenged of his Servant, reſolv'd to have amends of his Maſter, as being an Encourager of him in the Attempt; and watching him when he return'd from the Council-Chamber to his Barge, ſuddenly ſet upon him and his Retinue, the Yeomen with Swords, and the Cooks and Black-Guard with Spits and Fire-forks. The Earl's Men made as good a Defence as they could, while their Maſter, not without great Danger, by the Help of his Friends got into the Barge, and fled into the City of *London*, but many of them were dangerouſly wounded and hurt. The Queen ſhew'd more than ordinary Concern in this Affair, and as tho' ſhe had been engaged to make good the Quarrel, (which ſome from thence believed ſhe was the Mover of) commanded that the Earl ſhould be apprehended and impriſon'd in the *Tower*, where ſhe determin'd to have put a Period to his Life. This the Earl being advertiſed of by ſome of his Friends, feared to ſtay longer in the City, and therefore departing to *Warwick*, he took his Journey into *Yorkſhire*, where he found the Duke of *York* and his Father, to whom he declared the Occaſion of his coming, and what Danger he had eſcaped from the Queen and her Servants, (*r*) which malicious Intention, as he thought, was not to be paſſed over without juſt Reſentments; and he would leave it to their Judgments to take ſuch Methods to do it as were proper, while he ſhould go over to *Callis* to ſecure that important Garriſon; for it was not to be doubted, but the Queen would endeavour all ſhe could to wreſt it out of his Hands, and put it under the Command of ſome of her Friends, and ſo he poſted away with all ſpeed thither, and was receiv'd by the Garriſon with Joy, and all due Reſpect to his Authority. He was ſcarcely arriv'd there, and put Things

Reg. 37. A Quarrel between the Queen's Servants and a Yeoman of the Earl of *Warwick*.

The Earl of *Warwick* aſſaulted and in Danger of Life.

(*q*) He carried his Booty to *Callis*, and return'd not to *England* till new Troubles call'd him thither. *Holl.* p. 648.
(*r*) This Accident happen'd before he took the Booty. See *Hol.* Page 648.

A. D. 1458. Reg. 37.

in good order for his own Security, but the Queen, who imagin'd that the Earl of *Warwick* had raiſed this Stir to begin a new Quarrel, and ſet the Crown upon the Duke of *York*'s Head, by the Advice of the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Buckingham*, ſent a Meſſenger with an Order under the Privy-Seal to him, that he ſhould reſign the Captain's Office of *Callis*, becauſe ſhe had given that Charge to the Duke of *Somerſet*, whom the King intended ſhortly to ſend over thither. But the Earl of *Warwick* reply'd, *That he was made Captain of* Callis *by Authority of Parliament, and would not reſign his Charge but into their Hands that gave it him, and therefore could not obey the King's Seal, becauſe he was accountable for ſo doing to him in Parliament*; and ſo he held out the Garriſon againſt her. While theſe Things were done at *Callis*, the Duke of *York* and the Earl of *Salisbury*, with their Friends, entred into a deep Conſultation about the Aſſault offer'd to the Earl of *Warwick* by the King's Servants, and concluded, *That this Diſorder proceeded purely from the Queen's Malice to them, who encouraged her Servants to ſlay the Earl of* Warwick, *that they might be the more eaſily ſuppreſſed and deſtroyed; and that now ſince Oaths and Promiſes were of no Force with the Queen and her Friends, but even the ſacred Pretences of Peace and Friendſhip were made uſe of to draw them more ſecurely into their Snares, it was high time for them to ſtand upon their own Guard, and with Sword in Hand to demand Satisfaction for the Injury intended, ſo that if they would not hearken to Reaſon, they might be brought to it by Force.* And to this End, it was agreed, That the Earl of *Salisbury* ſhould take ſuch Troops of their Attendants as were in readineſs, which amounted to a Body of about 5000, and ſhould go up to *London* to the King, and put up his Complaints of the Wrong done to his Son the Earl of *Warwick* contrary to the late Agreement made between himſelf and his Lords, and demand the Satisfaction in Reaſon due; which if granted, he would lay down his Arms; but if denied, their future Actions would be juſtifiable in the Sight of all Men. The Earl of *Salisbury* according to this Plan began his March from *Middleham* Caſtle a little after *Candlemas*, and took his way thro' *Lancaſhire*, to go towards *London*; which, tho' the furtheſt Way about, yet he hoped to augment his Troops there. The Duke of *York* in the mean time was to raiſe another Army, and as Occaſion required to go to meet him, and ſo joyntly oppoſe their Enemies, if they ſtood upon the Defence of the Quarrel. The Queen who kept a watchful Eye upon all the Motions of the Lords, and at the firſt Beginning of this Conteſt imagin'd, that the Earl of *Warwick* had purpoſely raiſed this Combuſtion to ſet the Crown on the Duke of *York*'s Head, thought it now unneceſſary to talk of any Parleys, and therefore by the Advice of her two chief, but enraged Counſellors the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Buckingham* contrived to ſuppreſs them by Force, and to this End diſpatched Orders in the King's Name to *James Touchet* Lord *Audley*, who was a very potent Man in thoſe Countries, thro' which the Earl of *Salisbury* was to march, to raiſe an Army with all ſpeed, and by ſurprize to apprehend him: And that ſhe might engage as many Gentlemen of thoſe Parts to aſſiſt him with their Perſons and Intereſts in this Attempt as ſhe could, ſhe ſent down to ſeveral of them a Badge of her Favour and their Loyalty, a white embroidered Swan, which they ſhould wear in Token of their Love to the King. By theſe Arts ſhe drew ſo many to her Party, that the Lord *Audley*, who proſecuted his Commiſſion with due Zeal and Expedition, got together a Body of 10000 Men out of *Cheſhire* and *Shropſhire* in a very ſhort Time, and ranked them in Order of Battel, ready to receive him. The King and Queen hearing in what Readineſs the Lord *Audley* was to encounter their Enemies, came down towards him to be under his Guard as it were, and the King remain'd at *Celesbill* in *Warwickſhire*, but the Queen lay at *Eccleſale* in *Staffordſhire*, expecting a good Event of this Undertaking. The Lord *Audley* and his Spies had Intelligence of the Earl of *Salisbury*'s Motions, and hearing that he drew near him, ranged his Men upon *Blore-Heath*, near *Draiton* in *Shropſhire* where the Earl was to paſs, ready to receive him. The Earl of *Salisbury* not ſuſpecting this Oppoſition, was ſurpriz'd at the firſt Sight but conſidering, that his Retreat would be diſgraceful to him, reſolv'd to abide the Battel, tho' much inferior in Strength, and pitched his Camp in the Front of his Enemy; a ſmall River, but pretty deep, being between them, and ſo remain'd the following Night. In the Morning, which was St. *Tecla*'s Day, the Earl of *Salisbury* cauſed his Men to ſhoot a great Flight of Arrows upon the Lord *Audley*'s Camp, and then ordered them to make a Retreat, as tho' they intended to fly; which when the Lord *Audley* ſaw, he commanded his Men to paſs over the River, and purſue them, giving charge to them to take the Earl of *Salisbury* if poſſible, alive or dead, as the Queen had order'd him; which they accordingly obeyed: but in the Hurry and Confuſion, before Half the Army was gotten over, the Earl of *Saliſbury* and his Men return'd in good Order upon the Lord *Audley*'s Army, and fell upon them with great Fury, which tho' they couragiouſly oppoſed, yet thro' Diſorder and Surpriſe, they were after a ſharp Battel routed, and the Lord *Audley* and all his chief Captains ſlain, with above 2400 common Soldiers. In this Fight were the Two Sons of the Earl of *Salisbury*, Sir *John Nevill* and Sir *Thomas Nevill* dangerouſly wounded, and going into a neighbouring Town for Cure, were ſet upon by ſome of the Queen's Friends, and taken Priſoners, with Sir *Thomas Harrington*, who accompanied them, and all of them carried to *Cheſter* Caſtle; which Misfortune was a ſad Allay to the Victory in the Earl of *Salisbury*'s Mind, becauſe he knew that the Queen would immediately put them to death, unleſs they were delivered; which happen'd as ſoon almoſt as deſir'd; for the Townſmen, who themſelves were well affected to the Duke of *York*, having received a Meſſage from the March-Men of *Wales*, *That unleſs they were forthwith releaſed, they would come and pull down the Caſtle*; were glad of the Pretence to ſet them at Liberty, and ſo ſent them away to their Father, who welcom'd them with all Joy.

A. D. 1459. Reg. 37. Reg. 38.

The Duke of *York* having receiv'd the News of this Victory reſolves no longer to conceal his Intention; and ſince the King and Queen ſought his Ruin, as a Competitor with them for the Crown, he determin'd either to get it, or periſh in the Attempt; and upon that Account haſtens to meet the Earl of *Salisbury*, that they might join their Forces together, and take all neceſſary Courſes to augment their Army ſo as to fear no Oppoſition, which they after Conſultation did, by ſending into all Parts of *Wales*, *Shropſhire*, and other Counties in the Marches of it. They wrote alſo to *Callis* to the Earl of *Warwick*, to bring over to their Aſſiſtance ſome Troops of his moſt experienc'd Soldiers, which he

The Queen endeavours to diſplace the Earl of *Warwick*.

Earl of *Salisbury* goes with an Army to the King.

The Queen orders the Lord *Audley* to raiſe an Army, and apprehend the Earl of *Saliſbury*.

A Battel between the Lord *Audley* and the Earl of *Salisbury*

The Earl of *Saliſbury*'s Sons taken Priſoners, but releaſed,

Duke of *York* reſolves to get the Crown, and gathers an Army,

A. D. 1459. Reg 38.

he did, under the Command of *Andrew Trollop*, and *John Blunt*, Two Captains of great Experience and approved Policy in the late Wars in *Normandy* and *Guien*; which all being united into one Body, assembled in *October*, and encamped at *Ludlow* in *Shropshire*. The King had Intelligence of the Lords Proceedings, and that he might put a Stop to their further Designs, sent out Commissions into all Parts of the Nation, where he had any Friends, to raise an Army with all speed to suppress them; which he had no great Difficulty to do, because many out of Love and Duty to the King, but more out of Fear of the Queen, flock'd to his Standard, so that he had gathered a mighty Army in a short Space. With it the King in Person, accompanied with the Dukes of *Buckingham*, *Exeter*, and *Somerset*, and others of the Nobility, who were Favourers of the *Lancastrian* Line, marched forwards towards the Lords, and came to *Worcester*, where staying a while to refresh their Army, it was after some Consultation agreed, That a Messenger of some Account should be sent to the Earls and Duke, to offer them a free and general Pardon of all their Offences, if they would lay down their Arms, and become obedient Subjects. The Bishop of *Salisbury*, *Richard Beauchamp*, was the Person thought fittest to be employed in this Affair; and accordingly was sent to them with a Message of Pardon, which he delivered to them with the Gravity and Seriousness of a Prelate. The Lords gave no Answer till they had consulted among themselves, and then by the Earl of *Warwick* reply'd, *That they dare not trust to the King's Pardon, because they had several Pardons before, and those confirm'd by Parliament, and yet found them of no Security to them, but rather a Snare to draw them into Danger of their Lives, as the late Assault upon the Earl of* Warwick *manifestly shewed, by which he had perished, had not God wonderfully preserv'd him. Yet if any Way could be devised for their Safety, to which they might trust without fail, they were ready to submit to his Grace, and sue for his Favour.* This Answer being brought to the King by the Bishop, did not at all please him, and thereupon he commanded his Standard to advance towards them; but before he and his Army arriv'd at their Camp, he received a Letter from the Lords, declaring, *That as they had heretofore given Demonstrations, that they only sought the Prosperity of his Majesty and the Nation, with the Security of their own Persons and Estates, so, if they knew their own Hearts, they intended nothing else by being now in Arms, and therefore they kept themselves in the furthest Parts of the Nation, not with any ill Design, but to abide his Majesty's coming, that they might in all humble and submissive Manner beg his Grace and Favour, and have all Grievances redressed, and tho' they were unjustly and untruly defamed as Traitors and Rebels, and their Lordships and Tenants robb'd and spoil'd, against his Peace and Laws, yet they were so tender of the Effusion of Christian Blood, that they would not stand up in their own Defence till Necessity compell'd them; and therefore besought him to accept them as his true and faithful Subjects, and hear their Complaints and Answers to the Calumnies of their Adversaries, that the Nation may be restored to its Quiet, and they to their Estates.* This Letter bears Date *October* 10. and is subscribed. *R. York, R. Warwick, R. Salisbury.*

The King raises an Army to go against him, but offers Pardon.

The Lords Answer.

A Letter from the Lords.

The King having read this Letter, was not much better satisfied, but gave a Second Order for his Army to march towards them, till coming within half a Mile of the Enemy, they pitched their Camp, and the King immediately put out his Proclamation. That whosoever would lay down their Arms, and come over to him and beg Mercy, should be pardoned for this Attempt. Which Act of Grace being heard in the Duke of *York*'s Camp, begat a great Discontent and Murmuring, the Generality of the People fearing a bad Issue of their Rebellion, and desiring now to provide for their own Safety. *Trollop* and *Blunt* with their *Calisian* Troops, were amaz'd to see themselves engag'd against their King, whom they always had served, and in whose Pay they still were; for the Earl of *Warwick*, who sent them over, had not declared to them the Reason of their coming; wherefore as soon as they saw where they were, they fled the next Night to the King's Army, and advertised him of the Duke of *York*'s Design, to set upon his Camp suddenly, that he might at once destroy the King and his People; and by their Example drew many others to do the like, which much lessened the Lords Forces. This sudden Desertion of the Captains, in whom they put much Confidence, and of many of their People, was a Discouragement to the Lords to attempt any Thing further. They saw their Counsels betrayed, their best Soldiers gone, and the Remainder not willing to fight, and thought it in vain to run the certain Danger of Life, and so they resolv'd to provide for their own Safety, and depart. The Duke of *York* with his Younger Son *Edmund*, Earl of *Rutland*, fled privately into *Wales*, and from thence sailed into *Ireland*, where he was received with an universal Joy. The *Irish* offering him to live and die with him, as if he had been their Natural Prince. The Earl of *March*, the Duke of *York*'s Eldest Son and Heir Apparent, accompanied with the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, and Sir *John Wenlock*, went into *Devonshire*, where by the Help of *John Dinham*, Esq; afterwards Treasurer of *England* in *Henry* the Seventh's Days, they bought a Ship at *Exmouth* for an 110 Marks, and sailed into *Gernsey*, and so to *Callis*, where being let in at a Postern by Sir *William Nevill*, Lord *Falconbridge*, the Earl of *Warwick*'s Uncle, who kept the Town and Castle, they were joyfully received by their Friends. The News of their Flight being carried to the King's Camp, he sent out some Troops of Horsemen to pursue them, but all was in vain, they were got out of their Reach and out of Danger. As for the private Soldiers, who by the Retreat of their Leaders, were left to the King's Mercy, they were all pardoned and sent Home, except some few, who being remarkable for their Forwardness in this Rebellion, were some of them fined, and others hang'd and quarter'd. The Town of *Ludlow*, which belonged to the Duke of *York*, and had sided with him in this Rising, was plunder'd and robb'd to the very Walls. In the Castle the King took the Dutchess of *York* with her Two Youngest Sons, whom he sent to be kept under Confinement by the Dutchess of *Buckingham* her Sister. And the Duke of *York* and his Sons, with the Earls of *Warwick* and *Salisbury* were proclaim'd Traitors to the King, Enemies to their Country, and Rebels to the Crown: And then having made the Earl of *Northumberland* and the Lord *Clifford*, Wardens and Keepers of the Northern Parts of *England*, as his trusty and most faithful Friends, and *Henry*, the new Duke of *Somerset*, Captain of *Callis*, he began his Journey towards *London*.

A Pardon proclaimed, which made the Rebels lay down their Arms.

The Lords dismiss their Army and fly.

Some of the Rebels executed.

When K. *Henry* was come to *Coventry* in his way Home, he call'd his Parliament to meet there *Novemb.* 20. and being met they attainted of High-Treason, *Richard*, Duke of *York*, and his

Sixteenth Parliament, its Acts,

A. D. 1459. Reg. 38. his Eldeſt Son *Edward*, Earl of *March*, *Richard*, Earl of *Warwick*, *Edmund*, Earl of *Rutland*, *Richard*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Sir *Thomas Harrington*, Sir *John Wenlocke*, Sir *Thomas* and *John Nevill*, the Earl of *Salisbury*'s Sons, and many others, their Goods were confiſcated, their Lands ſeized, and their Heirs diſinherited to the Ninth Generation. As ſoon as the Parliament was riſen, the Duke of *Somerſet* was ſent over with a choice Company of valiant and hardy Soldiers to take poſſeſſion of his Government at *Callis*, but when he came to enter the Haven, the Artillery ſhot ſo hotly upon him both from the Town and the *Rice-bank*, that he was forced to retire out of Danger, and land at *Witſundbay*, from whence he ſent his Commands to the Captains of the Town to receive him, ſhewing them his Commiſſion for the Lieutenancy of it, but not being regarded, he betook himſelf to the Caſtle of *Guiſnes*, and reſolv'd by Force to bring the Town into Obedience to him, for which end he maintain'd daily Skirmiſhes with the Garriſon of *Callis*, tho' more to his Loſs than Gain. In the mean time the Mariners, who carry'd him over, bearing a greater Affection to the Earl of *Warwick* than him, convey'd their Ships into the Haven of *Callis*, and in them certain Perſons, who were the Earl of *Warwick*'s Enemies, as *Jamin Findill*, *John Fellow*, and ſome others, who being preſented to the Earl of *Warwick* he cauſed them forthwith to be beheaded.

Duke of *Somerſet* made Captain of *Callis*.

A. D. 1460. The Earl of *Warwick* takes the King's Ships from *Sandwich*.

The News of the ill Succeſs of the Duke of *Somerſet* being related to the King and Queen, they ſent over *Richard*, Lord *Rivers*, and Sir *Anthony Woodvile* his valiant Son with 400 Men to aid the Duke of *Somerſet* at *Guiſnes* againſt the Garriſon of *Callis*, who went down to *Sandwich* in order to paſs over, but lay there ſome time to expect a Wind. The Earl of *Warwick* who kept the *Narrow-Seas* with a good Navy having Intelligence of the Deſign watched his Opportunity, and ſent Sir *John Dinham* with a ſmall Number of Men to ſurprize them, who entring the Town took the Lord *Rivers* and his Son in their Beds, and having plundered the Town return'd carrying all the King's Ships, which were laid there to tranſport them, along with them, except a Veſſel nam'd *Grace de Dieu*, which could not be ſtirr'd, becauſe it was very leaky, all which he preſented to the Earl of *March*, of whom he had due Praiſe and Encouragement. With theſe Ships which were well Victualled and Manned, the Earl of *Warwick* immediately ſail'd to the Duke of *York* in *Ireland* to commune and conſult with him about their Return into *England*, and divers other Matters of Importance. The Wind and Weather were ſo favourable to the Earl's Voyage, that he paſſed and repaſſed from *Callis* to *Dublin* in leſs than 30 Days. The Duke of *Exeter*, who was then Lord High-Admiral of *England*, hearing of the Earl of *Warwick*'s Voyage into *Ireland*, lay in the Way of his Return with a competent Number of Ships well mann'd to have ſeiz'd him as he paſſed by them, which the Earl of *Warwick* being aware of, prepared to give him Battle: But the Duke of *Exeter* when he came to put in Execution his Deſign found ſuch a great Inclination to the Earl of *Warwick* in his Captains, Mariners, and many of his Soldiers, that he durſt not meddle with him, and ſo let him paſs unattacked. Soon after the Earl's Return to *Callis*, becauſe all Attempts againſt him had proved Unſucceſsful hitherto, the Queen entertain'd a groundleſs Propoſal to deſtroy him made to her by Sir *Baldwin Fulford*, a Man of more Daringneſs than Prudence, who undertook upon pain of loſing his Head to kill the Earl of *Warwick*; but after he had ſpent the King 1000 Marks he return'd again without having done any Thing.

Some Attempts to take the Earl of *Warwick*, but in vain.

A. D. 1460. Reg. 38.

The King ſuſpects an Invaſion of *England*, and endeavours to hinder it.

The Earl of *Warwick* being return'd out of *Ireland*, and bringing his Mother to *Callis*, gave ſome Suſpicion to the King and Queen, that there were ſome freſh Reſolutions of invading *England* entertain'd by them of his Party, and that they might make their Endeavours in vain, two Methods were made uſe of as moſt effectual. 1. To ſuppreſs all ſuch Perſons as were known to favour the Duke of *York* and his Party in *England*: And 2. To guard the Coaſts well with a ſufficient Navy, that they might not dare to land any Forces, which could not be done without Hazzard. In order to the former of theſe the Earl of *Wiltſhire*, Treaſurer of *England*, the Lord *Scales*, and the Lord *Hungerford* were ſent with the King's Commiſſion to *Newbury*, a Town belonging to the Duke of *York*, to inquire out ſuch as favour'd the ſaid Duke, ſome of whom being found Guilty were hang'd and quarter'd, and the whole Town was plunder'd and ſpoil'd. From thence the Earl went to *Southampton*, and other Places, where he uſed the like Severity. The Fame of theſe Actions and Dealings, tho' juſt, much terrified ſuch Towns as knew themſelves obnoxious to the ſame Puniſhment; and becauſe *Kent* had given greater Proofs of their Affection to the Lords Side ſeveral times this Reign, than any other County had, not only in *Jack Cade*'s Rebellion, but in betraying *Sandwich*, they expected nothing but Ruin, unleſs they could come under the Protection of the ſaid Lords: To that End they ſent a Meſſage to them at *Callis* to invite them over to their Defence, promiſing them their utmoſt Aſſiſtance. The Lords tho' in ſome Forwardneſs for their intended Deſign, yet would not venture till they had better Knowledge of their Sincerity, and therefore ſent over the Lord *Falconbridge* to try their Reſolutions, and concert with them about their further Proceedings. Sir *Simon Manford*, who for ſome time before was laid with a Navy of Ships well mann'd and victuall'd to defend the Sea Coaſts againſt all ſuch Attempts, was ready to oppoſe his landing, whereupon aroſe an hot Diſpute between 'em, but the Victory at length fell to the Lord *Falconbridge*, who took Sir *Simon* himſelf with many other Priſoners, and ſent them over to *Callis* to the Earl of *March*, where he with Twelve of the chief of his Captains were beheaded upon the *Rice-bank*. The Lord *Falconbridge* having thus removed all Impediments of his Landing was receiv'd into *Sandwich* with an hearty Welcome, and the Gentry of that Country and the adjoyning Shires immediately reſorted to him, ſhewing him their Cauſes of Fears from the Queen and her Friends, and earneſtly requeſting the ſpeedy Return of the Lords to free themſelves and the whole Kingdom from apparent Deſtruction, promiſing them their utmoſt Help and Concurrence. The Lord *Falconbridge* could not diſtruſt their hearty Proteſtations, which had all the Signs of Veracity in them, and therefore diſpatch'd away a Meſſenger to the Lords at *Callis*, to aſſure them, that he found a general good Inclination in all People in thoſe Parts to them, and a Readineſs to do them all the Service they could both in Body and Goods, and it was his Advice, that they ſhould loſe no Time, but paſſing over the Sea ſhould land in *England*, while the People were ſo hotly affected to them. The Earls were ſenſible of the Fitneſs of this Opportunity

Kent invites the Lords to invade *England*.

The Lord *Falconbridge* at *Sandwich* invites the Lords to come into *England*.

to

A. D 1460 Reg. 38. to effect their Design, and sending the Messenger back to the Lord *Falconbridge* with a Declaration to be sent to the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and dispersed up and down the Maritime Countries to prepare the People for their Reception, and draw over all they could to their Aid, they made all the necessary Preparations for their Passage into *England*.

The Lord's Declaration.

The Sum of their Declaration was to this Effect, *That the Duke of* York, *Earls of* March, Warwick *and* Salisbury *had divers Times offered and sued to come into the King's Presence to have declared for their Duty to God, His Highness, and Prosperity of the Realm these following Matters*, viz.

I. The great Extortion, Murther, Robberies and Oppressions done to the Church and Ministers of it, against the Laws both of God and Man.

II. The Poverty and Misery of His Highness himself, who being cheated and defrauded of the Revenues of the Crown, which might and would support his Royal State, by the Destroyers of the Commonwealth, was forced to oppress and spoil his Subjects.

III. That the Laws were partially and unjustly executed and made to support their Injustice and Oppression, by such as should most love and tender them.

IV. That the Commons were marvellously taxed, and their Goods taken from 'em without Payment, because he permitted the Destroyers of the Land to live upon his own Revenues, suffering all the King's Possessions in *France* to be lost.

V. That the People begin to have new Impositions laid upon them, *viz.* every Town to find Men for the King's Guards after the Example of the *French* our Adversaries, which if continued to our Heirs, will be such a Charge and Bondage, as none of our Ancestors were subject to.

VI. That divers Lords had caused the King to write Letters to his Enemies in *Ireland* and *France* to conquer the said Kingdom and take *Callis*, which Letters were shew'd to the Duke of *York* by the *Irishmen* with Detestation of their Villany.

VII. That since the barbarous and shameful Murther of *Humphrey*, Duke of *Glouceſter* at *Bury*, it hath been studied and conspired to have destroy'd and murther'd the Duke of *York* and his Issue of the Royal Blood, as also the Earls of *Warwick* and *Salisbury*, for no other Cause but for the true Heart they have ever born and do bear to the King's Profit and Wealth of the Realm.

VIII. That the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Wiltshire*, and the Lord *Beaumont*, the mortal Enemies of the said Duke and Lords, having the guiding of our Soveraign Lord, would not suffer the King to receive and accept them as he would have done, into his Presence, dreading the Charge, which would have been brought against them for destroying the Nation.

IX. That the said Earls of *Wiltshire* and *Shrewsbury*, and Lord *Beaumont*, not satisfied with the Kings Revenues and Goods, had stirr'd up and excited His Highness to hold his Parliament at *Coventry*, where an Act was made by their Provocation and Labour to destroy the said Duke of *York*, Earls of *March*, *Rutland*, *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, and their Issue and their Estates and Tenants were given up to their Hands, who robbed them and hang'd many of them without the King's Consent or Approbation.

These Mischiefs they declared, they could not but behold with Grief, and therefore now purposed again to offer themselves to the Presence of their said Sovereign Lord to declare them to him in the most reverent Manner, that he may have Pity and Compassion on his miserable Subjects, and not suffer these Mischiefs still to reign. To the effecting of which they required all People to whom their Declaration should come, in God's Behalf and their own, to assist them doing their Duty to their Sovereign, his Person and Dignity, to whom they have been and ever would be true as any of his Subjects alive, to which they called God, the Virgin Mary *and all the Saints in Heaven to witness.*

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What Effect this Declaration had appeared in a short time: For the Earls of *March*, *Warwick* and *Salisbury*, who in a few Weeks after arrived at *Sandwich* with 1500 Men only, were no sooner arriv'd, but the Lord *Cobham* met them with 4000 Men, and when they had refreshed themselves a few days, they march'd thro' *Kent* to *London*, and were in their Way joyn'd by several Gentlemen and their Friends, who came in so thick, that before they got to the City they were increased into a Body of near 40000 fighting Men, many Gentlemen and Yeomen of the South-parts joyning with them near *London*, which they enter'd *July* 2. and were joyfully receiv'd by the Mayor and the whole City, whither also came the next Day *Thomas* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London*, *Lincon*, *Salisbury*, *Ely* and *Exeter*, with many other Priors and religious Persons to congratulate their Arrival, by whose Means they hoped for a Reformation of all Abuses in Church and State, tho' not such as follow'd.

The Lords welcomed and assisted in *Kent*.

The King, who at the Time of the Lords landing was at *Coventry*, was not unactive as far as in him lay, to stop the Progress of this Rebellion, for which End he appointed the Lord *Scales* to assemble what Troops he could, and get Possession of *London*, as the most important Place of the Kingdom, and which if secured, would alone baffle their Attempts. That Lord with the Earl of *Kendall*, Lord *Lovell* and others was zealous to obey the King's Command, and with all Expedition marching towards that City, arriv'd there before the Lords, and demanded Admission in the King's Name, assuring the Mayor and chief Citizens, that their coming thither was only to defend and keep the City from the Spoil of those Traitors, who, as the King was credibly inform'd were hastning thither. The Mayor, who secretly favour'd the Lords Undertakings, answer'd, *That he needed no Help either to defend or govern the City committed to his Charge, nor would permit any armed Men to come within his Jurisdiction.* This Reply much incensed the Lord *Scales*, who evidently saw the Disloyalty of the Citizens by it; and that he might annoy them, as much as was possible, he entred into the *Tower* and threatn'd them, that he would with his great Ordnance beat down their City, if they receiv'd the Rebels, which Menaces he endeavour'd after to make good.

The King sends the Lord *Scales* to secure *London*.

The Queen in this Time (for the King hated Wars, and would not mind his own Defence) gathered a good Army about *Coventry*, (which Place was then call'd, *The Queen's secret Harbour*) and making the Duke of *Somerset* (who was in *June* come from *Guisnes* into *England*) the Duke of *Buckingham*, and divers other Lords, the Captains and Commanders of it, march'd with it, having the King himself with them, to *Northampton*, where when the Queen saw that she had Power enough to encounter

The Queen gathers an Army against the Lords.

A. D. 1460. Reg. 38. counter their Enemies, ſhe took upon her to encourage them to vindicate the Rights of their King, whoſe peaceable Diſpoſition, and pious Temper beſpake their Fidelity the more to defend it, by how much it was of it ſelf the more unable or unwilling to act in its own Defence, and by her good Words raiſed in them a Reſolution to keep him on his Throne, or die for his Right.

While the Queen was thus preparing for her own and the King's Defence, the Lords at *London* were in great Conſultation how to proceed in their Buſineſs, and having, to keep up the ſame ſhew of Loyalty, to which by their Declaration they had pretended, taken an Oath in a full Convocation of the Clergy at St. *Paul's* that they had, and ever would bear faithful and true Allegiance to King *Henry*, and had no other Intentions, than to redreſs the Grievances of the Nation, and remove the Deſtroyers of their Country from about the King's Perſon; it was agreed, That the Earls of *March* and *Warwick*, *William*, Lord *Falconbridge*, and *Henry*, Lord *Bourchier*, call'd alſo Earl of *Eu*, ſhould march with an Army of 25000 Men towards the King and Queen, leaving behind them, to keep the *Londoners* in their promiſed Obedience, the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Lord *Cobham*, and Sir *John Wenlocke*, who by their Vigilancy kept not only the City in Order, but defended it againſt the Lord *Scales*, who annoy'd it with his great Ordnance, and did much Harm to the Citizens; but theſe Lords by mounting Guns on the other ſide of the *Thames* over againſt the *Tower*, and preventing all Supplies of Victuals to be ſent, put him to equal Streights and Loſſes. When the King and Queen heard that the Earls of *March* and *Warwick* drew near them, it was adviſed, that the King's Army ſhould paſs over the River *Tyne*, and encamp themſelves ſtrongly in the open Fields, and wait their coming, which was accordingly done. On *July* 9. the Earls with their Army encamp'd between *Tonceſtor* and *Northampton*, and reſolv'd the next Day for the Fight; but at the Mediation of the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the other Biſhops which were preſent, it was thought convenient, that the Biſhop of *Salisbury* ſhould be ſent to the King to beſeech him to admit the Earl of *Warwick* into his Preſence to declare his Innocency, ond offer ſuch an Accord, as that all Things might be ſettled without Blood-ſhed. This Requeſt was deny'd by the Duke of *Buckingham*, and though repeated again and again, yet had no better Anſwer, the King's Party, it ſeems, truſting ſo much to their Strength and Ordnance, and being encourag'd by the Biſhop of *Hereford* to fight, would not hearken to any Propoſals of Peace.

The Lord *Scales* in the *Tower* annoys the City.

The Lords ſue for Peace, but being rejected come to a Battle.

The Earl of *March*, who being in the heat of his Youth, and very courageous, conſider'd not ſo much the ill Effects of a Battle as the Lawrels he longed for, ſeeing all Propoſals of Peace rejected reſolv'd to ſet upon the King's Army without Delay, and in the Night remov'd his Camp towards *Northampton*, marching in order of Battle; The Earl of *Warwick* led the Van-Guard, the Earl of *March* the Body, and the Lord *Falconbridge* the Reer. About Two a Clock in the Afternoon, *July* the 9th, the two Armies met, and the Earls of *March*, and *Warwick* having given a ſtrict Charge to their Soldiers, that they ſhould none of them lay Hands on the King, nor the Common People, but the Nobles and Gentlemen only, the Battle began and laſted for Five Hours, (or as others, Two Hours) with great Fierceneſs on both Sides; but at length by the Treachery of the Lord *Grey*, who went over to the Enemy with a good Party and aſſiſted them, the King's Side was vanquiſh'd with the Loſs of 10000, partly drown'd and partly ſlain, among which were theſe Men of Note, *Humphrey*, Duke of *Buckingham*, *John Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the valiant Son of as valiant a Father, *Thomas* Lord *Egremont*, *John*, Viſcount *Beaumont*, and Sir *William Lacy*. The Duke of *Somerſet* eſcap'd narrowly, and with the Queen and Prince *Edward* fled into the Biſhoprick of *Durham*. Many were taken Priſoners. The King himſelf, who remain'd in his Tent during the Battle, being left alone, fell into his Enemies Hands, but the Earls of *March* and *Warwick* aſſuring him, That they ſought the Welfare of his Perſon, and Happineſs of the Realm, in deſtroying their malicious Enemies, he was much comforted; and being led into *Northampton* with Proceſſion, he tarry'd three Days there, and on *July* 16. arriv'd at *London*, where he was lodg'd in the Biſhop's Palace. *A. D.* 1460. Reg. 38. The Lords conquer.

This Victory reduced the Lord *Scales* to a low Condition, ſo that deſpairing of Help he reſign'd the *Tower* upon Terms, which yet he ſuppoſing hardly ſecure enough, to preſerve himſelf, he endeavour'd to have fled to the Queen in Diſguiſe; but being diſcover'd by ſome of the Earl of *Warwick's* Watermen they ſlew him, and ſtripping him of his Cloaths, left his Body naked on the Shore, and wallowing in his own Blood many Days. After this great Inquiry was made for the Favourers of the *Lancaſtrians*, and many of them fin'd, and ſome executed for Treaſon. Judge *Thorp*, ſecond Baron of the *Exchequer*, was taken in a Monk's Habit with his Crown ſhaven, and impriſon'd a while in the *Tower*, and after executed by the Mob at *Highgate*. The Lord *Scales* reſigns the *Tower*.

Queen *Margaret* hearing, that the King was taken, and that moſt of her Faſt Friends were dead, was in great Perplexities what to do; and fearing ſhe might alſo with her Son be betray'd to her Enemies, ſhe fled into *Wales* to the Caſtle of *Hardlogh*, having only Eight Perſons with her, and ſo got into *Scotland*, but in *Lancaſhire*, was robb'd of all her Goods to the Value of Ten Thouſand Marks.

The Victorious Lords having the King now in their Power, and ruling all Things almoſt at their Pleaſure, proceeded vigorouſly in the Execution of their Deſigns; and firſt call a Parliament to meet at *Weſtminſter*, *October* the 8th following, but in the King's Name, and then ſend into *Ireland* to the Duke of *York* to acquaint him with their Succeſs, and invite him to come with all convenient Speed into *England*, which when he heard he was greatly pleaſed, perſwading himſelf, that now no Obſtacle remain'd between himſelf and the Crown. Ambition needs no Spurs, Preparations are made with all Speed for the Duke to paſs into *England*. At *Dublin* he and his Retinue took Ship, and in a few Days landed at the *Redbank* near the City of *Cheſter*, and from thence by long Journies came to *London* upon *Friday*, *October* the 10th, which City he entred with Trumpets ſounding, and a naked Sword born before him, accompany'd with a great Train of armed Men. Reg. 39. Seventeenth Parliament, its Acts.

The Parliament was met Two Days before, and the Duke having paſſed through the City went directly into the Upper-Houſe or Chamber of the Peers, and placed himſelf in the King's Duke of *York* returns, and goes to the Parliament.

A. D. 1460. Reg. 39.

King's Seat, (*ſſ*) laying his Hands upon the Cloth of State, as if he had taken Poſſeſſion of the Crown and Kingdom. When he had ſtood ſo a while he turned himſelf to the Lords, and looked upon them ſtedfaſtly, as tho' he would read in their Countenances their Thoughts and Reſentments of that Action. After he had ſtood a while in that Poſture, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Bourchier*, whom King *Henry*, who was then in the Queen's Lodgings, had ſent to him, came into the Houſe, and having paid him the uſual Reverence, asked him *Whether he would not go and ſee the King.* The Duke at this Queſtion was obſerved to change his Colour, and then anſwer'd him in a Paſſion, *That he knew none in this Kingdom, to whom he owed that Duty or Honour; but on the contrary, all Men owed it to him, and therefore King* Henry *ought to come to him.*

Duke of *York* calls himſelf King, and poſſeſſes himſelf of the King's Lodgings, and claims the Throne in Parliament.

The Archbiſhop having received this Reply, went back to the King to let him know it; which the Duke of *York* perceiving, he roſe up, and following him into the Palace, got Poſſeſſion of the King's Lodgings, breaking open ſeveral Doors and Locks, that he might enter them. He ſtayed there but a little while, and then returned to the Houſe again, leaving his Servants and chief Attendants to keep them for him. Being again ſettled in the Regal Throne, he boldly made his Demand of the Crown, and the Regal Authority of *England*, in Words to this Effect. (*t*) 'That he approached that 'Throne, as the Place to him in Juſtice belonging, which, he ſaid, not as requiring their 'Favour, but friendly Indifferency, and true 'Adminiſtration of Juſtice, for the High and 'Mighty Prince, *Richard* II. Son of *Edward* the 'Black-Prince, Eldeſt Son of King *Edward* III. 'was the true and undoubted Heir of theſe 'Realms, and was in Poſſeſſion of the Regal 'Dignity, with all the Rights and Priviledges 'thereunto belonging, till *Henry* Earl of *Derby* and Duke of *Lancaſter* and *Hereford*, Son 'of *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, Fourth 'Son to the ſaid King *Edward* III. and Younger 'Brother to my Noble Anceſtor, *Lionell*, Duke 'of *Clarence*, Third Son of the ſaid King *Ed-*'*ward* III by Force and Violence, contrary to 'his Duty of Allegiance done and ſworn, raiſed 'War againſt the ſaid King *Richard*, impriſo-'ned him, and uſurped and intruded upon his 'Royal Power, and aſſumed the Name and 'Authority of King, and after compaſſed his 'Death and Deſtruction, upon whoſe Deceaſe, 'having no Heirs lawfully begotten, the Right 'and Title of the Crown, and Superiority of 'this Realm, lawfully reverted and return'd 'to *Roger Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, Son and 'Heir to the Lady *Philip*, only Child of the 'aboveſaid *Lionell*, Duke of *Clarence*, to 'which *Roger*'s (*u*) Eldeſt Daughter *Ann*, being 'my deareſt and Well-beloved Mother, I be-'ing the True and Lawful Heir, have an un-'doubted Right to the Crown. And if the 'Title be mine, why am I kept from it? If my 'Claim be good, why have I not Juſtice? For 'Men of Knowledge muſt own, that uſurp'd 'Poſſeſſion, tho' ſtrengthened with a lineal De-'ſcent, can nothing prevail, if continual 'Claim be lawfully made, and openly publiſh'd 'by the Right Heirs, as it hath been by *Ed-*'*mund*, Earl of *March*, my Uncle, *Richard*, 'Duke of *York*, (*x*) my Father, and my ſelf: 'but thro' ſiniſter Counſel and unjuſt Deten-'tion, I can neither obtain nor recover it, ſo 'that I am compell'd to make uſe of Force to 'regain my Right, and ſettle the Peace of the 'Realm, which thro' a Succeſſion of Uſurp-'ers has been miſerably ruined, and undone, 'eſpecially in this laſt Reign; and therefore 'I have, and now do take Poſſeſſion of the 'Royal Throne, truſting thro' the Aſſiſtance of 'you, the Peers of this Realm, to beautifie and 'maintain the ſame to the Glory of God, Ho-'nour of my Blood, and publick Welfare of 'all my People (*y*). This Speech ſtruck all the Auditors with a kind of Conſternation, and the Lords themſelves ſat mute, neither whiſpering nor moving, as if in ſome Diſcontent at what he had ſaid, or at leſt in a doubt what to do; for King. *Henry*'s Piety and Holineſs, Succeſſion in the Third Degree, and Thirty eight Years Poſſeſſion of the Crown, had ſo far confirm'd moſt of them in the Opinion of his Right, that they were loth to be inſtrumental in depoſing him, whoſe very Innocency and Goodneſs entitled him to a better Crown than ever he had worn. The Duke of *York*, whoſe Eagerneſs to be King, taught him to expect a ready Compliance with his Deſires, was much diſappointed, when he ſaw no Man almoſt ſeconding his Wiſhes; wherefore being neither well contented, nor willing to ſeem much diſpleaſed, he adviſed them to conſider throughly of what he had ſaid to them, and do to him, what in Juſtice and Wiſdom they judged Right; and ſo departed to his Lodgings at *Whitehall*. (*z*) While the Duke was thus declaring and ſhewing his Title to the Crown in the Houſe of Lords, it happen'd, that in the Houſe of Commons a Crown, which hung up in the Middle of the Roof to adorn a Branch let up for Lights, fell down ſuddenly, without any imaginable Cauſe, and alſo another Crown upon the Top of *Dover*-Caſtle, which were both looked upon at this Juncture as ominous Accidents, which did betoken that the Crown ſhould ſome way or other have a Fall, and that there would be ſudden Alterations in the Government.

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Adviſes the Lords to conſider of his Right to the Crown.

The Crown hanging now in doubt as it were, between King *Henry* and the Duke of *York*, and Conſultations being held every Day by the Lords about their Titles, on whoſe Head it ſhould be ſettled; The Duke of *York* taking upon him a

(*ſſ*) He did not ſit down on the Throne, he only took hold of the Cloth of State.

(*t*) His ſitting on the Throne, and making this Speech, is very much to be doubted: For *John Whethamſted*, Abbot of St. *Albans*, who was preſent in the Houſe of Peers, makes no Mention of any ſuch Speech in the Hiſtory that he wrote of this Reign, and particularly this Revolution. *Hol.* 655.

(*u*) As a Proof of the Forgery of this Speech, we ſhall inſtance one Miſtake, which could not come from the Mouth of the Duke of *York*, he ſays, *Which* Roger's *Eldeſt Daughter* Ann— She was not the Eldeſt Daughter, the Lady *Elinor Mortimer*, as we have ſaid elſewhere was Elder, tho' ſhe left no Iſſue, and ſo the Right of Inheritance devolv'd to *Ann*. But this may be an Error of the Author; and indeed in the original Speech 'tis only ſaid, *Unto which* Roger's *Daughter call'd* Ann, *&c.* See *Hol.* pag. 656. The Nonſenſe of the Oration is as remarkable as the Subject of it, He tells them in the firſt Paragraph, *This Noble Realm, and our Natural Country ſhall never be* Unbuckled *from her daily-*Feaver, *except I as the Principal* Phyſician, *and you as the Truſty* Apothecaries *conſult together in making of the Potion, and try out the Clean and Pure Stuff from the Corrupt and Putrified Drugs.*

(*x*) His Father was not Duke of *York*. His Uncle *Edward* had the Title, and his Father only that of Earl of *Cambridge*, which Earl was beheaded for Treaſon at *Southampton* in the Third Year of *Henry* V.

(*y*) He did not make uſe of the Term *My People*, and it had been arrogant in him. His Words were, *To the Publick Wealth, as well of you all here preſent, as of all the poor Commons of this Kingdom and Regiment.*

(*z*) *Whitehall* was not then built. He went to his Lodgings in the King's Palace at *Weſtminſter*, near the Abby.

kind

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kind of Majeſty, kept in the King's Lodgings, and tho' near King *Henry*, would not for all the Requeſts and Prayers that could be uſed, vouchſafe to viſit him, till ſome Concluſion were made in the Matter, ſaying, *That he was ſubject to no Man, but God only, under whom, none was Supream in this Realm, but he.* He ſent alſo a Meſſage to *James* II. King of *Scots*, to quit the *Engliſh* Dominions. King (*a*) *James* at the Duke's Requeſt had entred the Kingdom of *England* with a powerful Army, and beſieged *Roxborough*, upon the Promiſe, that he would reſtore to him the Towns which the *Engliſh* had taken away from him. (For that King was very unwilling to meddle in the Diſpute, and would not be induced to it but by this Advantage.) The Duke had his Meſſengers tell the *Scotch* King, that the Siege was ſo diſpleaſing to him and all his People, he could hardly keep them from taking up Arms to relieve it, thanking him for his Aſſiſtance, and telling him, that he had now no more need of him. The King of *Scots* anſwered, *He was glad at his good Succeſs*, and asked the Meſſengers, *Whether they had a Commiſſion to deliver up the Towns to him according to the Duke's Promiſe?* They anſwer'd, *No.* Whereupon the King reply'd, *Neither will I quit the Siege, which for all theſe Threats, whether his, or People's, I hope to put a ſpeedy End to.* And play'd upon the Town with his Cannon more furiouſly than ever, with a Reſolution to gain it before any Succour could come; but e're he could effect it, he was ſlain by the Breaking of a Cannon, no Man elſe ſave the Earl of *Angus* being hurt by it. Yet this Accident did not put an End to the Siege, for the *Scots* continued their Aſſaults rather the ſharper, and the Beſieged being reduced to a low Condition by their great Loſſes, yielded themſelves to the new King *James* III. their Lives and Goods being ſaved. About the ſame Time died *Charles*, King of *France*, in a ſtrange Manner; for he being ſick, ſome of his Courtiers inform'd him of a Deſign to poiſon him; whereupon he forbore any Food for Seven Days, and after not being able to eat, died.

Duke of *York* takes on him a Regal Majeſty and Command.

King of *Scots* beſieges *Roxborough.*

Charles King of *France* died.

The Crown diſputed, but at laſt ſettled on theſe Conditions.

While theſe Things were doing, many hot Diſputes had paſſed between the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, about the Settlement of the Crown; ſome thought it very unreaſonable to call King *Henry*'s Title in Queſtion, who had been ſo long in Poſſeſſion of the Sovereignty, and ſo much the rather, becauſe the Duke of *York* himſelf had in ſwearing Allegiance to King *Henry* ſo often, and declaring him his lawful Sovereign, tied up himſelf from Claiming the Crown, if he had any Right to it. But on the other Side, the Duke of *York*'s Friends (which were not a few) argued that the Duke's Title was ſo clear, and ſo well known to them all, that it would be the greateſt Injuſtice in the World to deny him his Right, and tho' King *Henry*, it is true, had been long in the Poſſeſſion of the Throne, yet his Uſurpation being ſo evident, he ought to be as willing to recede from what he was wrongfully poſſeſſed of, as they were in Juſtice bound to declare him deprived. 'Tis true, they ſaid, the Duke of *York* had often ſworn Allegiance to King *Henry*, and taken him for his lawful Sovereign, yet he never renounced his Right, and 'tis plain, his Oaths and Promiſes were out of Fear or Force, not willingly. Theſe Arguments were thought ſtrong on both Sides, and therefore the middle Way was pitched upon by the Lords, and upon *All Saints*-Day, an Agreement was made between theſe two Princes, King *Henry*, and *Richard*, Duke of *York*, under theſe Articles.

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I. That notwithſtanding the clear and undiſputable Title of *Richard*, Duke of *York*, to the Crown of *England*, as Heir to *Lionell*, Duke of *Clarence*, the ſaid Duke tenderly deſiring the Wealth and Proſperity of this Land, and to lay aſide all that may be a Trouble to the ſame; and conſidering the long Poſſeſſion of the ſaid King *Henry*, who hath all his Time been named, taken, and reputed for King of *England*, and Lord of *Ireland*, is contented, and agreed, that the ſaid King *Henry*, ſhall be taken and reputed King of *England*, and Lord of *Ireland*, during his Natural Life, and the ſaid Duke ſhall honour him as his Sovereign Lord.

II. That the ſaid *Richard*, Duke of *York*, with his Two Sons, *Edward*, Earl of *March*, and *Edmund*, Earl of *Rutland*, ſhall promiſe and bind themſelves by ſolemn Oaths, neither to do, procure, or ſuffer and Thing to the Prejudice of the Natural Life of King *Henry* VI. or to the diminiſhing of his Royal Dignity, but ſhall withſtand to their utmoſt Power any Perſon that ſhall attempt it, as God ſhall help them.

III. That *Richard*, Duke of *York*, ſhall from thenceforth be called and reputed the Very and Rightful Heir to the *Engliſh* Crowns, and after the Deceaſe of the ſaid King *Henry*, the ſaid Duke and his Heirs ſhall immediately ſucceed to them.

IV. That the ſaid *Richard*, Duke of *York*, ſhall have by the Authority of this preſent Parliament, Caſtles, Mannors Lands and Tenements, with their Appurtenances, to the yearly Value of 10000 Marks over and above all Charges and Repriſes, of which 5000 Marks ſhall be for his own Eſtate, 3000 for the Earl of *March*, and 2000 for the Earl of *Rutland*, yet with ſuch Intents and Conſiderations, as ſhall be declared by the Lords of the King's Council.

V. That if any Perſon imagine, or compaſs the Death of the ſaid Duke, and thereof be convicted, they ſhall be adjudged guilty of High Treaſon.

VI. That the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, ſhall take an Oath, to accept, take, worſhip and repute the ſaid *Richard*, Duke of *York*, and his Heirs, as aboveſaid, and the ſaid Duke ſhall protect them in keeping this Agreement.

VII. That this Accord and Agreement ſhall be notified and publiſh'd by the King's Letters Patents, and his Conſent and Agreement be openly declared to all and every one of them; and if the ſaid King *Henry* ſhall break, or go againſt any Point of this Accord, then the ſaid Crown and Royal Dignity, ſhall immediately devolve and come to the Duke of *York*, if he be alive, or to the next Heir of his Linage.

VIII. That all Statutes and Acts of Parliament, made in the Time of *Henry* IV. or V. to entail the Crown on their Heirs, ſhall be annull'd and repeal'd.

IX. That the Duke of *York* ſhall be Protector of the Realm for the future, and be called Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Cheſter*.

(*a*) He was ſo far from entring the *Engliſh* Dominions at the Requeſt of the Duke of *York*, that he came to revenge the Death of the Duke of *Somerſet*, his Mother's Brother, whom the Duke of *York* had been the Means of killing at the Battle of St. *Albans*.

This

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This Agreement drawn up in the Form aboveſaid, was engroſſed, ſealed, and ſworn unto by both Parties on *All Saints*-Day, and then it was enacted by the Parliament, that it be made unalterable on all Hands. King *Henry* was obſerved to be very much pleaſed with this Agreement, not doubtleſs, becauſe he was willing his Son ſhould be excluded from the Crown. But becauſe he feared more ſevere Dealings with himſelf, and hoped Time would better provide for his Son, and therefore appointed a ſolemn Proceſſion the ſame Day to give Thanks to God for this peaceable Settlement of Affairs. In it the King rode to the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*, attended with the Duke of *York*, Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, and many other Lords, with his Crown upon his Head, and heard Even-Song, and then return'd to the Biſhop's Palace, where he continued ſome Time. The next Day *Richard*, Duke of *York*, was by Sound of Trumpet ſolemnly proclaimed Heir apparent to the Crown of *England*, and Protector of the Nation, during the King's Life. After theſe Things the Parliament made an Act, 'That the Parliament (*b*) at *Coventry*, *Nov.* 20. *An.* 38. *Hen.* VI. 'ſhall be repealed, and all the Acts, Statutes and 'Ordinances made by the Authority of the ſaid 'Parliament, diſannull'd, becauſe that Parliament was unlawfully ſummon'd and holden, 'and the Knights and Burgeſſes not duly choſen, 'but privately appointed by thoſe Men, who 'ſought the Deſtruction of the Nobility and 'Commonwealth: And, that a Woman at 'Fourteen Years of Age at the Death of her 'Anceſtor or Parent, ſhall without any Difficulty or Queſtion, have Livery and Seiſin of 'the Lands deſcended to her: And then the Parliament was diſſolv'd, being the laſt that ever King *Henry* call'd, or ended.

A Proceſſion to thank God for this Agreement.

Duke of *York* rules as Protector, and cauſes the King to ſend for the Queen.

And now the Duke of *York*'s Power began, as Guardian of the King's Perſon, he took care of all Things, but chiefly of himſelf, how he might keep what he had obtained; for he very well knew that the Queen, who was a Woman of a maſculine Spirit, and the Lords of her Council, who were his utter Enemies, would make all the Oppoſition they could to this Settlement, and either by Force or Fraud undo all; whereupon he cauſed King *Henry* to ſend for her, and her Son Prince *Edward*. But the Queen, (who by that Time the Meſſengers arrived, was got at the Head of a good Army of 18000 Men, which ſhe put under the Command of the Dukes of *Exeter* and *Somerſet*, Earls of *Devonſhire* and *Northumberland*, Lords of *Clifford* and *Roſſe*, who encouraged her with great Hopes of Victory, to engage her Adverſaries, and reſtore her Husband to his Dignity, and her Son to his Succeſſion) refuſed to go along with them. Which when the Protector had Knowledge of, he aſſigned his truſty Friends the Earl of *Warwick* and Duke of *Norfolk* to be the Keepers of the King; and he himſelf, and the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Rutland*, with a ſmall Body of Men departed from *London*, *December* 2. to go into the North to repreſs the Queen, and her northern Adherents, ordering the Earl of *March* to follow him with all the Forces he could gather Upon *Chriſtmas-Eve*, the Duke arrived at his Caſtle of *Sandal*, near *Wakefield* in *Yorkſhire*, and there muſter'd up all his Tenants and Friends to the Number of 5000. With theſe he intended to oppoſe the Queen's Army, who, by his Scouts, he underſtood were marching towards him, which the Queen, and Lords of her Party haſtned, that they might fall upon him before the Earl of *March* could join with him. When they drew near, the Duke found the Queen's Forces much to exceed his, and therefore it was the Advice of the Earl of *Salisbury*, and Sir *David Hall*, *That he ſhould keep himſelf within the Walls till the Earl of* March *ſhould arrive, becauſe the Queen had no Artillery with her, and ſo could do them no Harm in that Time.*

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Duke of *York* goes to *Wakefield* againſt the Queen.

The Queen and her Army came before the Caſtle, and having laid two Ambuſhes under the Command of the Lord *Clifford* and Earl of *Wiltſhire* at the beſt Advantage, the Queen and Duke of *Somerſet*, who commanded the Body of the Army, preſented themſelves in Sight of *Sandal*, and going up to the very Walls, braved the Duke to come out and fight them. The Duke being hot and furious at this Bravado, and counting it a Shame to be ſhut up in a Caſtle by a Woman, which he had never been in ſo many Years of the *French* Wars, reſolved to venture out in the open Field, and give her Battle. All his Friends were much againſt it, but not being able to diſſwade him from it, by all the Arguments they could uſe, they all marched out of the Caſtle upon the laſt Day of *December*, and going down the Hill in very good Order, came into the open Field before the Face of their Enemies, who immediately joined Fight with them. Soon after the Battle was begun, the Ambuſhes roſe, and encompaſſed the Duke and his Men on every Side, ſo that within Half an Hour he himſelf was ſlain, with many of the Perſons of Note that were with him, valiantly fighting, and his whole Army utterly defeated, 2800 of them being killed. The Earl of *Salisbury* was wounded and taken, with ſeveral Gentlemen and others. *Robert Aſpell*, the Duke's Chaplain, and Tutor to the Earl of *Rutland*, who ſtood at ſome Diſtance to ſee the Event of the Battle, with his Pupil, who was then about Twelve Years of Age, perceiving that it was likely to prove unſucceſsful and fatal to his Lord, fled with the Young Earl to ſecure him, but was overtaken by the Lord *Clifford*, who in the Heat of his Fury, ſtabb'd the young Prince to the Heart, tho' the poor Child with Tears begg'd Mercy of him upon his Knees (*c*). The Chaplain pleaded much for the Child's Life, and promiſed the Lord, *That if he would ſpare him, he ſhould be his Servant for ever.* But *Clifford* ſwore fearfully, *That as his Father had ſlain his, ſo he would be the Deſtruction of him and all his Race*; and then ſlaying him, departed in Triumph to find the dead Body of his Father, whoſe Head he cut off, and having made a Crown of Paper, and ſet it on it in Deriſion, preſented it to the Queen, whoſe Tent was at Hand, and ſhe not long after, ſent it with other Lords to be ſet upon Poles over the Gate of the City of *York*. The Earl of *Salisbury*, who was committed to the Care of the Duke of *Somerſet*, and by him impriſon'd in the Caſtle of *Pomfract*, with a Promiſe to ſave his Life for a large Sum of Money, was a little after by the Common People, who hated him, pull'd out of the Caſtle, and beheaded, and ſo his Head, with others, was ſent to *York*.

Duke of *York* kill'd and his Army routed the 30th of *December*.

The Lord *Clifford* ſlays the Earl of *Rutland*, and curs off the Duke of *York*'s Head.

King *Henry*, by the Inſtigation of his Governours, the Duke of *Norfolk* and Earl of *Warwick*, ſent Commiſſions into the Parts about *Coventry*, to raiſe what Forces they could to ſup-

(*b*) *Holinſhead*, *p* 659. ſays, This Parliament declared that of *Coventry* a *deviliſh Council*.
(*c*) He could not ſpeak for Fear, but he held up his Hands for Mercy. *Hol.* 659.

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preſs the Northern Rebels, but like a Torrent they came down upon them towards *London*, plundering and robbing, ſo that they were irreſiſtible by any Strength that could be ſuddenly got together, and paſſed on without controul.

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The Queen and her Army marches towards *London*.

The Queen having obtain'd this Victory over the Duke of *York*, was ſenſible, that tho' the Advantage might do her much good, becauſe the Commons generally follow the conquering Side, yet it had done her Enemies Side but very little Harm, becauſe it was but a ſmall Party, and thoſe pick'd up in the Country about *Wakefield*, which ſhe had conquer'd. She knew *Warwick*'s Courage and Intereſts were great in *London*, where he had a ſtrong Army to oppoſe her, and the Earl of *March* was gone into *Wales*, where his Father had many Tenants and Dependants to gather an Army, ſo that ſhe had no ſmall Difficulties to grapple with, before ſhe could accompliſh her Deſigns, and ſettle her Husband and Son in their Rights. She expected no ſmall Oppoſition on both Sides, and therefore after a ſerious Conſultation with the Lords and other grave Men that follow'd her Intereſts, it was reſolv'd, That ſhe her ſelf, the Prince and Duke of *Somerſet* ſhould march towards *London* with the greateſt part of her Army, and *Jaſper*, Earl of *Pembroke*, and *James Butler*, Earl of *Ormond* and *Wiltſhire*, who raiſed a great Number of *Iriſh* and *Welſh* to the Queen's Aſſiſtance, ſhould obſerve the Earl of *March*, and gather freſh Forces out of her Friends to encounter him. The Earl of *March* in the mean time having heard of his Father's Death at *Glouceſter*, where he then lay, was ſtrangely amaz'd and diſcourag'd at the Accident; but being comforted by his Friends, who told him 'twas his Father's Raſhneſs, not his Enemies Power, that had been the Cauſe of this Misfortune, he remov'd to *Shrewsbury*, and there declaring his Father's Death, the Queen's Cruelty, and the Ruin of the Kingdom to all the Inhabitants of that City, and the adjoyning Countries, he got an Army out of the *Marches* of *Wales*, and the Places near, to the Number of 23000, who out of Love to *Mortimer*'s Race offered themſelves readily to go againſt the Queen and his Father's Murtherers. With theſe he departs from *Shrewsbury* to follow the Queen's Army, which was marching towards *London*, and revenge his Father's Death; but at his firſt ſetting out, hearing that *Jaſper*, Earl of *Pembroke*, and the Earl of *Ormond* with a great Army of *Welſh* and *Iriſh* were purſuing him, he turn'd back to fight them, and on a large Plain near *Mortimer*'s Croſs on the Eaſt-ſide of *Hereford*, met them. On *Candlemas-day* in the Morning, when the Sun at its riſing appear'd to the Earl of *March* like Three Sons, and ſuddenly running into One gave him (as he gueſſed) an Omen of Victory, the two Armies entred the Battle, and after a ſharp Conflict, the Earl of *March* put the Queen's Forces to Flight, with the Slaughter of 3800. The two Earls of *Pembroke* and *Ormond* fled, and many Gentlemen of Note were taken, and to propitiate *York*'s Ghoſt were beheaded at *Hereford*.

Earl of *March* gathers an Army of 23000 Men, and engages the Forces of the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Ormond* and conquers.

The Queen, who was marching towards *London* with her Northern Rabble, who after they had paſſed the River *Trent*, plunder'd the Villages and Towns, as if they were entred an Enemy's Country, heard of the Diſcomfiture of her Friends; but being elevated with the Thoughts of her former Victory, and knowing that the Mayor and many of the chief Men of *London* were for her, ſhe went on confidently in hopes of ſoon recovering that Loſs. But when ſhe approach'd St. *Albans*, ſhe receiv'd the News that the Earl of *Warwick* and Lords, who had the Government of the King, were coming againſt her with a numerous Army, raiſed by the King's Authority, and having the King himſelf at the Head of them, (for the Commons of the City of *London* fearing they ſhould fall into the Hands of the Northern Men, flocked to the Lords to defend the City againſt the Queen). The Northern Lords and others that were with the Queen, adviſed her to paſs thro' St. *Albans* and meet their Enemies on the other ſide of the Town; but the Earl of *Warwick* having ranged his Archers in the middle of the Town, they were forced to retreat, and find another Way; which having done, the two Armies join'd upon *Barnard-heath* on the North-ſide of St. *Albans*. The Battle was fierce, and the Victory remain'd dubious a certain time; but at length through the Treachery of *Lovelace*, who kept back the main Body of the King's Army from aſſiſting their Brethren, till they being over-power'd were forced to fly, the Queen's Side gain'd the Victory, and with the Slaughter of 2300 Men obtain'd the King into their Power, with the Lord *Bonvile* and Sir *Thomas Kiriell*: Who upon the King's Promiſe of Safety to them ſtay'd with his Majeſty, but to their Coſt: For, when the Queen heard that the Commons had beheaded Judge *Thorp* at *High-gate*, ſhe cut off both their Heads.

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Queen and Lords engage at St. *Albans*, and the Queen conquers.

After this Battle, which was fought upon *February* the 15th, the King and Queen with Prince *Edward*, now about Eight Years Old, and the Northern Lords went to the Abby-Church and gave Thanks to God for this Victory, and then the King made the Prince Knight, with Thirty others who had ſignalized their Courage in fighting for her, which done the King and Queen were conducted to their Lodgings in the Abby. But the Town of St. *Albans* was not at quiet. The Northern Men ranſack'd and plunder'd the Houſes without Mercy: Whereupon the Abbot and chief Inhabitants made an humble Petition to the King and Queen to reſtrain their Soldiers Rudeneſs and Theft, which was granted, and a Proclamation accordinly put out; but they reply'd, *That it was their Bargain to have all the Spoil of every Place beyond the* Trent, and ſo they continued their pillaging and Robberies.

The Northern Men plunder without controul.

While the Queen lay at St. *Albans* her Army being in want for Proviſion, ſhe gave an Order to the Mayor of *London* to ſend her a ſufficient Quantity of *Lenten-fare* for her Soldiers, which he readily obey'd; and having filled ſeveral Carts was conveying it to her, but the Commons of the City in a great Company met them about *Cripple-gate*, and ſtopp'd them, ſaying, *They would not feed them that would cut their Throats, and rob them of all they had.* The Mayor with many mild Exhortations adviſed them to let them paſs, being for the Relief of the King and his Friends, but he could not perſwade them to it, and he ſaw it was in vain to uſe any Force with them: Whereupon the Mayor fearing the Queen's Diſpleaſure, ſent the Recorder of the City to the King's Council at *Barnet*, and the Dutcheſs of *Bedford* and Lady *Scales* with ſome Biſhops to the Queen to excuſe the Matter, and pacifie her Diſpleaſure, promiſing the Queen to admit her into *London*, when Things were a little better appeaſed among the Commons. The Queen was pleaſed with the Propoſals, and paſſed by the Diſappointment of Relief for her Army, ſending

The Mayor of *London* ſends Proviſion to the Queen.

400 Men

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400 Men to prepare for her entring into the City, which if ſhe could ſecure to her ſelf, ſhe hop'd to win all again.

The Earl of *March* coming towards *London*, cauſes the Queen to withdraw

But while theſe Things were acting, News came to the Queen, that the Earl of *March*, who had vanquiſh'd the Earls of *Ormond* and *Pembroke* was joyn'd with the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Forces eſcap'd from St. *Albans*, and that they both were coming towards *London*, making a mighty Army. The Queen fearing their Forces thought not fit to oppoſe them, and ſo withdrew from St. *Albans* into the North, (becauſe ſhe had few or no Friends in *Kent* or *Eſſex*). The Earl of *March* having certain Intelligence of the Queen's Departure, thought it not convenient to purſue her, but took his Way directly towards *London*, and was there receiv'd with univerſal Joy by all the Commons, and many other Citizens, *February* the 28th.

King *Edward*'s popular and military Election.

His coming to *London* being known, the Gentry of the South and Eaſt-parts flock'd to him, bringing great Numbers to his Aſſiſtance. In this Concourſe of People it was thought convenient to ſettle Matters fully, and place the Earl of *March* on the Throne, if poſſible: And to that End, *March* the 2d, the Earl of *Warwick* drawing up his Army into St. *John*'s Field in the midſt of Throngs of People, which he caſt into a Ring round him, read the Agreement made the laſt Parliament between King *Henry* and the Duke of *York*, which having told them was notoriouſly broken by King *Henry*, and ſo his Crown forfeited, he demanded of them, whether they would have King *Henry* to reign ſtill or no? They all cry'd out, *No, no.* Then he again ask'd them, *Whether they would have the Duke of* York's *Eldeſt Son to reign over them, according to that Settlement?* They unanimouſly cry'd out, *Yea, yea.* The Affection of the People being thus known, a general Council of the Nobles, Biſhops, Gentlemen and chief Citizens was ſummon'd at *Baynard*'s Caſtle, and there the Earl of *March* declared again his Title to the Crown, and recited the Articles made the laſt Parliament, by which he was to have Poſſeſſion of it, if King *Henry* broke the ſaid Articles, as undeniably he had. The whole Council after a long Debate at length concluded, That becauſe King *Henry* had done contrary to the Agreement in the laſt Parliament made and concluded, and was inſufficient of himſelf to govern the Realm, he was therefore to be deprived of all Regal Authority and Power, as being incapable of it, and a Detriment to the Commonwealth of *England*; and that *Edward*, Earl of *March*, Son and Heir to *Richard*, Duke of *York*, having the unqueſtionable Title to the Crown of *England*, was by them all unanimouſly nam'd, elected and admitted for the King and Governour of this Realm. The Earl of *March* modeſtly declared his Inſufficiency for ſo great a Charge, being as yet young (*d*) and unexperienced: but being encourag'd by the Arch-biſhop and other Lords he accepted their Petition, and took upon him the Name and Title of King of *England*. The next Day he went in Proceſſion to St. *Paul*'s, and there offer'd his Thanks to God for this his Exaltation to a Thorne by ſinging *Te Deum*, which done he was with great State conducted to *Weſtminſter*, and there in the Great Hall ſet in the King's Seat with St. *Edward*'s Scepter in his Hand; where being throng'd with Multitudes of People to be Spectators of the Ceremony, it was again ask'd them, whether they would have the Earl of *March* for their King, and ſerve, love, honour and obey him as their only Sovereign and Lord; they all joyfully anſwer'd, *Yea, yea.* Then he took the Homage of the Noblemen there preſent, and after was conducted by them to the *Abby*, where having ſat in the Quire till *Te Deum* was ſung, he went to St. *Edward*'s *Shrine* and offer'd according to the uſual Cuſtom. Things being thus finiſh'd, he return'd by Water to St. *Paul*'s, and took up his Lodgings in the Biſhop's Palace, and the next Day was proclaimed King of *England* by the Name of *Edward* IV. in thd Streets of *London* and adjoyning Towns.

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The Earl of *March* made King with all the uſual Ceremonies.

K. *Henry*'s Character

Thus ended the Reign of *Henry* VI. many Years before his Death (for he lived twelve Years longer) after he had reign'd thirty eight Years, ſix Months, and three Days, a Prince very Pious and Religious, but always attended with ill Fortune; for whatever Side he was of, the Victory ever went againſt him, as the former Hiſtory ſhews. He had no Genius for Government nor Parts fit for the Management of State Affairs; but being a great lover of Charity and good Works, he might have been as good a King as *England* ever had, if he had been guided by a wiſe and good Council; but he was ruled by the Queen and her Favourites, who were envy'd by a proud Nobility, and was the Cauſe of great Miſeries to the Nation. His Queen indeed may ſeem to have excell'd her Sex as much as the King ſunk below the Dignity of his own, but her ambitious aſſuming the Regal Power beyond her Sphere, made it thought no Rebellion to take it out of her Hands, and put it where it would be better order'd and was more due. His Fall was much pitied, becauſe as to his Perſon undeſerv'd; but the common Good ſo much requir'd a Change, that it was judg'd better, *That One ſuffer an Injury, rather than the whole Nation ſhould periſh.*

(*d*) In his twentieth Year.

THE Remarkable OCCURRENCES IN THE *Reign of* HENRY *the Sixth.*

The Author of King HENRY VI's Life having taken Notice of the Remarkable Occurrences of all Kinds which happen'd in his Reign, we ſhall only add the Names of thoſe Great Captains and Men of Learning, who diſtinguiſh'd themſelves moſt in this Space of Time.

THE firſt and moſt Eminent for Feats of Arms was *John* Lord *Talbot*, created Earl of *Shrewſbury*, the Terror of *France* and the Glory of *England*; The Lord *Scales*, the Lord *Poynings*, the Lord *Clifford*, the Earl of *Arundell*, *Richard*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Father of the Famous *Richard Nevill*, Earl of *Warwick*, Sir *Matthew Gough* a *Welſh* Man, who after he had ſignaliz'd himſelf in the *French* Wars for almoſt 20 Years together, was kill'd at laſt by the Rabble in *Cade*'s Rebellion, Sir *Thomas Rampſton*, Sir *Thomas Kiriell*, Sir *John Grey*, Sir *John Aubmond*, Sir *Francis Surienes* a *Spaniard*, who ſpent his Days in the *Engliſh* Service, and for his Valour was made Knight of the Garter, Sir *Thomas Curſon*, Captain *Gonville*, and Captain *Andrew Trollop*, were all brave Soldiers and wiſe Commanders. Many others were noted for their Courage and Conduct in the Wars of *France*. But theſe are the Names that ſhine moſt in the Hiſtory of thoſe Times. The moſt eminent for Learning were,

John Hainton, a Monk of *Lincoln*.
Robert Coleman, a Franciſcan Frier of *Norwich* and Chancellor of *Oxford*.
Will. White, a Prieſt in *Kent*. He was a *Wickliviſt*. He marry'd a Wife, and continu'd Preaching till he was proſecuted for Hereſie and burnt.
Alex. Carpenter, he wrote againſt the Biſhops for perſecuting the poor and godly Chriſtians.
Richard Kendall, a Garmmarian.
Thomas Iſmalit, a Monk of *Sion*.
Walter Hilton, a Monk of *Sheen*.
Rob. Hounſlow, a Monk of that Town in *Middleſex*.
John Tilney, a Monk of *Yarmouth*, an excellent Divine.
Dr. *John Low*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*.
Dr. *Thomas Ringſted*, a Civilian and Divine.
Dr. *John Felton* of *Magdalen* College, *Oxon*.
Nich Botleſham, D D. in the Univerſity of *Paris*.
John Holbrook of *Surrey*, a Mathematician.
Peter Pain, a *Wickliviſt*. He fled to *Bohemea*, and liv'd there in great Reputation for his Wiſdom and Learning.
Nicholas Upton, a Civilian. He wrote a Treatiſe of Heraldry.
Will. Beckly, Profeſſor of Divinity in *Cambridge*.
John Torpe, a Monk of *Norwich*.
Dr. *John Capgrave*, an *Auguſtine* Frier of *Kent*, the moſt learned Man of his Order in *England*.
Humphrey, Duke of *Glouceſter*, a Patron of Learning, and learn'd himſelf particularly in Aſtronomy. He wrote a Treatiſe, call'd *Tabula Directionum*.
Roger Onley, he was accuſed of Sorcery in *Elinor Cobham*'s Plot, for which he was hang'd, tho' he was ſuppoſed Innocent. He was Author of a Book, call'd *Contra vulgi Superſtitiones*, and another, *De ſua Innocentia*.
Nicholas Cantlew, a *Welſh* Man of an ancient Family, and a Monk of *Briſtol*.
Hen. Wickengham of *Norwich*, a noted Preacher.
John Lidgate, a Monk of *Bury*, the beſt Poet of his Time.
Dr. *Nicholas Hoſtreſham*, a Phyſitian.
John Blackney, Prior of *Ingham*.
Thomas Beckington, Bp. of *Bath*, wrote againſt the *Salick* Law, which was defended by the *French* Writers, and occaſion'd a War with the Pen, as well as of the Sword.
John Baringham, a Frier of *Ipſwich*.
Dr. *David Bois*, a *Welſh* Man.
John Brome, an *Auguſtine* Frier.
Michael Trigury, a *Corniſh* Man Rector of the Univerſity erected at *Caen* by K. *Henry*.
John Amundiſhaw, a Monk of St. *Albans*.
Oſwald Anglicus, a Monk of the Order of the *Charterhouſe*.
John Keningale, a Monk of *Norwich*.
Peter of St. *Faith*'s, the ſame.
Dr. *Reginald Pocock*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, a great Favourer of *Wickliff*'s Principles, for which he was depriv'd.
John of *Bury*, a Monk of *Clare*.
Rob. Fleming, he wrote a *Gr.* and *Lat.* Dictionary.
Dr. *Tho. Gaſcoigne*, ſometime Chancellor of *Oxon*.
William Staplehart, a Monk of *London*.
Robert Finningham, a Monk of *Norwich*.
John Chandler, Chancellor of *Wells*.
Sir *William Botoner*, of *Briſtol*, an Antiquary.
Dr. *John Stow*, a Monk of *Norwich*.
Thomas Lanley, a Monk of *Halm*.
Cardinal *Beaufort*, Great Uncle to the King.
William Coppinger, A. M. of *Oxford*.
Tho. Lacy, an Aſtronomer and Mathematician.
John Talaugem, a Monk of *Worceſter*.
William Sutton, an Aſtrologer.
Robert Batſack wrote a Treatiſe of Chivalry and War, intituled, *De Re Militari*.
William Grey, Biſhop of *Ely*.
Cardinal *Kemp*, Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*.
Adam Molins, Lord Privy-Seal, was a Man of great Learning, he loſt his Head in his Maſter's Quarrel.
Dr. *Thomas Chillenden*, L. L. D.

Theſe that follow were Hiſtorians.

Sir *John Bourchier*, Lord *Barnes*, tranſl. *Froiſſard*.
Roger Wall, a Herald, wrote the Reign of *Henry* the Fifth.
John Pole, he wrote the Life of Sr. *Walburgh*.
Thomas Walſingham, a Monk of St. *Albans*.
Thomas Radburn, a Monk of St. *Swithins*.
John Whethamſtead, Abbot of St. *Albans*.
Nicholas Mountacute.
Nicholas Bungey.
Tho. Dando wrote the Life of *Alfred* K. of *Eng*.
Nich. Cautelupus, the *Cambridge* Hiſtoriographer.
Rob. Bale Recorder of *Lond.* wrote a Chronicle of the *Cuſtoms*, *Laws*, *Foundations*, *Magiſtrates*, *Offices*, *Orders*, *Changes*, &c. of the City.

THE

E. Lovegrove delin.
P. Vanderbanck Sculp.
KING EDWARD THE IIII.th

A. D. 1461.

THE LIFE and REIGN OF EDWARD IV.

A. D. 1461. *Richard*, Duke of *York* ſlain at *Wakefield* Fight by Queen *Margaret*'s Forces.

RICHARD, Duke of *York*, overthrown by his own Raſhneſs, and the happy Conduct of Queen *Margaret*, at the Battle of *Wakefield* in *Yorkſhire*, left the Juſtice of his Title with a more proſperous Fortune to his Son *Edward*, Earl of *March*, and then Duke of *York*. His Head during Life, buſied, with Expectations of Sovereignty, was mock'd with a Paper Crown after his Death, and being fix'd on a Pole was ſet on the Walls of *York*. For the Queen, to make his Pretenſions to the Kingdom the common Scorn, forgot that Compaſſion ſhe ow'd Human Nature in Calamity, and in a phantaſtick Cruelty expoſed it thus to the barbarous Mirth of the Beholders. With him died his young Son *Edmond*, Earl of *Rutland*, then but 12 Years Old, coming too ſoon with his Tutor to the School of War; and learning at firſt the ſharpeſt Leſſon from the Lord *Clifford*, who moſt inhumanly ſtab'd him proſtrate at his Feet, intreating but for Life.

The unlucky Fate of the *Richards*.

In the very Haven, after a long and tempeſtuous Voyage, thus periſh'd the Duke of *York*; as if it had been in the Fate of all the *Richards* who were either in Fact or Title Kings of *England*, to end by violent Deaths. *Richard* the Firſt and Second preceding him: His Son *Richard* the Tyrant, and *Richard*, Duke of *York* his Nephew, following him in the like Diſaſter, though ſeveral Ways, and upon different Quarrels.

Edward, Duke of *York* perſiſts tn his Father's Claim, and gathers an Army to revenge his Death.

This great Overthrow was ſuddenly rumor'd thro' the whole Kingdom, and ſtretched up to the Higheſt, to advance the Reputation of the Queen's Felicity. And ſoon it arrived at *Glouceſter*, where *Edward* now Duke of *York* lay with ſome ſmall Forces, expecting Directions from his Father: By whoſe Death perceiving himſelf in ſo foul Weather to ſit alone at the Helm, he began more warily to ſteer his Courſe: And conſidering how dangerous Delay is to increaſe the Approaches of Misfortune, remov'd to *Shrewsbury*. By the way his Army ſwel'd up to 23000 fighting Men; which might appear ſtrange if we weigh the neceſſary Unexperience of his Youth, being then but 18 Years of Age, and the ſlender Retinue that uſually waits on Infelicity. But now he was the Head of the great Body of that Faction, which his Father at the Expence of ſo long Trouble, had purchaſed to his Side; and whom the Queen's implacable Nature had made reſolute, and only to hope for Safety by running into the common Danger. Moreover all the Men of Power who inhabited between *Glouceſter* and *Shrewſbury*, had Dependency on him as Heir to *Mortimer*; or held in chief of his mighty Confederate the Earl of *Warwick*.

With this ſudden and unexpected Addition of Forces, he entertain'd a Confidence to be able to revenge his Fathers Death, and obtain that Greatneſs which as yet had been in vain attempted. He therefore look'd about, where he might on the beſt Advantage make Experience of his Fortune: Fortune appearing eaſie to be courted by him as if enamour'd with his Youth; having been ſeldom obſerv'd but froward to Age, in any Deſign that depends chiefly upon Courage.

Jaſper, Earl of *Pembroke*, and *James*, Earl of *Ormond* fight *Edward*, Duke of *York* at *Mortimer*'s Croſs.

And Occaſion was immediately offer'd: Certain Diſcovery being made of a great Power raiſed by the adverſe Party, with purpoſe to ſurprize him in the Amazement of the late Misfortune. The Army conſiſted of *Welſh* and *Iriſh* according to the ſeveral Nations of the two Commanders, *Jaſper*, Earl of *Pembroke*, and *James* Earl of *Ormond*: *Pembroke* half Borther to *Henry* VI. as Son to Queen *Catherine*, Dowager to *Henry* V. by *Owen Tudor*: And *Ormond* a moſt faithful Servant to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, by whoſe Gift in *England* he enjoy'd the Earldom of *Wiltſhire*.

A Prodigy of three Suns appearing at once.

Againſt theſe two the Duke of *York* led back his Forces, and in a large Plain near *Mortimer*'s Croſs, near *Ludlow* in *Shropſhire* on *Candlemas*-Day in the Morning, gave them Battle. Before the Fight, the Sun (as by many Authors it is aſſerted) appear'd to the Earl in the Reſemblance of Three Suns, and ſuddenly united into One: The Truth of which I will not diſpute, but certainly the Pretenſion of ſuch Apparitions ſtrangely prevails with the ſuperſtitious Multitude, and therefore it had been both the Practice and Advantage of the moſt expert Commanders to ſet them on Foot: Yet how this *Omen* could be expounded happy to his Deſign, I underſtand not, unleſs we ſeek the Interpretation from the Event; for that indeed gave him the Victory, and brought the Glory of the two adverſe Generals over to his Side, ſo that the three Suns which with equal Brightneſs appeared in the Morning, before Evening ſhin'd alone in him. For the Two Earls and their whole Army were put to Flight, with the Slaughter of 3800 on the Place: Many *Welſh* and ſome *Engliſh* of Name were taken Priſoners, and afterward at *Hereford* beheaded, among whom an extraordinary Fortune hath made *Owen Tudor*, the Father of the Earl of *Pembroke*, moſt the Diſcourſe of Poſterity. For the good luck of an amiable Perſon, wrought him into the Affection, and ſoon after advanced him to the Marriage of *Catherine*, Daughter of *France*, and Widow

Duke of *York* conquers them.

to

A. D. 1461. to the moſt glorious Prince our Nation ever gain'd Honour by, *Henry* V. Yet all that this ſo envied Splendor in a Wife got him, was, to render his Life obnoxious to Impriſonment and Faction, and his Death more eminent on a Scaffold.

Duke of *York* marches to *London.*

This Victory raiſed *Edward*'s Imaginations high ſo that now he reſolved to ſpend his Fortune no longer in ſmall Enterpriſes: And leſt the Spirit of his Army ſhould begin to languiſh, having no Enemy near to find him Imployment, he reſolv'd to ſearch for one about *London*, whither he had Intelligence the Queen with her triumphant Forces directed her March, not without Hopes of obtaining Admiſſion, becauſe the Mayor and others were her Friends: Moreover, it concerned the Policy of his Affairs, to retain the Poſſeſſion of the capital City of the Kingdom, whoſe Commons continued firm to his Service, and in which the Lords of his Party had the Cuſtody of King *Henry*'s Perſon, left to their Faith, when the Duke of *York* went his laſt fatal Expedition.

The Queen engages the Earl of *Warwick*, and vanquiſhing him on *Shrove-Tueſday, Feb* 17. takes her Husband.

But in the Way at *Chipping-Norton*, he met the Earl of *Warwick*, who, with the Lords King *Henry*'s Keepers, whom they brought with them, had lately fought and loſt the Field to the Queen at St. *Albans*. In which, beſide the Honour of the Day, and Slaughter of Two thouſand of her Enemies, ſhe recover'd the Perſon of her Husband. *Warwick*, tho' he brought with him only a Relation of his late Overthrow, yet it was with ſuch a Courage as diſdain'd Misfortune, and coveted nothing more than by the Tryal of a new Day to perſwade, or elſe to force back Victory to his Side.

And oftentimes a ſmall Loſs to an Army, like opening a Vein to a Body, doth rather correct than any way impair the Health; whereas too much Proſperity, like the worſt Surfeit, ſuddenly becomes uncureable. And ſo the Two late obtain'd Conqueſts wrought in the Enemy only Inſolency and Diſorder. For the Queen, wanton with Succeſs, vainly imagin'd a Security from future Competition, and either wanted Power to reſtrain her Soldiers, or licenc'd them to a free Spoil; by which unruly Violence ſhe untied the Affection of the Commons, who by their Quiet and Profit, meaſure the Vertues of Princes. And indeed they had Title to their often Complaints againſt the northern Troops, who, as ſoon as they had paſt *Trent*, as if there they had parted with all Obedience to Diſcipline, made uſe of all Kinds of Licence, that might ſerve their Avarice or Pleaſure. And having by the Way left no Towns, and in them no Place how ſacred ſoever unſpoiled; after the Flight of *Warwick*, they deſign'd for *London*, hoping to find it abundantly ſtor'd for Prey, and utterly unable for Defence.

Q. *Margaret*'s Army ſpoil and ravage all the Country *South* of *Trent.*

City of *London* deny Queen *Margaret* Reception.

But the Citizens perceiving Hoſtility in their Approach, ſhut their Gates, and arm'd for Reſiſtance; and with ſuch Valour and good Order behav'd themſelves, that the rude Aſſailants were with Loſs repulſt, and the Queen perſwaded to retire Northward, knowing the Diſorder of her Men had begot her in the Place where ſhe then lay encamped, nothing but ill Aſpects and worſe Wiſhes: She therefore diſlodged from St *Albans*, and every Day as ſhe march'd towards the *North*, new Relations came of the Greatneſs and Reſolution of the Earl of *March*'s Power, who, with the Earl of *Warwick* was on his Journey to *London*.

And doubtleſs the Report of his Approach confirm'd the City in her Courage to reſiſt the late Aſſault; which otherwiſe would without queſtion have comply'd with the Fortune of the more powerful. For preſently after the Departure of the Queen, the Earl of *March* on the Twenty eighth of *February*, made his triumphant Entry, and was receiv'd with ſuch Acclamations, as an over-joy'd People could expreſs, who only hoped for Safety by the Fortune of his Side. To encreaſe the Glory of this Entry concur'd, beſides his Title to the Crown, his late Victory at *Montimer*'s Croſs, the Memory of a moſt glorious Father, and great Authority of his Confederate *Warwick*, the Beauty of *March*'s Perſon, than which that Age beheld not any more excellent. Neither is the outward Form a ſmall Circumſtance to induce the Multitude to Reverence; ſince as Deformity in a Prince, hath oftentimes occaſion'd Contempt even to Deprivation: So on the contrary, hath an amiable Shape ſtrengthned very weak Pretenſions, and in *Antonious Heliogabalus* was ſufficient Title to an Empire, even in a military Election.

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City of *London* receive the Duke of *York* joyfully.

Beauty an Inducement to make Kings.

Earl of *Warwick* draws the Citizens of *London* to elect *Edward*, Duke of *York*, King.

But the Earl of *Warwick*, (whoſe Mind was ſtill in labour, and felt continually moſt violent Throws, till it had brought forth a ſettled Sovereignty to the Houſe of *York*) contented not himſelf with this general Applauſe, knowing how the leaſt Change of Fortune would create new Affections. He therefore reſolv'd ſo to faſten the City to his Deſigns, that any Alteration in *Edward*'s Fortune ſhould be Ruin to them; and thereupon cauſed on the Second of *March* a general Muſter of all his Forces to be made in St. *John*'s Fields; where, when he found an univerſal Confluence of all Men, anſwerable to his Expectation; he caſt his Army into a Ring, and with a loud Voice, made to be read the Agreement which the laſt Parliament had made between *Henry* VI. and *Richard*, Duke of *York*. By which *Henry* (out of Compaſſion to a long Poſſeſſion) was permitted to enjoy the Crown during his natural Life; the Remained to *Richard* and his Heirs, in whom it was then apparently proved that the Title to the Kingdom did remain. In which Agreement was likewiſe manifeſted, That *Henry* ſhould make immediate Forfeiture, whenſoever either he, or any of his Party ſhould attempt to diſanull this Act. This being read, and commented on with the beſt Efficacy of Language, to expreſs the foul Breach on King *Henry*'s Side, in the Deſtruction of *Richard* Duke of *York*: The Queſtion was propoſed to them, whether they would longer continue in their Obedience to *Henry*'s Uſurpation, who ſo impiouſly had violated his Faith? To which with an univerſal loud Conſent of Voices, they cry'd out, *No, No.* Then were they demanded, *Whether they would admit* Edward, *whoſe Title to the Crown was ſo apparent, and whoſe Wrong had been ſo great in a perfidious violent Entry, and a long injurious Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom by the Family of* Lancaſter? To which with Acclamations of Aſſent was anſwered, *Yea, Yea.*

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Edward, Duke of *York*, elected King.

Popular Elections of Kings exploded

Thus by the Soldiers and the People, was *Edward*'s Title approv'd, and he admitted King *March* 3. 1461. And happily did this Ceremony than appear needful, in regard the ſame Voices had vow'd Obedience to another. Otherwiſe, whoſoever ſhall alledge, that the Suffrage of the multitude is neceſſary to confirm a Prince, deſtroys the Right of Succeſſion, and in that the Monarchy, which ſo long and triumphantly hath ruled this Nation. And to underſtand the Uncertainty and Injuſtice of all popular Election, Hiſtory inſtructs us, That no Tyrant yet in *England*, by what indirect Practice ſoever

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he attain'd, or Cruelty maintain'd the Government, but entred in by a ſeeming Approbation of the Commonwealth, and ſettled his State by Confirmation of the People. For I know not by what univerſal Diſtemper of Humours it happens, that generally when the Head of this Kingdom hath been ſick, the whole Body was diſeaſed; ſo far, that Uſurpation hath been legitimated, and Tyranny applauded: Which Misfortune muſt have neceſſarily been occaſion'd thro' the Power of the prevailing Faction; and Fear which poſſeſt all honeſt Minds: Who tho' they neither wanted Knowledge to ſee the Injury, nor Deſire to redreſs it, yet private Intereſt made them too cowardly to undertake the Remedy.

Edward's Title to the Crown of *England.*

But in *Edward's* firſt Entrance on the Kingdom the popular Suffrage (which in the Inauguration of Chriſtian Princes is of ancient Cuſtom eſteem'd a convenient Ceremony) met with a juſt Title. For he by his Grand-mother, *Ann*, Daughter and Heir of *Roger Mortimer*, Son and Heir to *Philippa*, only Child of *Lionell*, Duke of *Clarence*, third Son to *Edward* III. King of *England*; of neceſſity muſt have (where Women are admitted to inherit) better claim to the Crown than *Henry* VI. though in the fourth Deſcent from *Edward* III. by *John* of *Gaunt*, being but his fourth Son. For however Caſuiſts may diſpute, or civil Lawyers argue; that the being remov'd one Degree further, can no way prejudice Succeſſion, whereby the younger Brother may come to be preferr'd before the Elder Brother's Son, if by chance the Elder die during his Father's Life; yet 'tis an Injuſtice ſo againſt Reaſon and Cuſtom, that whoſoever yet attempted it, was reputed to violate the Laws of Nature.

Edward accepts the Kingdom.

From St. *John's* Fields, the Principal of the Army, and Common-Council of the City, brought News of this Election to *Edward*, Earl of *March*, remaining at *Baynard's* Caſtle: Who ſoon as he underſtood the Intention of their Addreſs (with ſuch Modeſty as ſome Clergy-Man may have uſed at his Conſecration, who by ſimoniacal Practice hath obtain'd a Biſhoprick) refuſed that a while, which moſt ambitiouſly he coveted. But ſoon the Animation of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Earl of *Warwick*, the Biſhops of *London* and *Exeter*, and divers others of Eminence prevail'd, and he at their Requeſt took on him the Royalty.

King *Edward* declares his Title to the Crown, but requires the Peoples Approbation which he had again.

That Night he reſted, the next Morning with as much Ceremony and State, as the Shortneſs and Unquietneſs of the Time could licenſe, in ſolemn Proceſſion he went to St. *Paul's* Church; whence after *Te Deum* ſung, and Oblation made, he rod to *Weſtminſter*, there ſeated in the moſt perſpicuous place of the great Hall, with the Scepter of St. *Edward* the Confeſſor in his Hand, himſelf made Declaration of his double Title to the Crown. *Firſt*, by deſcent, as Heir to the third Son of *Edward* III. the Line of whoſe eldeſt Son *Edward* the Black Prince extinguiſhed in the Depoſition and Parricide of *Richard* II. procured by *Henry* of *Bullingbrooke*, firſt King of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, *Edward* the Third's ſecond Son *William* dying without Iſſue. *Secondly*, By Authority of Parliament, which upon Examination of the Duke of *York's* Title, conferred the Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom immediately on him or his Heirs, when *Henry* VI. ſhould make Forfeiture of it, by Death, Reſignation, or Breach of that Accord ſworn there ſo ſolemnly by them. And that this Accord was broken, the Slaughter of the Duke oppreſt with unequal Numbers on K. *Henry's* Party at the Battle of *Wakefield*, did ſadly manifeſt. Nevertheleſs he proteſted himſelf ready to forgo the Juſtice of his Claim, rather than to enter upon it without the free Vote. At which unanimouſly the Aſſembly cry'd K. *Edward*, K. *Edward*, joyful that their Voices might confirm him King, who had daign'd them ſo humble a Complement, as to profeſs that he would not receive the Title without their Suffrage. The Formality of this ſecond Election thus paſt, he went in Proceſſion to the *Abby*; whence after much Solemnity and Homage of all the Nobility there preſent, he return'd by Water to the Biſhop of *London's* Palace, and was immediately proclaim'd King throughout the City by the Name of *Edward* the Fourth.

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K. *Edward* proclaimed, and one *Walker* executed for ſaucy Language.

The firſt Fortnight of his Reign was dy'd, I will not ſay ſtain'd, with the Blood of *Walter Walker* a Grocer, who keeping Shop at the Sign of the Crown in *Cheapſide*, ſaid he would make his Son Heir to the Crown; a bold Jeſt broke in an evil Time, yet do I not ſide with them in Opinion, who tax the King of Severity in this Execution, unleſs I could clear this Man from being particularly factious for the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, or know that theſe Words were utter'd in innocent Mirth, without any Scorn to King *Edward's* Title. And however perhaps the extraordinary Puniſhment of ſuch ſaucy Language, was not then unneceſſary to beget Authority, and make Men cautious to diſpute the Deſcent of Princes, when the Queſtion was ſo nice, and Arguments not improbable on either Side.

But here in her very firſt Courteſie, Fortune raiſed K. *Edward* higher than the Endeavours of a long Ambition had done his Father. For now was he conſecrated King in the Imperial City of this Realm, adorn'd with every Circumſtance of Sovereignty; and all his Enterprizes hitherto ſo flatter'd with Succeſs, that he could promiſe nothing but Proſperity to his Hopes. Yet was the Ground whereon he built uncertain, and his State brought into Compariſon with his Competitor, frail and obnoxious to Ruin.

K. *Henry's* Title to the Crown.

For *Henry* had equal Dignity with the Advantage of a long Reign, an uninterrupted Deſcent in Majeſty for 60 Years, a Sovereignty acknowledged Abroad by all Chriſtian Princes, and obey'd at Home by all *Engliſh* Men without Diſpute, a Title according to the Law *Salick* indubitable, and which had been confirm'd at the firſt Entry of his Grand-father *Henry* IV. into the Kingdom, not only by Reſignation of *Richard* II. by general Acknowledgment of all the Nobility, and by Authority of Parliament, but even by Approbation, nay particular Negotiation of *Edmund*, Duke of *York*; *Edward*, Duke of *Aumerl*; *Richard*, Earl of *Cambridge*, Grand-Father, Great-Uncle, and Great-Grandfather to the late anointed K. *Edward* IV. Only a feeble Judgment, and a long evil Fortune rendred *Henry* VI. inferior, which to counterpoiſe Q. *Margaret* and the Lords of her Side were daring and vigilant, omitting no Stratagem or Endeavour that might add to the Honour or Safety of their Deſigns.

Q. *Margaret* and the Lords of her Party raiſe an Army to dethrone King *Edward.*

Whereupon ſhe continu'd ſtill in the North, and obliging that People every Day more to her Service, labour'd to prepare ſuch an Army as might upon the worſt of Fortune be able enough for Defence: And ſoon ſhe found how much her own and the Authority of the great Lords of her Side prevail'd, having raiſed 60000 fighting Men, and they all reſolv'd with Expence of their Blood to buy back that Majeſty, which the Houſe of *Lancaſter* by evil Fate had loſt. An Army if arm'd and order'd well, able

Q. *Margaret's* Army conſiſts of 60000.

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to oppoſe the mightieſt Enemy, or undertake the boldeſt Enterprize. On ſight of which the Queen entertain'd a Confidence eaſily to ſcatter the Forces of the New Muſhroom King, who in a Night ſeem'd to have ſprung up to Majeſty; eſpecially when ſhe underſtood how with unequal Power he march'd Northward, a Clime not unlikely to prove as diſaſtrous to him as to his Father.

King *Edward's* Reſolution to maintain his Right

King *Edward* on the other Side as ſoon as the Voice of the People had ſaluted him Prince, reſolv'd with hazzard of his new-gain'd Sovereignty to extirpate his great Oppoſer: For while the Side of *Lancaſter* was ſupported with the Aſſiſtance of ſo large a Portion of the Kingdom, which as yet adhered to *Henry*, he could be King but at the courteſie of his Faction, and the Body of the Land muſt of Neceſſity grow monſtrous, being charg'd with two Heads, each of which look'd divers Ways: He therefore while his Men had yet the Memory of their late good Fortune freſh in their Courage, march'd towards the Queen, and choſe rather, as worthier his Spirit, to provoke than expect an Enemy.

He marcheds from *London*, *March* 12.

King *Edward's* Arrival at *Pomfret* Caſtle.

Of his Arrival at *Pomfret* Caſtle when it was underſtood, and that part of his Army led by the Lord *Fitzwalter*, had poſſeſt it ſelf of *Ferribrig*, a paſſage over the River *Aire* of great Importance: All they of *Lancaſter* began carefully to look to their Affairs. King *Henry*, the Queen, and Prince (who were by their ſeveral Weakneſſes unfit for Action) retired to *York*, there to attend the event of Buſineſſes. The Army being committed to the Charge of the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Clifford*.

K *Henry's* Army, commanded by the Duke of *Somerſet* &c.

Among theſe it was reſolv'd that *Ferribrig*, in regard of the Conſequence of the Place, was at any hazzard to be recover'd, and the Enterprize left to the Undertaking of *Clifford*; who early the next Morning, leaſt Delay might betray his Deſign to the Enemy, with a competent Number march'd thither, and that with ſuch Diligence and Secrecy, that before there was the leaſt Suſpicion of an Aſſault, the uncircumſpect Guard was entred upon and defeated. With the Tumult the Lord *Fitzwalter*, and the Baſtard of *Salisbury* were awaken'd, and ſuſpecting a Mutiny among their own Soldiers, roſe haſtily from their Beds, and coming down encounter'd a mercileis Enemy, who deny'd all Quarter, and on the Place ſlew them.

Lord *Clifford* gains *Ferribrig* of *Edward's* Men.

The Loſs of this ſo comodious Paſſage, and Slaughter of ſuch eminent Perſons came firſt to the Ear of the Earl of *Warwick*, who ſomewhat too much tranſported with the evil Fate of their firſt Attempt, poſted in all haſte to K. *Edward*, in whoſe Preſence he kill'd his Horſe, and ſaid, *Sir, God have mercy on their Souls, who for love of you in the Beginning of your Enterprize have loſt their Lives, yet let him flie who will flie, by this Croſs* (kiſſing the Hilt of his Sword) *I will ſtand by him who will ſtand by me, fall back, fall edge.*

Earl of *Warwick's* Fears.

Words certainly, tho' mingled with a high Reſolution ſtrangely diſtemper'd, and repreſenting ſo much of Danger as might have troubled the Courage of the Army. And howſoever partial Hiſtory in mentioning the Actions of Great Men, will not allow them to participate with the Vulgar in the Weakneſſes incident to human Nature, yet every greateſt Spirit hath his Allay of Imbecillity. The moſt knowing Scholar hath found a Period, beyond which his curious Search could not move; the wiſeſt Politician hath diſcover'd where he err'd, and bluſh'd at the Miſtake; and the boldeſt Soldier at ſome time or other hath found the Coward trembling in him. We may by our Endeavours raiſe Nature ſomewhat above her Frailty, but never triumph over her till Death.

Great Men have their Frailties.

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And certainly *Warwick* was too much amaz'd at this Accident; but ſoon he ſettled himſelf, and by his ſtout Comportment animated the fainting Army: But King *Edward*, whoſe Youth was beautified with Valour and Wiſdom, even to Wonder, ſoberly entertain'd this ſad Report, and to oppoſe againſt any Fear which might ſhake the Soldiers; cauſed immediate Proclamation to be made, That it was lawful for any Man whom the preſent Loſs, or Fear of future Danger diſcouraged, ſafely to depart; That whoſoever ſhould perform the Duty of a Soldier and fight manfully, ſhould have a certain and a moſt large Reward: On the contrary to any Man who ſhould continue in the Army, and hereafter fly away, the ſevereſt Puniſhment and Liberty for any one to kill ſuch a Coward, with promiſe of double Pay.

King *Edward's* Courage and Licenſe to his Soldiers to depart.

No Man accepted the Offer of ſo contemptible a Safety; and indeed the Body of his Army conſiſted of Southern Men, whoſe Flight had perhaps been as unſafe as the preſent Danger: Moreover the Example of the Valiant perſwaded the reſt, who bluſh'd to appear ſingle in their Fears; whereby not being known they grew afterward to have equal Title, with the moſt daring to a glorious Victory.

None left the Army for fear.

The King ſeeing the Spirit of His Army ſo bold, and ſo devoted to his Service, thought the Loſs of Time might endanger the Loſs of his Deſign; and thereupon reſolv'd with the firſt Convenience to bring his Fortune to the Tryal of a Battle. The Lord *Falconbridge* and Sir *Walter Blunt*, in regard the Duke of *Norfolk* was then diſabled by Sickneſs, had the leading of the Vanguard, who finding the Paſſage of *Ferribrig* impoſſible on the ſudden to obtain, three Miles above, at *Caſtleford* paſt the River: and ſoon after about *Dindingdale* diſcover'd the Lord *Clifford*, whom they ſuddenly overtook and encompaſt; in vain labouring to retire to the main Battle. But he perceiving no way to eſcape from his Enemies but thro' Death, defended himſelf bravely with his ſmall Forces even to the Envy of them who overcame, till ſhot with an Arrow thro' the Throat, he periſh'd. The Lord *John Nevill*, Son to the Earl of *Weſtmerland*, with almoſt all thoſe unfortunate Troops fell there with their Leader the Lord *Clifford*; who in too mild a manner paid them the great Debt he ow'd to Juſtice for the Murther of the Young Earl of *Rutland*.

Lord *Falconbridge* defeats the Lord *Clifford*, and ſlays him.

Next Day being *Palm-Sunday*, early in the Morning both Armies came in Sight: A fatal Meeting, which like the Union of the Soul with the Body, never parts but by Death. The Field was between *Caxton* and *Towton*, from the latter of which this Battle afterwards took Name. On full Survey of King *Henry's* Hoſt ſo dreadful in advantage of Number, Proclamation was made in King *Edward's* Camp, that no Quarter ſhould be given nor Priſoner taken. A neceſſary Cruelty not to be avoided but with danger of his own Ruin: In regard otherwiſe the common Soldier might in hope of Spoil, or of the Ranſom of an Enemy, be wanting to his Duty.

K. *Henry* and K. *Edward's* Army come to a Battle at *Towton*.

It was about the Hour of Nine, when the Armies drew near; 60000 for *Lancaſter*, for *York* ſcarce 40000; only the Preſence and Courage of King *Edward* made an Equality. The Lord *Falconbridge*, to whom the Van was committed, and who was moſt able for the Place,

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when the Fight was ready to begin, charg'd his Archers, ſoon as they had ſhot, to fall Three Strides back, and make a Stand, whereby they might avoid the Arrows of the Enemy: Which Stratagem happen'd as was expected; for the northern Men with a ſudden Fury anſwer'd the Onſet, and having emptied their Quivers, haſted to hand Blows. But the Arrows, which they had diſcharged at Adventure by reaſon of the Fogg, having never reach'd them againſt whom they were ſhot, turn'd now to their Annoiance and Trouble, ſo far, that the Splinters of them ſticking in the Ground, pierc'd and gall'd their Feet, and forc'd them to a confuſed Stop. In this Trouble the Southern Men ſhot another Flight, and the Wind conſpiring with their Cunning, blew a Tempeſt of Hail and Snow into their Faces; by which the Vanguard of King *Henry*, led by the Earl of *Northumberland* and *Andrew Trollop*, gave back.

The Lord *Falconbridge's* good Conduct.

Yet did not the main Battle tremble with this Motion; but, as if the Enemy had gain'd no Advantage, continued with the firſt Conſtancy. Ten Hours Victory hung in Suſpence; equal Courage appeared on both Sides, equal Hopes of Good, equal Deſpairs for Fear of bad Succeſs, which occaſion'd ſo much Cruelty in the Fight. But at length (the Field ſtain'd with Blood, and the Earth groaning with the Burden of ſo many Heaps of dead and dying Bodies) the Northern Men began to hope for Safety only in flight. Neither did they yield to the prevailing Fortune of the Enemy, until their Courages were diſmay'd with ſight of ſo many eminent Perſons ſlain before their Eyes. For the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmerland*, the Lords *Beaumont*, *D'acres*, *Gray* and *Wells*, and *Andrew Trollop*, who was famous in the *French* Wars, with divers others of the greateſt Reputation, for Nobility and Courage, had already fallen, and in their Slaughter taught the Survivers what to expect. The Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Exeter*, ſeeing all Things deſperate, the greater Part of the Army ſlain, the reſt broken and flying, poſted to *York*, to carry the fatal News of this Overthrow to the unfortunate King, whoſe Vertue yet had a Patience greater than his Ruin.

K. *Henry's* Army worſted, and many of Note ſlain.

In no Battle was ever power'd forth ſo much *Engliſh* Blood; for in this, and the Two precedent Days were ſlain 36776 Perſons, all of one Nation, many near in Alliance, ſome in Blood, fatally divided by Faction; yet all animated with the ſame Zeal to maintain their Princes's Right, which being ſo difficult to reſolve, doubtleſs made the Quarrel on either Side, how ruinous ſoever to their Families, not unſafe to their Conſciences. And it is worthy Obſervation, that in this ſo long and cruel Conflict between the Two Houſes, never any Stranger of Name was preſent at our Battles; as if we had diſdain'd to conquer or periſh by other Weapons than our own.

The Number of the Slain.

King *Henry* perceiving how deſperate his Hopes were in *England*, with the poor Remains of his Party, ſecured himſelf by flight into *Scotland*. And with ſuch haſte, that before King *Edward* got to *York* (where he hoped to have ſurpiz'd him diſmay'd with the late Diſcomfiture) nothing was there left but the City humbly devoted to the Diſpoſe of the Conqueror. But on the Walls yet remain'd the Heads of *Richard*, Duke of *York*, and his Friends, an ignominious Spectacle, unluckily there ſtanding to incenſe him to Cruelty. For on ſight of ſo barbarous an Injury, he gave preſent Command, that *Thomas Courtney*, Earl of *Devonſhire*, ſhould be beheaded with Three others taken in the former Battle; that theſe new Heads might relieve them, who had ſtood Centinel ſo long; and that his Father and Friends might not want that buſie Part of the Body to be incloſed with them in the Grave. An Action too much ſavouring of the ancient Heathen; the Souls of Chriſtians no way requiring their Murthers to be reveng'd, or their Injuries appeaſed with ſuch an Offering.

K. *Henry's* Flight into *Scotland.*

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King *Edward's* Severity to the Captives.

After this dire Oblation, he ſent Part of his Forces to clear the Coaſts toward *Scotland*, from the Dreggs of War; where to terrifie that People prone to Innovation in King *Henry's* Quarrel, ſome Examples of Severity were made. In the Intrim, he, with as glorious Triumph and large Joy as a Victory could beget, which brought no leſs to him than abſolute Sovereignty, march'd toward *London*. By the Inhababitants whereof, who were deeply intereſted in his Fortune, he was with all the Solemnity of a ſecure Gladneſs entertain'd *June* 29. To the Triumph of his Entrance, ſoon ſucceeded that of his Coronation, perform'd on the 29th of *June*, with uſual Ceremonies, but moſt unuſual Congratulations.

K. *Edward* returns to *London*, and is joyfully receiv'd.

K. *Edward* crowned and his Title confirm'd by Parliament.

Immediately, that no Circumſtance of Sovereignty might be wanting, a Parliament was ſummon'd; by which his Title might be reconfirm'd, his Partakers rewarded, his Enemies puniſh'd. And tho' private Reſpects were his chief Buſineſs, deſiring to diſannul all Acts made heretofore in Prejudice to the Houſe of *York* and its Adherents; yet the outward Pretenſion was the Safety and Quiet of the Realm. For he publickly profeſt his only Care to be, that ſuch wholeſome Laws might be enacted, as might redreſs Diſorders crept into the State, by free Licence given to Rapine in the former Troubles. By which Appearance of Solicitude for quieting the Kingdom, he gain'd Authority among the Wiſe, and created a Belief in all, that his Government in Peace would be as fortunate as his Succeſs in War. Having by his Wiſdom and Providence thus gotten the good Opinion of the Generality, he beſtowed his Graces on particular Perſons, whom Blood join'd with Merit rendred dear to him. His Brothers, *George* and *Richard*, he created Dukes, the Elder of *Clarence*, the Younger of *Glouceſter*. *John*, Lord *Nevill*, the Earl of *Warwick's* Brother, he made Viſcount *Mountacute*, *Henry Bourchier*, Brother to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Earl of *Eſſex*, and *William*, Lord *Falconbridge*, Earl of *Kent*. He raiſed divers others to the Title of Barons, and honour'd many with Knighthood. The Concluſion of this great Aſſembly was Puniſhment; for *John*, Earl of *Oxford*, *Aubery Vere* his Son, Sir *John Teddenham*, Knight, *William Tirrel* and *Walter Mountgomery*, Eſquires, were without any Tryal convicted of Treaſon, and beheaded on *Tower-Hill*. A rough Proceeding, which ſavoured ſomething too much of the Conqueror, and made *John*, Earl of *Oxford*, his implacable Enemy, Heir to the late Earl.

King *Edward* rewards his chief Adherents with Honours.

A. D. 1462. Reg. 2.

Buſineſs thus happily ſettled at Home, to check the Audaciouſneſs of our tranſmarin Neighbours, (who had thrown Injuries on our Nation weakned by Diſcord) the Earls of *Eſſex* and *Kent*, with the Lord *Audley*, were ſent with 10000 Soldiers to ſcour the Narrow Seas; who firſt landing in *Brittain*, took the Town of *Conquet*; and afterward invading the Iſle of *Ree*, pillag'd that little Country, and with Victory return'd. By which Enterprize, tho' of no ſignal Conſequence to his Affairs, yet King *Edward*

King *Edward's* Atchievements by Sea.

A. D. 1462. Reg. 2.

ward made the *French* to underſtand how unſafe it was to provoke the *Engliſh* govern'd by an active Prince, who might perhaps hereafter in Perſon appear abroad, for the Recovery of thoſe Provinces, which nothing but our Diſſention could have loſt. As likewiſe to terrifie all foreign States from adhering to K. *Henry*, who both in Courage and Fortune was ſo far inferior.

And now was the Proſperity of *Edward* in ſo full Splendor, and ſo dark a Cloud hung over the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, that *Henry Beaufort*, Duke of *Somerſet*, and Sir *Ralph Piercy*, forſook the Ruins of that Family they had ſo long endeavour'd to ſupport. To King *Edward* the Submiſſion of Two ſo eminent Perſons appear'd as welcome as a Victory; and they by his Favour were preſently reſtor'd to full Poſſeſſion both of their Honours and (*a*) Eſtates; and the ſame Grace promiſed to any, whom their Example ſhould perſwade to return to their Allegiance.

Duke of *Somerſet* and Sir *R. Piercy* ſubmit to King *Edward.*

Yet did not the indefatigable Queen loſe any Thing of her Spirit or Endeavours, by her late ſo ſad Diſcomfiture, and Revolt now of her chief Adherents, which were able perhaps to break her Fortune, not her. And having upon full reckoning perceiv'd, that ſhe muſt account of no Power at Home, ſhe made her Addreſſes to all Princes abroad, whom Alliance, Reaſon of State, or Compaſſion of ſo great a Diſaſter, might move to her Aſſiſtance. But, as it is in the Fate of all Women, who uſurp on their Husbands, ſhe had been unhappy in the Management of his Proſperity, and now was much more uncapable to oppoſe againſt his ſo great and conſtant Infelicity. Great Undertakings being ſeldom ſucceſsful in that Sex, whoſe Government over Man, as in Nature it is monſtrous, ſo for the moſt part in it ſelf hath it been diſorderly and ruinous. But certainly, how erroneous ſoever it was heretofore, ſhe was now defective only in the Event, which is not ruled by ours, but by a higher Mind.

Q. *Margaret's* Induſtry to recover King *Henry's* Crown.

She draws the King of *Scots* to aſſiſt her.

For with the King of *Scotland* (with whom as in the neareſt Place of Safety, ſhe left her Husband) to confirm a ſecure Friendſhip, ſhe contracted a near Alliance, by promiſing the young Prince her Son in Marriage to the Lady *Margaret*, his Siſter. And that this Marriage might not ſeem a Gift but a Bargain, ſhe bought the Lady by the Delivery of *Berwick* into the *Scots* Hands, the ſtrongeſt Fort the *Engliſh* had in the North. But the Unfortunate are ever Loſers in their Traffick, and forc'd to purchaſe what otherwiſe they would with Difficulty be perſwaded to receive.

Her Succeſs with the *French* King.

With *Lewis* XI. the *French* King, ſhe prevail'd little, though near to him in Conſanguinity; for the Diſcontent of his Nobility, held him in continual Suſpition. Otherwiſe ſhe had Title to promiſe her ſelf large Supplies from ſo potent and politick a Prince, whoſe Intereſt it muſt in Reaſon have been, by fomenting Diſcord at home, to hinder us from any Attempt abroad. After much Sollicitation, ſhe obtain'd that he declar'd himſelf for King *Henry*, by prohibiting all Favourers of the Houſe of *York* Acceſs into the *French* Dominions, and opening them to all thoſe of the Party of *Lancaſter*. A negative kind of Help, which rather ſhew'd there yet was Sanctuary left for *Henry*'s unhappy Friends, than any conſiderable Aid to be expected.

Philip Duke of *Burgundy*, tho' a mighty Prince, and near allied to *Lancaſter*, (whoſe Wive's Mother was *Philippa*, Daughter to *John* of *Gaunt*) yet by Age, and a paſſionate Love to Quiet, was become altogether unactive. Neither had *Charles*, Earl of *Charolois*, his Son, though of a daring Spirit, and an Affecter of Buſineſs, Leiſure to look over into our Iſland, being engag'd in domeſtick Troubles, and ſuſpitious of the Deſigns of the *French* King.

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Other Princes not able or not willing to help her.

With *Charolois*, the Duke of *Brittain* held a ſtrong Confederacy; and both of them Intelligence with the diſcontented Lords of *France*. The War which was afterward ſo known by the Name of the Weal Publick being at that Time among them privately in Contrivance; ſo that all theſe neighbouring Princes, to whom the Affairs of *England* might ſeem conſiderable, were wholly taken up with Attention to their own.

The War in *France* for the publick Good.

The Emperor *Frederick* III. was more remote, and ſo cautious from entring into the Quarrels of other Men, that by any Art, and even with Loſs he would decline his own. Moreover, he juſtly ſtood in continual Fear of the growing Fortune of the *Turk*; who, having lately ſubverted the Eaſtern, threatned now Ruin to the Weſtern Empire: And queſtionleſs had not the great God of Armies miraculouſly given a Stop to his Victories, *Chriſtendom* had now been only ſeveral Provinces enſlav'd to his Tyranny. For Pride and Emulation had then turn'd our Arms upon our ſelves, and left our Bodies naked to the Scourge of the common Enemy.

The Succeſs of the *Turk.*

Spain was far off, divided between a Chriſtian and *Mahometan* Government, each labouring the Extirpation of the other, ſo that they had Liberty to be Actors in no Tragedy but their own. And indeed no Conflict is ſo fierce and irreconcilable, as when Religion animates to War, and makes it Piety to be cruel.

Stirs in *Spain.*

To her Father *Renate* therefore, who enjoy'd the ſpecious Title of King of *Sicily*, *Naples*, and *Jeruſalem*, but Poſſeſſion of none of them, the afflicted Queen was forc'd to make a ſad Retreat. A poor contemptible Lord, living now to ſee his Son-in-Law, once the greateſt Monarch of the Chriſtian World, a Prince as merely titular as himſelf. As if it had been the Fate of theſe Two, that the one could ſay, he might have been, the other that once he was a King.

Leaving therefore foreign States intentive to their own Deſigns, with her Son, whom to move Compaſſion ſhe had carried up and down, the Queen return'd to *Scotland*; by her long but unſucceſsful Labour, having gathered together 500 *French*; a Number ſo ſmall and ſo unworthy the Name of an Army, that it was but a competent Retinue for ſo great a Princeſs. With theſe nevertheleſs ſhe ſailed to (*b*) *Tinmouth*, from whence ſhe was repulſed by the Inhabitants as ſoon as ſhe landed, and forc'd again to put to Sea. But there (for where may the Unfortunate meet with Friendſhip?) ſhe found the Winds her Enemies, whoſe unruly Force drave her at length diſorderly to *Berwick*; and the *French* under the Command of *Monſieur Varrennes* into the Hand of the Baſtard *Ogle*, whom the King had ſent to watch their Enemies; and he ſlew above an 100 of them, and took almoſt all the reſt Priſoners, the Captain and ſome few only eſcaping.

Q. *Margaret* with 500 *French*, lands at *Tinmouth*, and is oppoſed.

(*a*) Mr. *Thin* in his Hiſtory of the Dukes of *England*, ſays, that the Duke of *Somerſet* had only a Penſion of a 1000 Marks a Year granted him, which was never paid; and he places his ſubmitting to King *Edward* on the Second of *December*, in the Year 1463.

(*b*) She took *Alnwick*, and garriſon'd it.

Here

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Here ſome thin Regiments of *Scots* reſorted to her, in company of whom ſhe enter'd *Northumberland*; and having won *Banbury-Caſtle*, paſſed into the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, her Husband marching in the Front, that the Name and Preſence of K. *Henry* might invite the People to their ancient Service, and add Authority to the Deſign. But ſoon ſhe found her Error; for Hope, not Compaſſion perſwades to Danger: And the Commonalty ſat ſtill, when by riſing they underſtood themſelves only likely to ſhare in the King's Misfortune: For having upon a juſt Account diſcover'd how War is only neceſſary to the moſt deſperate, and that in the End it leaves them to nothing but Beggary and Puniſhment, they were reconcil'd to the Love of Peace, and every Man betook himſelf to Induſtry. And for the Nobility, the King had won them either by the Reputation of his Fortune, or Terror of his Courage; ſo that no Man of Eminency reſolv'd to change Subjection: Only *Henry*, Duke of *Somerſet*, and Sir *Ralph Piercy*, who not long before had forſaken K. *Henry* in his Tempeſt; now upon a falſe Hope of fairer Weather fled back again. For it is a ridiculous Cunning in Hiſtorians to aſcribe the Actions of great Men perpetually to Policy, ſince Irreſolution prevails equally in them as with the Vulgar. And why might not Deſpair beget Submiſſion in theſe two to K. *Edward*, and a vain Appearance of a Return of Fortune to K. *Henry*'s Side, perſwade them to this laſt Revolt?

K. *Henry* with an Army of *Scots* invades *England.*

Duke of *Somerſet* and Sir *R. Piercy* revolt to him.

Upon this ſo weak Acceſs of Power, Queen *Margaret* perceiving ſo unſound Friendſhip in her Husband's native Country, deſtroy'd it as if an Enemy's. And wanting Force to reach the Proſperity of her Competitor, fell cruelly upon the common People, who had hitherto been only ſubjects to his Fortune, bearing inwardly a moſt paſſionate Love to the Family of *Lancaſter*. But this outragious Carriage of the Army, chang'd abſolutely their Affections to the Queen, who was queſtionleſs by Neceſſity compell'd to Things unlawful, whereby to prevent the Diſbanding of her Forces, which were only paid and kept together by a licentious Spoil.

The Outrages of the *Scotch* Army.

To oppoſe this Attempt, which only betrayed the Weakneſs of the Enemies, King *Edward* ſent down *John Nevill*, Lord *Mountacute*, himſelf ſtaying behind to raiſe an Army, befitting the Greatneſs of his Name and preſent Quarrel. Giving likewiſe Order that his Navy ſhould guard the Seas, to hinder any Succours to the Queen from foreign Confederates: But this was an unneceſſary Caution; no State Abroad being ſo deſperate as to embark it ſelf in the broken Seas of her Fortune.

Lord *Mountacute* ſent againſt the *Scots.*

Mountacute at Land had a braver Occaſion to ſhew his Courage; who having in the Biſhoprick of *Durham* gather'd ſome convenient Forces, and receiv'd others from King *Edward*, then at *York*, march'd directly againſt K. *Henry*. By the Way the Lords *Hungerford*, and *Roſs*, and Sir *Ralph Piercy* preſented themſelves to hinder his farther Courſe; but perceiving the good Order and Courage of his Army, all fled but the valiant *Piercy*. Who diſdaining to ſecure his Life with Loſs of his Honour, or to ſhew the leaſt Weakneſs beneath his Name or Spirit, fought it out with his Regiment, till over-preſt with Number, he and his were all cut to pieces. The valiant Knight contenting himſelf, that he had ſaved the Bird in his Breaſt, as he ſaid; that is, died in his Loyalty.

He defeats Sir *R. Piercy.*

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Encouraged with this Succeſs *Mountacute* attempts, without Expectation of any farther Succour or Direction, to finiſh the preſent War, and immediately marches to a Plain call'd *Levells*, near the River *Dowell* in (*c*) *Hexhamſhire*, where King *Henry*'s Army lay encamped. The Camp he ſuddenly aſſaults in the Night, and had taken it without any Loſs, had not the Enemy beyond Expectation gather'd themſelves into ſome Order, and valiantly oppoſed. But no Courage could withſtand the Fortune and Spirit of *Mountacute*, for the Queen's Camp at length was loſt, and in it taken the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Lords *Hungerford*, *Roſs*, *Moulins*, and Sir *Thomas Huſſey*, with Sir *Thomas Wentworth* and Sir *John Findern*: *Somerſet* on the Place loſt his Head, the reſt ſent to *Newcaſtle* to ſuffer there the ſame Puniſhment, with twenty Gentlemen more, but King *Henry* and the Queen eſcaped (*d*) into *Lancaſhire* at the firſt on-ſet, whoſe Tragedy drew not yet near the laſt Act.

Near *Hexham* K. *Henry*'s Army furpriz'd and routed by the Lord *Mountacute.*

King *Edward* whoſe Fortune fought for him, even in his Abſence, encounter'd the News of this Victory in his march towards *Durham*; ſo that finding the Preſence of his Perſon and Army needleſs he return'd towards *York*: Giving command to *Warwick* to take in all the Forts and Caſtles, which yet in the North held out, as (*e*) *Alnwick*, *Banbury* and *Duſtambury*. On the Way he was certified of the Apprehenſion of King *Henry*'s Perſon, who was ſurprized as he endeavour'd by ſhifting from Place to Place to have recover'd *Scotland* (*f*). With the Joy of which Report King *Edward* return'd to *London*, whither as yet he never came but glorious by the Acceſſion of ſome new Triumph.

K. *Henry* taken, and the Indignities caſt on him by his Enemies.

Thomas, the Son of Sir *Edward Talbot* of *Lancaſhire*, apprehended King *Henry* as he ſat at Dinner at *Waddington-Hall*, in *Cleatherwood* in *Lancaſhire*, and forgetting all Reſpect due to ſo great a Prince, like a common Malefactor with his Legs tied under the Horſe's Belley, (*g*) guarded him up towards *London*. By the Way the Earl of *Warwick* met him, who adding Indignities to his Affliction, with the general Reproaches of the People, (the Acclamations they give to the Unfortunate) arreſted him, and taking off his Gilt Spurs, led him Priſoner to the *Tower*. The only Companions of his preſent Calamity were Dr. *Manning*, Dean of *Windſor*, Dr. *Bedle*, and Mr. *Allerton* a young Gentleman, all of ſo divine a Calling, as ſhew'd no Misfortune could ſeparate him from his Piety, nor them from their Duty.

The miſerable Queen ſeeing the Deſolation of her Greatneſs, her Husband impriſon'd, all her great Friends fled or ſlaughter'd, made again her Retreat into *France*; and with her Son Prince *Edward*, (whoſe Preſervation flatter'd her with ſome hopes, that one day he might rebuild the now ruin'd Houſe of *Lancaſter*) fled to her Father's Court. A moſt wretched Sanctuary to her Fears, where ſhe had only leiſure

Q. *Margaret* fled with Pr. *Edward* to her Father.

(*c*) Once a County by it ſelf, under the Juriſdiction of the Arch-biſhop of *York*, but now annex'd by Act of Parliament to *Northumberland*, the Arch-biſhop retaining his Eccleſiaſtical Power over it.

(*d*) The Queen fled to *Scotland*. Hol.

(*e*) Theſe Caſtles ſays *Thin* in his Hiſtory of Dukes, were yielded to King *Edward* by the Duke of *Somerſet*, for which Cauſe he was again taken into the King's Favour.

(*f*) *Holinſhead* writes, he got into *Scotland*, and did not return into *Engand* till the next Year.

(*g*) Tied to their Stirrups.

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by long Patience to prepare her Mind for future Misery.

But this her Dejection raised *Edward* up to an unsuspected Sovereignty, so that now he began to set strong the disjointed Body of his Kingdom. And knowing Liberality the only Ligament that ties Affection to a Prince, he resolv'd by attainting his Enemies to enable himself to reward the Services of his Friends. And tho' he pretended the Gate of Mercy ever to stand open to the Submission of the *Lancastrians*, yet few or none accepted the Favour, either distrustful of his Reality, or feeding their Hopes with Imagination, that the Tide of Fortune would not always flow with so impetuous a Torrent.

K. *Edward* attaints the *Lancastrian* Nobles, and gives their Honours and Estates to his Friends.

But King *Edward* angry, that a Faction so contemptible in their Ruin, should disdain his Clemency, proceeded to punishment (*b*). The Earldom of *Pembroke*, an Honour heretofore enjoy'd by *Jasper Tudor*, half-Brother to *Henry* VI. (who, with *Henry Piercy*, Earl of *Northumberland* was then fled with King *Henry*,) he bestowed on Sir *William Herbert*, a Knight of *Wales*, both for Descent and Power most eminent, and to whose Aid a great Part of the present Felicity was owing. To the Lord *Mountacute*, whose Person and Service he equally lov'd, be gave the opulent Possessions belonging to the Family of the *Piercies*, together with the Honour of Earl of *Northumberland*.

Sir *William Herbert* made Earl of *Pembroke*.

Lord *Mountacute* made Earl of *Northumberland*.

But the most open Hand cannot satisfie the Expectation of great Deservers, who set so high a Price upon their Merits, that they leave their Princes no Power of Reward. The greatest Benefit being received in the Degree of a Debt, not a Gift. And certainly *Mountacute* and his Brother *Warwick*, had by too much Merit even disoblig'd the King; what Honour soever they were in future to have, being so little able to cancel the Obligation, that it could scarce defray the Interest. And in that Way was this Title and Inheritance accepted, which gave the King ocasion to distaste whom otherwise he would have with Passion embraced. Whereupon reflecting on the Danger of adding Power to them, who wanted only Will to do Mischief, and knowing how easily Innovation might be resolv'd on, when nothing but the Conscience was to be perswaded; he began seriously to wish the Mightiness of that Family he owed the Crown to in some Degree lessened. Yet that he might no way appear unthankful to so great Deserts, he thought fit to weaken their Strength, and yet to add to the Splendor of their Title. Whereupon he willingly admitted the Friends of *Piercy* to interceed for Restitution both of his Honour and Revenue, and soon granted it; rewarding *Mountacute* with the more specious Stile of Marques. But this State-trick was by the Brothers easily understood, and accepted with the same Brow they would have entertain'd an Injury.

The Earl of *Warwick* and Lord *Mountacute* not satisfied with their Rewards.

This the King dissembled; and to build his Estimation high in the Air of popular Applause, endeavour'd by all the Arts of humble Greatness to raise himself into the Opinion of the Multitude. His Presence was easie to any Man's Love or Curiosity, his Aspect clear and smiling, his Language free and familiar. And to the Ladies, who have also their Share in the Motion of States, he applied a general Courtship, which used by a Prince of so amiable a Personage, made them, who are usually the Idols of others, to be Idolators of him. Among his Nobility he was so courteous and free in Gesture, and liberal in Affability, that he appeared King, not in his Assumption of State, but in their Application of Duty. This he did to win outward Applause; while to settle an inward Sense of his Wisdom, he look'd into Abuses of Officers, and reform'd them. Neither was there any Oppression or Mistake in Government, but what he relieved or corrected. And that it might appear how zealously he sought due Administration of Justice in greater Causes, he in Person sat Three Days together on his Bench at *Westminster-Hall*, to see a foul Rape on a Widow punish'd; which, tho' it little advanc'd the uncorrupted Execution of the Laws, yet it serv'd happily for Example, and created what he then most courted, a good Opinion of him in the Minds of all Men.

K. *Edward* labours to endear himself to the People.

Thus he grew upon his People at home, while abroad the neighbouring States began to decline the Danger of his future Enmity, who ever measure the Power of Princes by that Sway and Affection they have among their Subjects. *Charles*, Earl of *Charolois* (a Widdower, but without Heir-male) Heir to a large and opulent Territory (the Seventeen Provinces with the Dutchy and County of *Burgundy*, and the greatest Part of *Picardy*, being subject to Duke *Philip* his Father) first made his Address; who, bearing an implacable hatred to *Lewis* XI. King of *France*, desired to gain so Potent a Neighbour to his Party; and that he might secure his Friendship against all Faultering, he, by his Ambassadors entreated a Marriage with the Lady *Margaret*, the King's Sister: A Motion heard in *England* with much Acceptance, and which, if every Circumstance were well weighed, brought both Honour and Security. But it was thought by some intimate with the Earl in his most secret Counsels, that really he never intended this Marriage, having from his Mother, Neece to *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, deriv'd an irreconcilable Malice against the House of *York*. And that this Negotiation aim'd only to temporize with *England*, in case the Duke of *Brittain* and the *French* King's Brother should desert him and make their Peace with *Lewis*, against whom these Three were then in Confederacy; but this I believe an Overcunning in Conjecture, since Marriage among Princes, as it seldom confirms a sound Friendship, so doth it never extirpate an ancient Hatred; the Proof of our and all Times shewing how false a Love is created by Alliance. But the Thoughts of Princes are so unknown to Posterity, that they are beyond the Scrutiny of the present Time. I will not therefore dispute what the Earl's inward Designs were; but certainly, both according to Reason of State and the Event (which is the best Light Historians can discern by) as it was pretended, so was it intended.

Edward's Alliance courted by Foreign Princes.

A Treaty of Marriage between the Lady *Margaret*, King *Edward*'s Sister and the Earl of *Charolois*.

Marriages with Princes do little good.

(*i*) The Marriage of his Sister being thus far advanc'd, the King began to advise with his Council concerning his own. A strong Alliance abroad was soon resolv'd most necessary both for the Dignity and Safety of his Crown; and among all the Princesses which that Time glories in, and of whom several were proposed to his Choice, *viz.* *Margaret*, Daughter of the King of *Scots*, and *Isabel*, Sister of *Henry* IV.

King *Edward*'s Marriage resolv'd on, and sought in *France* with the Lady *Bona*.

(*b*) This was done in the last Year while King *Edward* was at *York*. See *Hol.*

(*i*) This Marriage was not proposed till the 6th Year of his reign nor effected till the 8th.

King

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King of *Caſtile*; the Lady (*k*) *Bona* was thought worthieſt his Bed, in reſpect of the Excellence of her Beauty, Greatneſs of Birth (as being Daughter to *Lewis*, Duke of *Savoy*) and the mighty Marriage of her other Siſter *Charlotte*, with *Lewis* XI. King of *France*, with whom ſhe then was. This laſt Conſideration being a main Inducement, as by which all Fear might be taken away of a Tempeſt from that Coaſt, whence Queen *Margaret* ſeem'd to prepare a Storm.

The Earl of *Warwick* Agent for the King's Marriage

To this Negotiation the Earl of *Warwick* was deputed as the fitteſt Perſon, both for his great Faith to the King, and Authority in the Kingdom: Who, no ſooner arriv'd at the *French* Court, where the young Lady then reſided in Company of her Siſter, but he was with all Triumph entertain'd, and his Motion heard with Joy and Acceptation.

The Conſummation of it ſought by both Parties.

The Ambition of the *French* Queen to have her Siſter married to ſo great a Prince, concurring with the many politick Reſpects, which overſway'd King *Lewis*. And ſoon after for an abſolute Concluſion of all Buſineſſes, *Monſieur D'ampmartin* was deſign'd Ambaſſador for *England*. Theſe Two Kings equally ſolliciting the Conſummation of this Marriage. *Edward*, that he might without Fear of more Danger enjoy the Glory of a late recover'd Kingdom. *Lewis*, that freed from the Danger of an *Engliſh* Invader, and Importunities of Queen *Margaret*, for Aſſiſtance, he might give a Period to his buſie Projects at home, by laying the Devil of Civil War, raiſed by a tumultuous Nobility.

King *Edward's* Love to the Lady *Gray*

But while Policy acted ſeveral Parts abroad, Love on the ſudden chang'd the whole Scene at home. For the young King, after Hunting in *Wychwood* Forreſt, coming to viſit the Dutcheſs of *Bedford*, at her Mannor of *Grafton* near *Stony-Startford* in *Buckinghamſhire*, for a Grant of ſome Lands taken from her Maintenance, was ſollicited by a fair Petitioner the Dutcheſs's Daughter *Elizabeth*, Widow of Sir *John Gray*, ſlain on King *Henry*'s Part at the Battle of St. *Albans*. The King could not but yield to any Requeſt made by ſo conquering a Beauty, and preſently himſelf grew as earneſt in ſolliciting her, tho' in a more unlawful Suit. But ſhe arm'd her Soul with a Modeſty able to break the hotteſt Battery of Luſt; and tho' on every Side aſſaulted by the Engines of Temptation, ſhe repulſed her Enemy ſo nobly, by telling him, *That tho' ſhe knew her ſelf unworthy to be a Queen, yet ſhe valued her Honour and Perſon more, than to be the grateſt Prince's Concubine*; that he offered Parly upon honourable Terms. For when the King perceiv'd her adorn'd with a Chaſtity ſtrong enough to reſiſt him, who had ſcarce ever fail'd to be victorious in thoſe Attempts, he grew enamour'd with the Beauty of her Mind, and reſolv'd her Vertue was Dower enough to marry her to the higheſt Throne. Reaſon of State, which his Mother and Friends were not wanting to preſs him paſſionately with, argued ſharply againſt a Marriage ſo unequal to Majeſty, by alledging the Peril of angring ſo potent a Neighbour as K. *Lewis*, and ſo dangerous a Subject as *Warwick*; as likewiſe the Inconvenience of raiſing a Widow to his Bed, who could bring nothing with her but her Poverty, and an unprovided Iſſue; who, if not advanc'd by him, would be a Scorn to his Children, if advanc'd a ruinous Charge to his Exchequer, and an Envy both to the Princes of his Blood, and the Nobility of his Kingdom. But Love like a cunning Sophiſter eaſily refell'd all politick Arguments, and perſwaded Reaſon her ſelf almoſt to be of his Side.

A. D. 1464. Reg. 4.

The Inconveniences of the Marriage of the Lady *Gray* removed.

King *Edward's* Arguments for his Marriage with the Lady *Gray*.

For he repeated to the King his own Prerogative, which being ſo large, why ſhould he then be denied the Liberty of a free Choice, which is allow'd the meaneſt Subject? Why might not he wooe with his own Eyes, and make Election where his Fancy beſt delighted? As for the Lady her ſelf he found her in the Treaſures of her Mind moſt abundant, and in the Perfections of her Body excellent to pleaſe him, who, and not the State, was to marry. For her Birth, ſhe was by the Father Sir *Richard Woodville* Noble in her Deſcent at Home, by her Mother of the Houſe of *Luxenburg*, (*l*) a Family with which the greateſt Princes of Chriſtendom had near Alliance. As for marrying a Subject * and the Widow of his Enemy, the latter argu'd more Charity, and the former could not but tie the Affection of his People, when they ſaw their Prince diſdain'd not Affinity with them. For a Precedent to authorize theſe his intended Nuptials, he had *Edward* the Black Prince his Great Uncle, great indeed if not the greateſt among all the Princes of his Name. And for the threaten'd Danger from King *Lewis* or the Earl of *Warwick*; from *France* he could never expect how near ſoever the Alliance had been but an unfaithful Amity; and ſhould this his Marriage thruſt *Warwick* upon rebellious Attempts, the Rebel would but fondly run upon his own Ruin, ſince it could not ſtand with the Majeſty of a King, to hold his Crown by ſo baſe a Tenure, as to have his Actions aw'd by a Subject. Theſe and ſuch like Arguments, which Love is cunning upon all Occaſions to enforce, prevail'd ſo far with him, that though the Old Dutcheſs of *York* his Mother moſt violently oppoſed the Match, by thtowing the higheſt Calumnies upon the Lady *Gray*, and alledging a Pre-contract between him and the Lady *Lucy*; yet one Morning ſecretly did he marry her (*m*). For the Diſparity of Birth or Fortune is no Impediment; and for the Pre-contract, upon Examination the Lady *Lucy* her ſelf acquitted the King, only laying to his Charge the Guilt of a moſt winning Courtſhip, which ſhe hop'd would end in Marriage. And though afterwards during the Uſurpation of *Richard* the Third, in open Parliament it was alledged againſt the Lawfulneſs of King *Edward*'s Marriage, that by ſtrange Potions and amorous Charms the Lady *Eliz. Gray* had bewitch'd him to her Love, and likewiſe another Pre-contract was aſſerted with the Lady *Eleanor Butler*, Daughter to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and Widow to the Lord of

King *Edward* marries the Lady *Elizabeth Gray* againſt his Mother's *Will.*

Edward falſly ſaid to be contracted with Lady *Lucy* and *Eliz. Butler.*

(*k*) In *Michaelmas* Term this Year, there was a Call of Serjeants at Law, *Thomas Young*, *Nicholas Geneie*, *Richard Neal*, *Thomas Bryan*, *Richard Pigot*, *John Greenfield*, *John Catesby*, and *Guy Fairfax*, Eſquires. They kept their Feaſt at *Ely*-Houſe in *Holborn*, to which the Lord Mayor and Aldermen were invited; who perceiving the Lord *Gray* of *Ruthin*, Lord Treaſurer, had taken the upper Seat which belonged to the Lord Mayor, *Ely*-Houſe being in the Liberties of the City, the Mayor went home with his Brethren, and would not ſtay to dine, to the great Diſcontent of the new Serjeants. 'Twas order'd alſo by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council, That this Inſtance ſhould be regiſter'd for a Precedent to their Succeſſors. *Hol.*

(*l*) And why might not he marry her, as well as *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, a Prince as wealthy as himſelf, marry her Mother.

* She was Servant to Queen *Margaret*, Wife to King *Henry* VI. and married to Mr. *Gray* who was Knighted at St. *Albans* on the Day of the Fight in which he was kill'd.

(*m*) On the Firſt of *May*.

Sudly.

A. D. 1464. Reg. 4.

Sudly; I cannot but believe, that all thoſe Scandals were by ſome of the Tyrant's wicked Inſtruments ſuggeſted to the Minds of that Aſſembly: For had there been a Juſt Exception againſt this Marriage, neither *George*, Duke of *Clarence*, nor the Earl of *Warwick*, in their frequent Calumnies againſt the King being in open Rebellion, had left it unmention'd.

King *Edward's* Marriage diſtaſted by his Friends.

But no ſooner had King *Edward* obey'd his Fancy in taking her to his Bed, and in that taſted the forbidden Fruit (forbidden I mean by Politick Reſpects) than he ſaw himſelf Naked of Friends at Home and Abroad to oppoſe againſt any new ariſing Difficulty. But as yet by the Bravery of his Carriage did he add an Honour to the Act, Courage and Love, either denying him to foreſee or to regard the Danger. Though as ſoon as the Marriage was divulged, he preſently diſcern'd another Face of Men. Monſieur *D'ampmartin*, the Embaſſadour Extraordinary from *France*, full of Indignation, return'd, and the Nobility in general look'd diſcontented, or elſe but forced a Smile. The ſo high Advancement of this one Lady and her Children, lately beneath ſo many in Fortune, begetting an univerſal Envy in the reſt. But when the Earl of *Warwick* underſtood how mighty an Affront by this was given to his Imployment; he entertain'd none but diſdainful Thoughts againſt his Prince; and expreſt ſo bold a Diſcontent, that *Lewis* of *France*, who was quick to perceive, and careful to foment any Diſpleaſure which might tend to the Diſturbance of another Kingdom, began to enter into private Communication with him. For ever after this common Injury, (ſo they call'd the Error of Love in the King) the Earl held a dangerous Intelligence in *France*, which after occaſion'd ſo many Confuſions to our Kingdom. Nevertheleſs upon his Return he diſſembled all Diſcontent, and in every Circumſtance of Reſpect applied himſelf to applaud the Marrage, and in particular the excellent Perſonage of the Queen. The King Interpreted the Intentions of the Man according to the Appearance, unwilling perhaps to rack his own Nature ſo far, till it had confeſt that his Carriage might diſſemble Danger. And in the mean time he raiſed his Wife's Kindred as near as poſſibly to his own Greatneſs, he ſearch'd out all Means for their Advancement (*n*). The Lord *Richard Woodville* her Father he created Earl of *Rivers*, and High Conſtable of *England*, with an annual Fee of Two Hundred Pound out of the *Exchequer*, whom ſhortly after he made Lord Treaſurer. Her Brother *Anthony* he created Lord *Scales*, the Daughter and Heir to which Title, by the King's earneſt Sollicitation, he not long before had wedded; and her Son *Thomas* he raiſed to the Honour of Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, for whom he procur'd in Marriage the Heir of the Lord *Bonvile* and *Harrington*. By his own free Gift enobling them with Titles, and by the Induſtry of his Mediation enabling them with Poſſeſſions, to make thoſe Titles no Scorn to the Owners.

The Earl of *Warwick* incenſed at the King's Marriage, yet diſſembles his Anger.

The Queen's Kindred advanced.

The Earl of *Warwick* in Diſcontent, endeavours to raiſe a Rebellion

Every unmarry'd Lord imagin'd the beſtowing of theſe two great Heirs on the Queen's Kindred, an Injury to his own Hopes; and *Warwick* thought every great Office conferred upon another miſplaced. For his many Services begot ſo great an Inſolency, that he ſcarce allow'd the King a Share in the Diſtribution of his own: Hereupon his Thoughts grew dangerous, and only Opportunity was wanting to thruſt him into Action. He conſider'd the Vaſtneſs of his Poſſeſſions, the Greatneſs of his Authority among the Commons, and the general Dependencies of the Men of War upon him; and hence concluded, it was as eaſie for him to uncreate as to create a King. But he found the general Humour of the Kingdom not yet fully ripe for Miſchief; the Vulgar enamour'd on the much Courteſie of their Prince, the Lords neareſt to him in Blood and likelieſt to incline to his Faction dear likewiſe to the King, and all of the Houſe of *Lancaſter* who in Probability would at firſt Invitation take fire in any Combuſtion of the State, exil'd and poor. Sedition therefore for the preſent was but an *Embrio* in his Brain, which after when Time had deliver'd, became ſo vaſt and bloody a Monſter: Nevertheleſs he was not unmindful of his Deſign, cheriſhing unkind Thoughts in any whom he ſaw diſtaſted at the King, and caſting forth Speeches which might leſſen the Honour of his publick and private Actions; with which Diſcourſes, as with ſlow Poyſons he infected many Limbs of the general Body. Then upon Pretence of Infirmity, and Preſcription of Phyſicians for the Change of Air, with Licenſe from the King he retired to his Caſtle at *Warwick*. Where his Obſervation was, what Lords great in Power or Treaſure reſorted to him, and with what Countenance; whether they undervalu'd the Weakneſs of the King's Judgment, or hated the Advancement of the Queen and her Kindred; whether they were troubl'd at any private Repulſe or open Affront, or generally at the publick Buſineſs, or whether they repented not the ſo violent Oppreſſion of the Family of *Lancaſter*; any Diſcontent making for his Purpoſe, which either pointed at the Errors of the King, Pride of the Queen and her Kindred, or the Miſ-government of the State. Upon the Affections of the meaner ſort he gain'd by a profuſe Hoſpitality, an open Kitchen and Buttery perſwading more with them than any Duty to Juſtice: upon the Good-will of the better ſort he won by bowing his Entertainment down to an endearing Familiarity, ſaluting every Man courteouſly by his Name, and engaging them by trivial Benefits. And with all ſorts by his great Service to the Crown, and a Carriage Noble both in War and Peace.

A. D. 1465. Reg. 5.

Warwick retires from Court, and obſerves all Malecontents.

His Arts of gaining a Party.

The King, though he wanted the Virtue of Cowards, Suſpicion, began nevertheleſs to have the Earl in ſome Jealouſie; his unuſual Retiredneſs from the Court, and ſo expenceful purchaſing the Vogue of the People, argu'd both diſtaſte againſt his Prince, and a Hope to maintain any unlawful Enterprize by Faction. But either in Policy he diſſembled his Diſtruſt, not having yet any firm Ground to build a juſt Accuſation, or in good Nature would not eclipſe the Earl's Greatneſs, by which himſelf enjoy'd a Benefit little leſs than the Crown. But that the Storm threatned from *France*, for incenſing King *Lewis* in the diſcourſed Marriage of the Lady *Bona*, might be diverted; he made ſtrong Confederacies round about him. With *Henry*, King of *Caſtile*, and *John*, King of *Arragon*, (that *Spain*, however far remote might be near in Friendſhip) he enter'd into a League, and upon the Concluſion of it, granted a Licenſe for the Tranſportation of certain *Cotſwold* Sheep thither, a Grant that is complained of ſtill, as a mighty enriching to the *Spaniards*, and as

King *Edward* ſuſpects *Warwick's* Actions.

King *Edward* makes ſtrong Alliances againſt any threatning Troubles.

(*n*) She was alſo ſolemnly crown'd at *Weſtminſter*. Hol.

great

A. D. 1465. Reg. 5. great an empoveriſhing to the *Engliſh* Merchants. With *Scotland* he made a Truce for Fifteen Years, that he invading *France*, or invaded by the *French*, might be ſecure however not to have that Nation, according to their Cuſtom upon all Advantages, Enemies at his Back. His Embaſſadors in the *Low-Countries*, urged the Duke of *Burgundy* to the Accompliſhment of the Marriage between his Son the Earl of *Charolois*, and the Lady *Margaret* the King's Siſter. And ſo happy Succeſs had this Negotiation, that though for ſome Years it had hung in Suſpence, and *Warwick* now oppoſed it, as prejudicial to King *Lewis* his Friend, yet it was now abſolutely agreed on, and the Baſtard of *Burgundy*, and ſome others ſent over with full Inſtructions and Power to give the Treaty a final Concluſion. For whatſoever Diſſimulation the Earl of *Charolois* uſed at firſt, he now intended this Marriage ſeriouſly: In regard he found himſelf lie open to the Malice of King *Lewis* a moſt dangerous Neighbour, who by Policy or Fortune had broken all thoſe great Confederacies the Earl had before in *France*. Wherefore there was now no Safety but in arming himſelf by a ſtrict Amity with the *Engliſh*, a Nation forward and fierce to attempt any thing upon the *French*, and in their Attempts ſcarce ever but proſperous. Neither was the Courage of the King's Youth, and his continual good Succeſs in War a ſmall Inducement; conſidering it gave a certain Hope, that he upon any Invitation of Honour or Profit might be perſwaded to croſs the Seas, and undertake the ancient national Quarrel. And for the Danger of any Alteration in the Government, there was then no Ground for Suſpicion: The King honour'd and lov'd by his People, the adverſe Faction of no Power, and the Earl of *Warwick* having never yet declared himſelf but moſt paſſionately affected to the Houſe of *York*. Wherefore in Reaſon of State being no Impediment, the Marriage was ſoon agreed on, and upon the Agreement, many Triumphs, glorious but Martial, according to the Nature of that Time, ſo addicted to Arms, were celebrated between the Baſtard and his Retinue, and the *Engliſh* Lords and Gentry.

Lady *Margaret's* Marriage urged again and agreed to.

A. D. 1466. Reg. 6. But to interrupt the Jollity of theſe Triumphs, an Expreſs came from the *Low-Countries*, with the News of the Death of Duke *Philip*: Preſently the Baſtard return'd, and our Council ſtood at a gaze, being in ſome Suſpence what Alteration the Buſineſs might Receive, the Earl now abſolute in Poſſeſſion of his Father's Dominions. But that Scruple was ſoon taken away, by an Embaſſadour ſent to haſten the full Performance of the Marriage. Whereupon the Lady was carried over with all the Ceremonies of Greatneſs, and at *Bruges* marry'd to Duke *Charles* (*o*). That Nation which exceeded all the World in Bravery and Riot, exceeding even it ſelf, at this Triumph, in the Wantonneſs of a ſuperfluous Pomp. In thoſe Countries ſhe liv'd ſome while his Wife, though ever barren, with as much Love from him, as he could ſpare from his ambitious Wars, but ſhe continued long his Widow in much Reputation among the Natives, and good Eſteem with neighbouring Princes. Two Things render'd her much the Diſcourſe of thoſe Times. An extraordinary Love and Care in the Education of the Poſterity of her Husband, and an extream Malice againſt *Henry* the Seventh. To

Philip Duke of *Burgundy* dies, and the Earl of *Charolois* ſucceedshim. Lady *Margaret* marry'd to the Duke of *Burgundy*

ſupplant whom, becauſe there wanted true, ſhe countenanced the Suppoſititious Princes of the Houſe of *York*, and by continual Practices revenged in part the Injury of that Diſreſpect he ever caſt upon her Family. *A. D.* 1466. Reg. 6.

This ſo potent Alliance, and his Confederacies with Foreign States, made King *Edward* imagine himſelf in great Security, when indeed he was moſt unſafe: For during theſe Treaties Abroad and Triumphs at Home, the Earl of *Warwick* quicken'd ſo far his Deſigns, that now there appear'd a dangerous Life in them. The Body of his Faction was grown Mighty but Monſtrous, being compacted of ſeveral Natures. For into the Conſpiracy of this great Enterprize he had drawn the Clergy and the Laity, and moſt of them of Affections moſt oppoſite. (*p*) The Archbiſhop of *York* was the principal Actor, becauſe he mov'd upon the Soul, and made Treaſon an Act of Religion. The eaſie Multitude; who build their Faith upon the Man, not the Doctrine, thinking it meritorious to rebel, in regard his Function ſeem'd to give Authority to the Action. With the Archbiſhop the Marqueſs of *Mountague* conſented, but ſecretly; either cunningly diſſembling Miſchief, or elſe wiſhing well to both Sides, being in himſelf divided between a natural Love to a Brother, and an Allegiance to a Prince; or perhaps projecting to make his Benefit, out of which Party ſoever ſhould prevail. With theſe agreed many eminent Perſons of King *Edward's* Court, whom either Deſire of War, having never lived but in the troubled Stream of Diſcord, or want of expected Recompence, render'd diſcontented.

The Earl of *Warwick's* Conſpiracy, and the chief Perſons engag'd in it.

All the Partakers in the Calamity of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, moſt paſſionately at firſt Overture embraced this Motion, as Men whom Deſpair had made fit for the moſt hazardous Attempt; and who having found nothing but evil Fortune at Home, and Contempt Abroad, were inſtructed in a Patience ready with Joy to ſuffer a not inglorious Death. Among whom *Henry Holland*, Duke of *Exeter* was a ſad Example, who after his Ruin by the Fall of *Henry* the Sixth was reduced to ſo miſerable a Condition, that all ragged and bare footed he begg'd for his Meat in the *Low Countries*, the abſolute Prince whereof and he marry'd two Siſters, the Daughters of *Richard*, Duke of *York*. With this ſo unfortunate a Lord, all the reſt who ſhared with him in Miſery, ran violently into this War. But the wonder of the World then was at the powerful Sorcery of thoſe Perſwaſions, which bewitch'd the Duke of *Clarence*, the King's Brother to this Conſpiracy; but he was Young and Purblind in foreſeeing the Event of Things, profuſe in Expence beyond his Revenue, and almoſt beyond the King's Power to ſupply, grudging the Favours conferred upon the Queen and her Kindred; valuing his Birth too high, as who forgot the Brother of a King is but a Subject, forward upon any Terms to make himſelf greater, eaſily lending Ear to dangerous Whiſpers, and as raſhly giving Conſent. Theſe Preparatives made this Young Prince fit to undertake any Michief, which the Earl of *Warwick* miniſtred moſt plentifully.

The *Lancaſtrians* fall in with *Warwick*.

Henry, Duke of *Exeter* begs in the *Low-Countries*.

The Duke of *Clarence* joins in Rebellion with *Warwick*.

And firſt to ſupply the Narrowneſs of his preſent Fortune, a Humour moſt Troubleſom at the Inſtant, he gave him in Marriage the Lady *Iſabell* his Daughter, and Co-heir to the Rich Earldom of *Warwick*: Whereupon in hatred

(*o*) She was marry'd in the following Year. *Com.*

(*p*) *George Nevill*, made ſo by King *Edward* not many Months before.

againſt

A. D. 1466. Reg. 6.

against the Queen he concurred and in Diſcontent againſt the King's ſo ſlender Rewards; but in promiſing Greatneſs to *Clarence*'s Ambition, he exceeded even Proportion, though not Probability, conſidering the Earl's unlimited Power. But firſt to make the Friendſhip ſtrong by a near Alliance, they ſail'd over for the Conſummation of this Marriage to *Callis*, of which Town the Earl of *Warwick* was Captain, and in which the young Lady then remain'd with her Mother. Soon was this Ceremony paſt, and ſoon did the Earl invite his Son-in-law from the Softneſs of the Nuptial Dalliance, as who had contrived this Marriage for Buſineſs, not for Pleaſure, and deſign'd the firſt Iſſue of their Embraces to be a Monſter, and the moſt unnatural one; War between Brothers.

A. D. 1467. Reg. 7.

Duke of *Clarence* marry'd to the Earl of *Warwick*'s Daughter at *Callis.*

He acquainted therefore his Son-in-Law by what Line he had founded the Depth of the People's Affection to the preſent King, and what a Tempeſt he was able to raiſe when he ſhould reſolve for Motion. He told him how in the North 15000 Men had been in Arms, pretending revenge upon the Governours of St *Leonard*'s Hoſpital in *York*, for converting the Alemony they receiv'd from the Country every Year in Corn to their own Uſe, by which they both defrauded the Poor, and the charitable Intention of the Donors; whereas indeed the arm'd Multitude were mov'd, firſt by his Counſel only, awaiting his Preſence, with Reſolution to run any Hazard of his Command. And tho' the Marqueſs *Mountacute* raiſed Forces in King *Edward*'s Name, by which he quieted the Commotion, and beheaded *Robert Huldron* (*q*) their chief Captain, yet were the People ready upon the firſt Summons to reaſſemble; and the Marqueſs (who by ſuch Appearance of Fidelity had won upon the eaſie Faith of the dull King) prepared to bring his Forces, and join in any Enterprize he ſhould appoint. He ſhewed farther, how by this his Brother's Diſſimulation, his Intelligence held perfect in the King's Council, and all the Reſolutions of State might be without Difficulty prevented, ſince no ſooner made but diſcover'd.

A Rebellion in *York* appeaſed by Marqueſs *Mountacute.*

Marqueſs *Mountacute* appeaſes a Rebellion.

A. D. 1468. Reg. 8.

Duke of *Clarence* and Earl of *Warwick* go into *England* to dethrone King *Edward.*

The Duke, who before held the Earl's Courage and Authority with the People in great Eſtimation, now began to wonder at the ſo cunning Management of this ſo great Buſineſs. Neither could he ſuſpect the Succeſs, the Earl having ſo order'd Things, that he left little or nothing to fortune; whereupon he gave his Judgment entirely up to his Father-in-Law's Diſcretion, with whom he return'd into *England*, openly profeſſing and juſtifying his Reſolution to Rebellion. The Vanity of Ambition ſealing up his Eyes ſo far, that he could not perceive the Unnaturalneſs of his Revolt, and the certain Hazard of Ruin, in warring againſt a Prince ſo great both in Arms and Fortune.

Againſt their Return, the Arch-biſhop of *York* had wrought ſo diligently to ripen Miſchief, that the Multitude diſperſed before, were again in the Field, but under Leaders of a far more eminent Name. For *Henry*, Son to the Lord *Fitz-hugh*, and *Henry Nevill*, Son to the Lord *Latimer* (the one Nephew, the other Couſin-german to *Warwick*) had the Conduct of theſe Forces; both Gentlemen great in Blood and Spirit, but in regard of their unexperienced Youth, ſubmitting themſelves to the Directions of Sir *John Coniers*, a Commander bold in Courage and ſober in Advice. Their March was not now directed againſt any petty Town in the North as before, but towards *London*, the Head of the Kingdom; and the Cauſe of their taking Arms, not upon any trivial Injury or Oppreſſion, but out of Deſire of publick Juſtice, by throwing down a licentious Uſurper, and re-inveſting in the Sovereignty King *Henry*, their lawful Monarch, ſo injuriouſly detained Priſoner in the *Tower*. This Pretence carried with it much of Bravery, pleaſed the Humour of moſt of the Northern Men, paſſionately ſtill affected to the Line of *Lancaſter*, and took generally with the Commonalty, a Beaſt as prone to unſeaſonable Pity, as to inhumane Cruelty, and ever deſirous to change Government, becauſe naturally it can endure none.

Rebels led by Sir *J. Coniers*, and march to *London.*

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The noiſe of theſe Arms waked King *Edward*; for he now perceiv'd his Title to the Crown, (for which he imagin'd he had had ſo clear a Sentence) brought again to tryal, and the Sword made Judge. He caſt his Eye about him, and found every where the Way open to his Jealouſie, and none to Security: And thoſe Lords, from whom he might expect Supply, being near to *Warwick* in Friendſhip or Alliance, and the Marqueſs *Mountacute*, in whoſe Service he had ever found moſt Truſt and Fortune, even Brother to his Enemy. How could he therefore believe, but notwithſtanding all their outward Profeſſions of Loyalty, privately they might favour Rebellion? As for the Queen's Kindred, (of whoſe Faith in regard of their own Intereſt, he remain'd ſecure) he could draw little Confidence: Their Greatneſs ſo Young, that it had yet taken no deep Root in Opinion, and their Forces only weak Beams ſhot from the Sun of the King's own Power. But no Conſideration in this Trouble begot ſo much Scorn and Rage in him, as the Revolt of *Clarence*, whoſe giddy Ambition made him rather chuſe to become a Ward to a rough and inſolent Guardian, than to ſhare with his Brother a King in the Treaſures of Fortune. The Forces of the Rebels he weigh'd more by the Reputation of their Leader *Warwick*, than by the Number; though even that grew every Day more Formidable.

King *Edward* in great Streights to oppoſe this Rebellion.

His Friends weak.

King *Edward* ſends to the Earl of *Pembroke* to raiſe the *Welſh*, and oppoſe their Paſſage.

To prepare againſt theſe dangerous Motions in his *Engliſh* Rebels, he ſpeedily ſent to the Earl of *Pembroke* Commiſſion to raiſe what *Welſh* Forces he could; having in this general Suſpicion of his diſloyal Subjects, moſt Confidence in the Valour of the *Welſh*, and their natural hatred againſt the *Engliſh* Name. He requir'd the Earl to give Battle by the Way, while himſelf gather'd as great an Army as the preſent Danger, and Cauſe in Controverſie requir'd. The Earl joyful of the Command, puts ſuddenly into the Field with his valiant Brother Sir *Richard Herbert*, having under their Conduct 7000 Men. To them ſoon joyn 800 Bow-men, led by the Lord *Stafford* of *Southwick*, not long before created Earl of *Devonſhire*. With theſe Forces he reſolv'd to hinder the Rebels in their Journey, and having Notice by his Spies that they took their Way by *Northampton*, againſt them he led the whole Body of his Army: Having given Order to Sir *Richard Herbert* with 2000 Soldiers to wheel about, and charge the Enemy in the Reer.

Earl of *Pembroke* oppoſes *Warwick.*

Sir *John Coniers* repulſeth the *Welſh* with Loſs.

Sir *John Coniers* was too valiant to be ſurprized, and ſo carefully had ſtrengthen'd the Reer-ward, that the *Welſh* were repulſed with Loſs, and Forced by Flight to ſeek their Safety. Whereupon he retir'd to his Brother, while *Coniers* upon new Inſtructions, or elſe fearful

(*q*) This Inſurrection happen'd in the Year 1469. *Hol.*

leaſt

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left *Pembroke* in the Way might gain ſome Advantage, diverted from his direct Courſe to *London*, and march'd to *Warwick*, where the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* had levied a mighty Hoſt. *Pembroke* waits cloſe upon their Journey, expecting the Opportunity either to cut off ſome Part of the Enemy diſorder'd, or to give Battle to the whole Army. But while he was conſtant in this Purſuit of Glory, and ſhewed all the Parts of a great Commander, a ſmall Diviſion between him and the Lord *Stafford* ruin'd the whole Attempt. For encamping at *Banbury*, a Queſtion grew concerning an Inn, to which *Stafford* pretended as having long uſed the Houſe; but in which *Pembroke*, in regard of his Preheminence as General, and Commodiouſneſs of the Place, was reſolv'd to lodge. This ſo trivial Diſtaſte (if there were no farther Treaſon in it) grew ſo high, that *Stafford* withdrew himſelf, and his *Engliſh* Archers leaving the *Welſh* in Arms and Number far inferior to the Enemy; which Defect nevertheleſs was ſupplied by their great Courage.

A Difference between the Earl of *Pembroke* and Lord *Stafford.*

For when the Rebels who ſoon had Notice of this unhappy Diſcord, gave the Earl's Camp next Morning a Camiſado, or ſudden Aſſault: The *Welſh* entertain'd the Charge ſo ſtoutly, that they took Sir *Henry Nevill* the Leader; but (what favour'd too much of Barbariſm) moſt cruelly ſlew him in cold Blood. By which Act they raiſed ſo fierce an Appetite of Revenge in the Enemy, that the next Day they gave the Earl Battle, and the Fight was long and cruel. Neither had the Victory fallen ſo abſolutely to the Northern Men, but that *John Clopton*, Retainer to the Earl of *Warwick*, appearing upon the Top of a neighbouring Hill with 500 ragged and diſorder'd Men, under *Warwick*'s Standard; and the Northern Men at their Approach crying out, *A* Warwick! *a* Warwick! made the *Welſh* believe all the Rebel Forces were there, and that it would be but fooliſh Deſperation to fight it out againſt an Enemy freſh and ſo far Superior in Number; whereupon they fled.

Earl of *Pembroke*'s Forces utterly defeated.

In the Battle and Flight 5000 of the *Welſh* were ſlain, and among the few Priſoners, the Earl of *Pembroke* and Sir *Richard Herbert* were taken, whoſe Heads ſoon after were ſacrificed upon the Scaffold, to the Ghoſt of *Nevill*. Their Valour and brave Conduct begetting an univerſal Sorrow to the King's Party for their Deaths, and even an Envy in the conquering Enemy. Neither did the Lord *Stafford*, the Author of this Overthrow Eſcape condign Puniſhment: For by diligent Enquiry made by King *Edward*'s Order, being found in (*r*) *Devonſhire*, without legal Proceſs, at *Bridgewater* he loſt his Head. Having ſo inconſiderately manag'd his Buſineſs, that he betray'd King *Edward*'s Army upon a falſe Apprehenſion of an Affront; and yet provided not thereby to win Favour ſo far with the Enemy as by their Arms to protect himſelf from the King's juſt Indignation.

Earl of *Pembroke* and his Brother taken and beheaded.

The Rebels go into *Northamptonſhire*, raiſe the People under *Robin* of *Riddiſdale*, and behead the Earl of *Rivers.*

This Victory added yet a bolder Courage to the Attempt of *Warwick*; but into the Northern Multitude it infuſed a Madneſs, not to be cured by any Counſel or Direction. For immediately ſome Companies of them retired into *Northamptonſhire*, where aſſociating to them certain of the moſt deſperate Inhabitants, no Miſchief was left unacted. The Name they gave their Commander, (if ſuch a diſorder'd Rabble could obey any) was *Robin of Riddiſdale*, and their firſt Aſſault on *Grafton*, a Seat belonging to King *Edward*'s Father-in-Law the Earl of *Rivers*. The Place their wild Rage ſoon poſſeſt, and among the other Spoils violently taken there, were the Earl himſelf, and Sir *John Woodville*, his Younger Son. Theſe they preſently led to *Northampton*, and there beheaded without any Form of Law; that deform'd Body having no ear open to any Diſcourſe but to that of Blood and Fury. An envied Life and cruel Death was the Sum of all thoſe Favours conferr'd by Fortune on this Lord, eſteem'd ſo happy in his own Marriage with *Jaquet*, Widow of *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, and Daughter to *Peter* of *Luxenburgh*, Count St. *Paul*, and in his Daughter's with the preſent King. For as the Aſcent to theſe ſtrange Heights is ever envied, ſo the Deſcent is ruinous and fatal; not any one of Seven Sons which this Lord was Father to, leaving behind him Iſſue to perpetuate his Name; ſome of them likewiſe extinguiſhing violently. A Miſery either ſeldom happening or not obſerv'd in meaner Families.

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This great Defeat, and theſe Inſolencies ſo beyond the Sufferance of a Prince, together with the Earl of *Warwick*'s openly profeſſing himſelf Head to this vaſt Body of Rebels, ſtruck an Aſtoniſhment in the King's Army, and I will not ſay Fear, but ſtrange Diffidence in the King himſelf; which inclin'd him to liſten to the ſafer, though leſs noble Advice of them, who perſwaded him to end all Diſſention with the Earl by Treaty. For in this ſo univerſal Diſeaſe of the Kingdom, there was ſome ſound Men, both of the Clergy and Nobility yet left, whom Faction did not engage in Miſchief, and who out of Experience of paſt Miſeries, were willing to prevent future. By their Mediation (tho' the Armies by this Time were ſo near encamp'd, that they could hardly part without Battle) were every Hour made new Overtures of Peace, and on both Sides not unwillingly receiv'd. The Earl of *Warwick*, (whoſe Pretence was that of all Rebels, *The Good of the Kingdom*) entertain'd theſe Treaties with a Humility beneath his Nature, and late Advantages; neither appear'd ſtubborn to bend down to the loweſt Submiſſion, ſo Proviſion might be made for the publick Benefit. Yet never in all theſe Appearances of a Calm, did he neglect to prepare himſelf againſt the rougheſt Storm of War, knowing the beſt Way to be reconciled upon ſafe Terms to an Enemy, is not to be neceſſitated to Peace.

K. *Edward* ſeeks a Peace with the Earl of *Warwick.*

Warwick's Carriage.

But the King of a pliable Nature, apt to receive any Impreſſions which beſt pleaſed his preſent Humour, would not trouble his Quiet to believe there might be Fallacy in *Warwick*'s Pretenſions. Whereupon, imagining that had receiv'd Perfection which was then but in Agitation, he neglected the Order of War, and began in his Camp to taſte the Pleaſures of Court. Which evil Diſcipline obſerv'd by the Earl, he takes the Advantage, ſuddenly ſets on the King's Field, kills the Watch, and in the dead of Night at *Woollny* within Four Miles of *Warwick*, ſurpriſeth his Perſon, buried in a careleſs Sleep: So that he no ſooner waked but found how falſe his Dream had been, which flatter'd him with Peace.

K. *Edward* neglecting his Guard is taken by the Earl of *Warwick* Priſoner.

This ſo unhappy Negligence betray'd the King to an inſulting Enemy, who upbraided his Priſoner in the moſt inſolent Terms with Ingratitude to his great Merits; and boaſted, *It*

(*r*) He was found at *Brent* near the River *Axe* in *Somerſetſhire*, and carried to *Bridgwater* the next noted Town in that County, and there beheaded. *Hol.*

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was now both in his Power and Reſolution to plain that Mountain he had raiſed, and raiſe the humbled Valley of King Henry's *Fortunes, up to the Throne he once poſſeſt.* And preſently ſent away the King Priſoner to *Middleham*-Caſtle in *Yorkſhire*, there to be kept by his Brother the buſie Archbiſhop of that See; not daring to retain him longer, left his Army might unite, and hazard the Recovery of their Prince.

Earl of *Warwick* upbraids K *Edward* with ingratitude and ſends him Priſoner to *Middleham* Caſtle.

In this middle and unſafe Courſe of managing his great Fortune, queſtionleſs the Earl committed a main Overſight. For either by a free Dilivery with ſome Conditions advantageous to himſelf and Friends, (and what Conditions would the King not then have ſign'd?) he ſhould have caſt a perpetual Obligation upon him, or elſe by deſtroying him, have ſecur'd his Deſign from after Hazard; knowing that no Priſon could hold a Prince, which would not open to Corruption or Battery; and no Brother could have a Faith ſo ſtrong which would not be in Danger to be weakned either by Threats or Promiſes. But perhaps this Way of Policy was only beaten by that Time; and the proud Earl took a Glory to keep the whole Kingdom at his Devotion, and the Two Competitors his Captives; for both of them his Fortune had impriſon'd.

The Earl's impoliticknes in keeping King *Edward.*

King *Edward*'s Eſcape from impriſonment.

But K. *Edward* grew ſoon weary of the Reſtraint, as whom a long Practice in the Liberty of Pleaſure, had not indued with ſuch a Tameneſs as armed King *Henry*: He therefore preſently caſts his Eye about to find ſome Way to redeem his Perſon from Captivity, and his Honour from ſo dark an Error as by Negligence to have been ſurpriz'd. And having upon Pretence of neceſſary Exerciſe for Health, obtain'd Licence to hunt in the adjoyning Park, he ſo contriv'd with Sir *William Stanly* and Sir *Thomas Burgh*, that unexpected they came to his Reſcue with a Number and Reſolution far Superior to thoſe who guarded him. With them he eſcapes to *York*, and ſo to *Lancaſter*, where the Lord *Haſtings*, Lord Chamberlain had gathered ſome Forces. With this Increaſe of Followers he march'd directly to *London*, his Company growing by the Way to ſuch a Body, as might not unworthily be termed an Army.

The City of *London*'s joyful Reception of him.

Into the City he was receiv'd with the accuſtomed Triumph, the Affecton of the Inhabitants being ever devoted to his Proſperity. The Occaſion of which extraordinary Zeal was certainly either a Delight to continue him their Prince, whom their Voices firſt inaugurated King, or a Hope by his Re-eſtabliſhment to recover thoſe vaſt Sums of Money, his Neceſſities heretofore had borrowed in the City; or elſe a general Affection born him by the Merchants Wives, who having (according to the uxorious Humour of our Nation) a Command over their Husbands, urged them on to ſide with that Prince, the Beauty of whoſe Perſonage, not the Juſtice of whoſe Title, mov'd them.

Warwick's Perplexities for his Eſcape and the recalling his Army

But the Earl of *Warwick*, as ſoon as he had Intelligence of the Eſcape, and the Fortune which attended it, was diſtracted with a Thouſand ſeveral Imaginations. He had juſt Reaſon to ſuſpect his Brother the Archbiſhop's Faith, as corrupted by the King's Perſwaſions; as likewiſe the Weight of his own Reputation in the Kingdom, grown lighter by ſo evil managing ſo good a Fortune. He condemn'd the Folly of his too much Confidence, in having disbanded his Army, and knew the Difficulty, if not the Impoſſibility, ſuddenly to reinforce it. But this was the inward Part of him; outwardly he deſcended nothing from the Height of his Greatneſs and Reſolution. And to ſecure his former Deſign, he directed his Letters to all the Lords of his Faction, and adviſed them to reaſſemble for the common Safety.

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Peace endeavoured, and an Interview concluded.

The Solicitation of thoſe good Men, who heretofore had labour'd Peace, continued ſtill; and ſo effectually endeavour'd, that in fine they brought both Parties to agree upon an Interview in *Weſtminſter-Hall*. There was Interchange of Oaths for Safety on both Sides, and nothing but a perfect Re-union of Friendſhip generally expected.

The Breach widened by the Interview, and the War revived.

But no ſooner was the Earl of *Warwick* (who came accompanied by the Duke of *Clarence*) wiſh'd to expreſs his Deſires, but he fell into a bold Expoſtulation of Injuries, and his Language ſwell'd to ſuch Intemperance, ſo far beyond the Limits of that Modeſty becomes a Subject's Mouth; that the King full of Indignation departed the Hall, and immediately took his Journey to *Canterbury*: On the other Side, the Earl, wild in his Anger, poſted to *Lincoln*; both making Preparation for a Second Enterview, when the Sword ſhould both diſpute and decide the Controverſie. Whoever perſwaded theſe Two great Spirits to this Meeting, err'd groſly in Judgment, how zealous ſoever they were in their Intention. For who could poſſibly imagine but the Thunder of War ſhould neceſſarily follow that Storm, which the Recapitulation of Injuries muſt beget? Since Expoſtulations, (unleſs there be ſome apparent Miſtake, or that the one Party by evil Fortune be bowed to an over-low Submiſſion) may well give a Growth to Rancour, but never extirpate it. But Experience condemns all Interviews, till by Commiſſioners (who with more Patience can argue) all Diſſentions are reconcil'd. And moſt of all againſt any between a Prince and his Subject; ſince a Subject hardly contains his Language from Inſolency, when by the diſproportionable Greatneſs of his Fortune he is admitted upon even Terms to conteſt with his Sovereign; and a Prince goes down more than one Step from Majeſty, when he is forc'd to deſcend ſo low, as to hold Parly with a Rebel.

The ill Effect of Interviews.

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Warwick's Party under Sir *Rob. Wills* victorious.

The King underſtanding that the greateſt Part of the Earl's Forces were under the Conduct of Sir *Robert Wells*, and that by his good Diſcipline they were become expert Soldiers, and had done ſome Service againſt Sir *Thomas Burgh*; ſent for *Richard*, Lord *Wells*, his Father, that having Poſſeſſion of him, he might either draw away the Son from *Warwick*, or at leaſt take off the Edge from his violent Proceedings. The Lord *Wells* in Obedience to the King's Command, with his Brother-in-Law Sir *Thomas Dimmock* directed his Journey toward the Court; but having by the Way ſecret Notice of the King's high Diſpleaſure, and how unſafe his Approach would be, ſecured himſelf in Sanctuary. But the King reſolv'd upon any Terms to get him, granted a general Pardon, and receiv'd him with Promiſe of all fair Uſage. Upon which he came forth, and only at his Approach to the King's Preſence, was adviſed by Letters to recal his Son from Rebellion, and himſelf to bear a loyal Heart. Theſe Letters diſpatch'd with as much Authority as a Father could challenge, he remain'd in a kind of Twilight between Favour and Ruin, till the Meſſenger's return: Who, bringing back no Anſwer from the Son in Obedience to his Father's Command, but rather a Juſtification of his Enterprize, ſo far incenſed the King, that he preſently cauſed the Lord *Wells* and *Dimmock* to be beheaded at *Stamford*. An Act barbarous and

The Lord *Wells* not prevailing by Letter with his Son to lay down his Arms, is beheaded.

King *Edward*'s Unfaithfulneſs to his Word.

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and unfaithful! For what juſt Grounds ſoever the King might have to build Suſpicion on, that *Wells* did not effectually perſwade his Son, or that inwardly he wiſh'd better to the Affairs of *Warwick*, yet ought he not to have violated his Word. And it is a moſt poor Excuſe, to ſay a ſudden Rage was guilty of this Miſchief.

Sir *Robert Wells* furious to revenge his Father's Death is beaten, and after beheaded.

The Report of this Execution clouded generally the Reputation of the King, but in Sir *Robert Wells* it begot nothing but Fury and Revenge. And indeed Rage ſo far blinded his Judgment, that contrary to all Perſwaſion and ſober Direction, not attending *Warwick*'s coming, who every Day was expected; he drew out his Forces, and charged the King's Army, who receiv'd him with equal Courage, and (while hope of Vengeance tranſported him too far) incloſed him, and with 67 more took him Priſoner. Upon the Place and in the Flight were ſlain of the Enemy 10000, on the King's Side only 1300, they who eſcap'd, to make their Flight the ſwifter caſt away their Coats, which gave to this Battle the Name of *Looſe-Coat-Field*. The Priſoners immediately were executed, Sir *Robert Wells* having only in his ſhort Delay of Death the longer Liberty to expreſs his Hatred againſt the King and his perfidious Cruelty.

The Earl of *Warwick*'s Flight to *Callis*.

This Overthrow forced *Warwick* to new Reſolutions; for his main Forces by the Precipitation of the Commander being deſtroy'd, he foreſaw that ſuddenly he could not recover an Army able to give the King Battle, and how open to be ſurprized the leaſt interim would render him: Whereupon leiſurely (for his great Spirit diſdain'd any thing that reſembl'd Flight) he retir'd to *Exeter*, whence having diſmiſſed the Remainder of thoſe Troops which attended him, he went to *Dartmouth*, there with many Ladies and a large Retinue he took Ship, and directly ſail'd to *Callis*; while the King no way labour'd either by Land or Sea, to impeach their Journey, either content with the former half-Victory (for nothing could have made it perfect, but the Surpriſal or Deſtruction of *Warwick*) or holding ſo little Intelligence even in a conquer'd Enemy's Cap, that he knew nothing of his preſent Deſign: The Earl having tried as ſtrange a Viciſſitude of Fortune, as in ſo ſhort a Space, was ever obſerv'd in Story, by the Benefit of a proſperous Gale ſoon was brought before *Callis*, where being Captain of the Town he expected Entrance, but the Cannon was preſented him, and no Commiſeration of the Dutcheſs of *Clarence*'s being in Travail, could obtain ſo much as Admittance in her preſent Neceſſity, only the poor Relief of ſome few Flaggons of Wine, was ſent her. Monſieur *de Vanclere* a (*s*) Knight of *Gaſcoiny*, Lieutenant of the Town, thus confidently refuſed his Captain Admiſſion; profeſſing, that however he ow'd his preſent Command to *Warwick*'s Bounty, his Loyalty to the King did cancel all inferiour Obligations: By which Bravery of Carriage he won ſo great Reputation with the King and the Duke of *Burgundy* (who ever hated the factious Pride of *Warwick*, and even from the Beginning of theſe Troubles had labour'd to continue *Vanclere* firm in his Allegiance) that from the King he received by Letters Patents the Captainſhip of *Callis* in chief, and from the Duke an annual Penſion of 1000 Crowns during Life. Into thus much Honour and Profit did Diſſimulation work him, (*t*) yet a Friend to *Warwick*, while under-Hand by the Subtilty of Council he ſteer'd the Earl of *Warwick* to Safety, and by falſe-appearing Fidelity betray-ed his Prince: For he aſcertain'd the Earl of his good Intentions to his Affairs; and that even now, but that he knew it could not but be ruinous to both, he would declare himſelf for him. For if the Earl entred the Town he would only impriſon his Perſon, to be detain'd till the King were pleaſed to command it forth to Execution. Conſidering that the Inhabitants were but unſure Friends, and the Lord of *Duras*, the Earl's profeſt Enemy, Marſhal of all the Forces in the Town. Moreover the *Burgundian* Territories encompaſſed *Callis* by Land, and their Fleet was in Readineſs to block it up by Sea, ſo that no Way would be open to his Eſcape: Wherefore he adviſed him for his preſent Security and future Hopes, preſently to addreſs himſelf to King *Lewis* of *France*, who was ever ready to entertain any Lord of another Nation in Quarrel with his Prince. But above all would welcom the Earl both in regard of the near Intelligence he had long held with him, and the Hatred he bore King *Edward* for affronting the Lady *Bona*, and the Duke of *Burgundy* for ſo often confederating with the Rebels of *France*.

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Monſieur *Vanclere* adviſes *Warwick* to apply himſelf to *Lewis* King of *France*.

By this Counſel the Earl of *Warwick* ſteer'd his Courſe to *Deep*, by the Way making Prize of whatever appertain'd to the Duke of *Burgundy* or his Subjects. And no ſooner was he landed there, but he was moſt ſolemnly invited to the Caſtle of *Amboys* (*u*), where King *Lewis* then kept his Court. The Ceremony (ſhort ever with Men of Buſineſs) paſt over at the firſt Meeting, ſuddenly they entred into Council how to renew the War, and reſtore King *Henry*; whoſe Re-eſtabliſhment in the Kingdom *Lewis* ever moſt paſſionately urg'd, not in Reſpect of the near Alliance, Commiſeration of his long Troubles, or Opinion of his better Title; but only becauſe he knew him inferiour in Courage to King *Edward*, and therefore the leſs dangerous Neighbour; and probably while any of the Houſe of *York* remain'd, civil War likely to keep the *Engliſh* Arms buſied at Home. Wherefore by his Importunity Queen *Margaret* (who hitherto had liv'd an Exile in *France*, and now upon the King's Invitation came to Court) was perfectly reconcil'd to the Earl of *Warwick*. *Warwick*, who before had chaſed her out of the Land, dethron'd her Husband, and opprobriouſly impriſon'd him, cut off the many Branches, and almoſt pluck'd up the very Root of the Tree of *Lancaſter*: But Neceſſity took away the Sting from Nature, and united them in the neareſt Friendſhip. For that there might not be left any Footſteps of former Diſcontent or Path to future Jealouſly, a Marriage was concluded and celebrated between Prince *Edward* the Queen's Son, and the Lady *Anne*, younger Daughter to the Earl. And on this Marriage was agreed that King *Edward* ſhould be depoſed, King *Henry* re-inthroned, the Crown to be entail'd upon Prince *Edward*, and for Default of his Iſſue, to come to the Duke of *Clarence* and his Poſterity: By which Conveyance human Policy did her Part to perpetuate the Succeſſion of the Kingdom in the Poſterity of *Warwick*. But the Almighty made a Mockery of this *Babel*, which fell ſoon to Ruin by Self-diviſion and Confuſion, not of Languages but Affections. For the Duke of *Clarence* began now to

K. *Lewis* of *France* receives the Earl of *Warwick* gladly.

Q. *Margaret* reconcil'd to the Earl of *Warwick*.

P. *Edward* marry'd to the Earl of *Warwick*'s younger Daughter.

K. *Edward* endeavours not to hinder him.

Warwick deny'd Entrance into *Callis* by *Vanclere*.

Monſieur *Vanclere* made Governor of *Callis* by King *Edward*.

(*s*) He was hardly prevail'd upon to let Two Flaggons of Wine be ſent to her. *Com.*

(*t*) *Philip de Comines* took an Oath of Fidelity of him to King *Edward* by Appointment of his Maſter the Duke of *Burgundy*.

(*u*) Whither came alſo *Jaſper Tudor*, Earl of *Pembroke*, and *John*, Earl of *Oxford*.

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consider how by following the Earl's desperate Counsels, he had gain'd nothing but the Conscience of an unnatural Revolt, and how ruin'd he were if the Success of this Enterprize should not be Prosperous, and if Prosperous how upon the Destruction of a Brother, he had built himself a less Greatness than he might have enjoy'd, without Sin or Hazzard; there being a vast Distance between the Nearness of two Sons of one Mother, and only Husbands to two Sisters: Neither had he any sure Ground for Confidence, that when King *Henry* were restored, hereditary Malice might not prevail, and destroy him for the Crime of his Family. And now more than ever he found himself declin'd, being forced to submit not only to *Warwick*, but to a new young Prince; having before acknowledg'd no Superiour but the King and him a Brother. Neither was the Dutchess of *Clarence* her self a weak Engine, on which this Alteration moved. For however, as a Daughter she might wish Prosperity to the Attempts of *Warwick*; yet ever since the last Agreement of Reinvesting the House of *Lancaster* in the Kingdom, she found in her Mind a strange Alienation from the Faction. And indeed either she began to dislike the Variety of her Father's Resolutions, as whom Ambition led violently to build and pluck down, or in Conscience thought the Justice of the Claim was wholly in King *Edward*; having in her Childhood (and those Impressions are ever deepest) been instructed to affect the House of *York*, and approve the Title: Or (and that is the most probable in a Woman) she envied perhaps the Preferment of a younger Sister, hating that Fortune should throw down the Priority of Nature. However, it was, yet certainly by her Means King *Edward* labour'd to recal his Brother, and though not suddenly, yet in the End prevail'd: For having sent over a Gentlewoman (her Sex took away Suspicion from the Practice) with full Instructions both to advise the Dutchess not to work the Ruin, or at best the lessenning of her Husband by those Counsels held then between Queen *Margaret* and the Earl of *Warwick*, as likewise to promise (if she perswaded her Husband) to him and her as much Love and Greatness as the Tie of Nature, and so great a Merit might justly challenge: He in fine got a Promise, that as soon as the Duke were disintangled from his present Engagements, he would declare the natural Affection he owed a Brother.

Duke of *Clarence* relents, and condemns his joyning with *Warwick*.

The Dutchess of *Clarence* discontented

K. *Edward* by the Dutchess of *Clarence* draws off his Brother from *Warwick*'s Side.

This weak Hope, with the late Victory and seeming Banishment of his Enemies, loosened King *Edward* to his accustom'd Wantonness and Riot. For certainly, never lived Prince whom Adversity did more harden to Action, and Prosperity more soften to Voluptuousness: So that by the Jugdment on his Life, we may say, like a Stone cast into the Air, he was by Necessity forced up to Glory while his Center remain'd beneath in the Sense of Pleasure: And so improvident was his Memory, that he forgot the greatest Injuries, and resumed the Archbishop of *York* into Favour, not bearing so much as a watchful Eye over a reconcil'd Enemy: By which his Counsels were betray'd and he perswaded to a false and most dangerous Security.

King *Edward*'s voluptuous Nature and Unwariness.

But the Duke of *Burgundy*, whose Recreation was Business, and whose Delight, Extent of Dominion; who by having long wrastled with *Lewis* XI. had learnt all the Slights of War and Peace, labour'd to disperse the Storm before it fell upon *England*. Whereupon he daily advertised King *Edward* of all Passages in the Court of *France*, his Intelligence holding good there, and who knew how near Danger came to him, should our King be overthrown. He advised him by vast Promises (which no way oblig'd Performance) to win some, and sowing the poysonous Seed of Emulation, to recal others: As likewise to send over some great Lord into *France*, who pretending Discontent, shall adhere to the Faction, and under-hand discover all their Counsels. But above all he sollicited him to rig up and set forth his Navy whereby to prevent their landing: Affirming it to be a most ridiculous Madness in a King (unless urged by inevitable Necessity) to stake his Crown at a Battle against the Resolution of a Rebel.

Duke of *Burgundy* endeavours to hinder it, but could not.

The King, contrary to this sober Counsel never endeavour'd to hinder the Return of *Warwick*, but building on the Protestations of the Marques *Mountacute*, and the Archbishop of *York*, securely gave himself over to Licentiousness. In which Interm, the Earl with his Retinue, conducted by the Bastard of *Bourbon*, Admiral of *France*, sail'd back into *England*, King *Lewis* having furnish'd him with a full supply of Monies; and for Soldiers he needed no Foreign Levies, his Name and Faction was so great at Home: For though the Country by Civil War was much dispeopled, yet the Commonalty, being for the most part born and bred up in Tumults, were naturally addicted to Arms, and prone upon any Innovations to take the Field. Neither could the Duke of *Burgundy*, though most passionately he labour'd it, hinder the Earl's landing by giving him Battle at Sea; for the Winds fought for *Warwick* and dispersed the *Burgundian* Fleet (the best in that Age commanded upon the Sea) casting some Ships upon the Coast of *Scotland*, others upon the remotest Parts of *Holland*.

K. Edward misguided suffers *Warwick* to land.

Neither did the King any way repent his Error when he understood the Earl was landed, but presently dispatched a Messenger to the Duke of *Burgundy* intreating him to continue his Army at Sea, to prevent *Warwick*'s Flight back into *France*, as if he were ascertain'd Fortune would never deny him Victory. So secure was he grown by an over-bold Presumption, the Bastard-Daughter of a long Prosperity. But they whom Experience had instructed to more Caution, pitied his Mistake and foresaw his Ruin. And he himself not long after understanding how mightily the Earl increased in Power, began to think his Safety brought into Hazard; which he much more believ'd when he found the Nobility, whom he summon'd to his Aid to excuse themselves, and the common Stream of People to depart wholly from his Service.

King *Edward*'s Confidence in Subjects, deceiv'd.

Dr. *Goddiard* justifies the Earl of *Warwick*'s Proceedings.

And indeed, even in the City the adverse Faction was grown so strong, that Dr. *Goddiard*, Chaplain to the Earl, at St. *Paul*'s Cross in his Sermon dared even to act the Herald, and conclude *Edward* an Usurper. And thereupon to commend the most religious Intentions of the Earl, and to exhort the Audience to joyn with him in restoring their imprison'd Sovereign King *Henry* to his Scepter, and the Commonwealth to Liberty; and the like did most of the Clergy of *England*.

The People drawn to Rebellion by his Sermon.

The credulous Multitude took this Heresie for true Doctrine, and with some of the zealously ignorant, it so far prevail'd, that in pure Devotion they committed High-Treason. But would to God the Pulpit might only speak Things Sacred; Matters of State having room enough to be discussed in Council-Chambers, and other

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other Places erected for publick Aſſemblies. For certainly how erroneous ſoever the Tenet be, if utter'd there by a Prieſt with Appearance of Religion, it gets too much Authority in the Ear, and too much Ground upon the Conſcience, as this Opinion did, which was no ſooner receiv'd, but all began to incline to Revolt; and with the firſt got away the late reconcil'd Arch-biſhop, and the Marqueſs *Mountacute* his Brother; both having ſo often and ſo ceremoniouſly vowed never to forſake the Title of King *Edward*, and both now perfidiouſly breaking thoſe Vows, and with the loudeſt crying out. *Long live King* Henry.

A general Revolt from King *Edward.*

The Treachery of *Mountacute*, who having raiſed in K. *Edward*'s Name 6000 Men, turn'd now with them to *Warwick*, and the general Defection of the Land threw the King down into extream Deſpair. For thoſe few Lords who conſtantly adher'd to his declining Fortune, commanded over ſo ſmall a Number, that to reſolve upon a Battle were to betray themſelves to Slaughter: And when Misfortune drove their Thoughts upon Safety by Flight, they knew not whither to reſolve: No Land being willing to receive that Prince, who is forced to flie his own. But while his Imaginations remain'd thus confuſed, he had hardly eſcap'd a Surprize in the Night, had not his former Misfortune ſerved him now for Inſtruction: And finding his Stay only begot Diſreputation to his Quarrel, and Danger to his Perſon, he began his Flight towards *Lincolnſhire*. But the Earl ſent after him his Light-horſe, following with the whole Body of his Army; and ſo cloſe did the Light-horſe purſue him, that with much Difficulty, and with Loſs of all his Carriages in his Paſſage through the *Waſhes* he reach'd *Linn*. The Queen, who was the Cauſe of theſe Alterations, ſeeing her Husband gone, and with him all hopes of Safety, all Friends vaniſhing with Proſperity, was forced to betake her ſelf in all haſte, though great with Child, to the Divine Protection in the Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*, with a ſmall Attendance; ſuch as were faithful to her running to other Churches for the like Protection.

King *Edward's* Flight, and hard Eſcape.

Lord *Haſtings* accompanies King *Edward* in his loweſt Fortunes.

The Lord *Haſtings*, faithful to the King in all Fortunes, and who had yet 300 Horſe under his Command, ſtay'd ſome ſhort Time behind; and now when he imagin'd the King paſt the reach of emminent Danger, he diſmiſſed his Forces and followed after. At parting he commended the Faith of the Soldiers to their Prince, which nevertheleſs for the Preſent he adviſed them to diſſemble, becauſe there was no preſent Security, nor Hope of doing after Service, but by Submiſſion to the prevailing Faction. E're long he promiſed to Return, when a better Fortune would invite them to ſhow the Loyalty of their Affections; the Violence of the Storm being too mighty to continue, and King *Edward* in Faction at Home and Abroad too potent, ſo eaſily to quit a Kingdom; however for the preſent he withdrew himſelf a while.

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King *Edward's* Eſcape by Sea into *Holland*, and Danger in it.

Having exhorted thus his Soldiers, he obey'd Neceſſity, and by ſpeedy Flight went after the King: Who having hired Three Ships, one of *England* and two of *Holland*, preſently embarked, having in his Company the Duke of *Glouceſter*, the Earl *Rivers*, the Lords *Scales* and *Say*, and in Retinue about One Thouſand (*x*). As ſoon as they were put to Sea, the King encountered Dangers as great as he had eſcap'd at Land. For the *Eaſterlings* (a People ever famed for Sea Affairs, and then at Enmity both with *France* and *England*) had ſet forth not long before ſome Men of War; who having deſcry'd theſe Ships, and gueſſing them to be *Engliſh*, made Sail after them. The King by Benefit of the Wind got firſt to the Coaſt of *Holland*, and in regard it was Ebbingwater caſt Anchor ſo near the Shore, the *Eaſterlings* (being Ships of far greater Burthen) could not reach them: But the next Tide infallibly had expoſed them a Prize to the Enemy, had not the Lord *Gronteere*, Lieutenant for the Duke in *Holland* by mere Accident been at that time at *Alquemare*, a Sea-Town cloſe joyning to them. He as ſoon as he underſtood by a Meſſenger ſent from King *Edward*, that thoſe Three ſmall Veſſels carried in them the Fortune of *England*, commanded the *Eaſterlings* to forbear Hoſtility, and licenſe thoſe Paſſengers a quiet landing. And preſently himſelf came Aboard the King's Ship, expreſſing in the Obſequiouſneſs of his Reſpects as much Ceremony and Love, as was due to ſo great a Majeſty, and the Brother-in-law to his Prince. And no ſooner had he attended the King Aſhore, and found how unprovided of all Things neceſſary, the Suddenneſs of his Flight had made him and his Followers; but he furniſh'd him and them according to their Quality and Want. For the King's Eſcape was ſo haſty, that not only his Apparel and other Furniture were loſt or left behind, but even his Treaſure: So that to defray the Charge of his Tranſportation he was neceſſitated to give the Maſter of the Ship a Gown furr'd with Martins: and remain beholden to the Lord *Gronteere* for his Expences to the *Hague*, whither he was conducted to expect the coming of the Duke. Who as ſoon as he had perfect Knowledge of the King's ſo ruinous Succeſs in *England*, and Arrival in *Holland* as to a Sanctuary, began to repent his ſo near Alliance, and caſt about how to cloſe with the adverſe Faction. And now indeed his Time was to act the moſt cunning part of Subtilty, by endeavouring to retain the good Opinion of his Brother-in-law, and yet ſecure himſelf from Hoſtility with the Earl of *Warwick*. Whereupon before ever he came to the *Hague* he diſpatch'd his Agent to *Callis*, to ſhow the chief Men of the Town, that the Peace heretofore concluded between King *Edward* and himſelf, was no way perſonal: But between whatſoever Princes ſhould rule in either Dominions, and betwixt Nation and Nation, and therefore by no Change of King or length of Time diſſolvable. Upon which Conſideration he intreated (for loth he was at the ſame Time to wreſtle both with *France* and *England*) that the Name of *Edward* might be chang'd into *Henry*, and the former League continue ſacred as before.

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The Lord *Gronteere*'s Kindneſs to King *Edward* in his Eſcape.

Duke of *Burgundy* wavering in his Friendſhip to King *Edward.*

The unſettled State of *England*, and the univerſal Deſires of the Merchants of the Staple at *Callis*, ſoon effected the Duke's Purpoſe. For they who had continual Traffick into the *Low Countries*, and vented all their Wool to the Subjects of the Duke, had been diſabled to pay their uſual Tribute to the King, if free Intercourſe had been denied. Whereupon unwilling to diſcontent and impoveriſh ſo great a Body at home, and too haſtily to run into a dangerous Quarrel with a moſt potent Enemy abroad, the Earl for the preſent diſſembled his inveterate Hatred, and recall'd his Soldiers who had ſpoiled all the Duke's Territory bordering upon *Callis*. And that the Duke might make himſelf

Duke of *Burgundy* courts a Friendſhip with K. *Henry* and his Party.

(*x*) Seven Hundred Perſons.

ſtrong

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ſtrong in a Faction potent with the preſent Time, he renew'd his Friendſhip with the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Exeter*, whom he ſolicited earneſtly to endear him to King *Henry*, and revive in him the Memory of their ſo near Kindred. To acquaint him how zealous himſelf and his Father had ever been for the Honour and Safety of the Family of *Lancaſter*, in which himſelf did ſo much participate. As likewiſe to promiſe all the perfect Offices of a Confederate and Neighbour, if ſo be that his Faithful Intentions might receive a true Interpretation.

Duke of *Burgundy* accepted into Friendſhip with K. *Henry.*

This did the Dukes voluntarily offer to negotiate; *Somerſet* in reſpect of Propinquity in Blood, *Exeter*, of thoſe many Favours receiv'd in the *Low Countries* during his ſo miſerable Exile: Both out of an extream Malice to the Earl of *Warwick*, who had ſubverted their Families, and to whoſe Aid, they envied the King ſhould owe his Reſtitution. And eaſily was the Duke brought upon good Terms with King *Henry*; his Neighbourhood and Friendſhip being of ſo notable Conſequence, and the very Appearance of diſclaiming the adverſe Party (what ſecret Aid ſoever he afforded) being ſo diſadvantageous to any Pretence King *Edward* might have to renew the War.

Duke of *Burgundy* keeps fair with K. *Edward*, who was then in his Court.

This Aſpect, full of a ſmiling Flattery, did the Duke of *Burgundy* bear to the preſent Fortune of the State. While upon King *Edward* he caſt ſuch a ſupercilious Look, as the World's wiſe Men uſually do upon Men in Adverſity. Often ſharply he reprehended his ſo great Careleſneſs and Neglect of wholeſome Advice, which had ruin'd him, and obliged him to this ſo wretched Flight. He objected the much Contempt this Misfortune would throw upon his Quarrel, and how loth Friends would be to adhere to his preſent Neceſſities, ſince he knew ſo ill to manage Proſperity. Yet remembring that hereafter there might happily be a Change in Fortune, he often chang'd his Humour, and amid theſe Reprehenſions mingled ſome paſſionate Complements of Love. He proteſted ſeriouſly that he wiſh'd all Happineſs to his Affairs, to advance which he would neglect no Induſtry; yet he deſired his Pardon if for the preſent he diſſembled, conſidering it might at once draw on a War from his Two moſt dangerous Neighbours, *England* and *France*; againſt both which Nations ſhould he be neceſſitated to a Quarrel, he ſhould be very unable to defend himſelf, much leſs to ſerve another. And when a Proclamation was ſet forth by the Duke, prohibiting his Subjects any way to aid the Pretences of King *Edward* or his Faction, and that it was with much Indignation receiv'd by the King, he proteſted the Intention of it to be only to betray King *Henry* to an unſafe Security, that in the interim he might without Suſpicion levy a greater Aid for his Deſigns. K. *Edward* (whom a ſhort Adverſity had already inſtructed much) appeared to take the falſe Coin of theſe Excuſes for currant, and by Example of the Duke, practiſed to diſſemble. But after this Time it was noted, that he never bore the Duke ſo ſincere Affection as before. Princes beſt maintain a near Friendſhip by keeping at large Diſtance; Jealouſie and Emulation take their Growth with Familiarity, and if either be neceſſitated to demand Supply, Reaſon of State oftentimes weakens Love, and roots up good Nature.

K. *Edward* hates the Duke of *Burgundy* for his Diſſimulation.

To increaſe King *Edward*'s Diſcontent abroad, no News came from *England* but what ſpoke abſolute Ruin to his Hopes. For tho' here he heard firſt the Comfort of his being Father to a Son, Prince *Edward*, yet was this Son born poorly in Sanctuary, and chriſtned without the Ceremonies belonging to a Prince, and if Fortune beyond Expectation alter'd not, Heir apparent only to his Father's Miſery. Neither did that wild Inſurrection of the Men of *Kent*, which enſued preſently upon his Flight, effect any Thing, or ſo much as openly pretend for King *Edward*. But ſome diſorder'd Companies gathered into one, hoped to fiſh fair in the troubled Stream of the Kingdom, and by the Advantage of the preſent Diſtraction of State to purchaſe Treaſure to themſelves. Whereupon they directed their March (if ſuch Stragglers can be ſaid to march) towards *London*; where by the Earl of *Warwick* and the Lord Mayor they were ſoon ſuppreſt, and ſome for the general Terror, made Examples in their Puniſhment, which much raiſed the Reputation of the Earl. But after this all Things tended preſently to Quiet, and K. *Henry* being ſet at Liberty, (*y*) went in ſolemn Proceſſion to St. *Paul*'s Church, the Clergy, Nobility and Commonalty re-acknowledging all Obedience to him. And, as if there were left no Memory of King *Edward*, or Hope to re-eſtabliſh his Title, every Man addreſs'd himſelf to King *Henry*, and all his former Servants recover'd their loſt Honours and Places. But that this might not appear to be the Act of Faction, but the univerſal Conſent of the Kingdom, a Parliament was ſummon'd (*z*); wherein nothing was denied, which the prevailing Party thought fit to be authoriz'd.

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King *Edward*'s bad Condition in *England*, and Prince *Edward*'s Birth.

An Inſurrection of the *Kentiſh* Men.

K. *Henry* ſet at Liberty.

A Parliament eſtabliſhes K. *Henry*, and diſinherits K. *Edward*, and condemns his Claim to the Crown.

King *Edward* therefore and all his Adherents were attainted of High Treaſon, their Lands and Goods confiſcated. He and his Poſterity for ever diſabled to inherit not only the Crown, but any other hereditary Eſtate; his Claim to the Kingdom rejected as a moſt unjuſt Pretenſion, and his former Government condemn'd as of a tyrannous Uſurper. And that there might be a great Example of their Juſtice, *John Tiptoft*, Earl of *Worceſter*, Lord High Conſtable of *England*, and Lord Deputy of *Ireland* (having been apprehended in the Forreſt of *Waibridge*, on the Top of a high Tree, which expreſſed the Precipice of his Fortune) was on the *Tower Hill* beheaded.

Earl of *Worceſter* beheaded

Next they proceeded to entail the Crown upon King *Henry* and his Heirs Males, for Default of which, to *George*, Duke of *Clarence*, and his Heirs for ever. By which Intail, the Earl of *Warwick* ſhew'd not only the Extent, but the Inſolency of Greatneſs, as if the Title of the Kingdom appertain'd to them, who were neareſt in Alliance to him, not next in Blood to the Crown. For if the Juſtice of *Lancaſter*'s Claim had the Preheminence for want of Iſſue of King *Henry*, why ſhould not the Sovereignty fall to the Duke of *Somerſet*? Or if that Line were crooked in reſpect of Baſtardy, why not to the Houſe of *Portugal*, without any Blemiſh deſcending from *John* of *Gaunt*? Or if the Houſe of *York* had the better Title, why was *George*, Duke of *Clarence* then ſet down but Second in the Intail? Or if the Right were in *Warwick* himſelf (for his Power order'd and diſorder'd all) why was the Kingdom to deſcend firſt of all to the Younger Daughter? But prepoſterous Ambition never knew how to give an Account to Reaſon.

The Crown entailed by Parliament.

Then were the Earls of *Oxford*, *Pembroke*, and many others reſtor'd to their Eſtates and Titles, and the Duke of *Clarence* (that greater

(*y*) On the Twelfth of *October*.
(*z*) The Twenty ſixth of *November*.

Hopes

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And laſtly, the Government of the King and Kingdom committed to the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick*; ſo that King *Henry* (in whoſe beſt of Fortune it was never to poſſeſs more than the Name of King) ſeem'd not to be ſet at Liberty, but only to have changed his Keeper, and get his Priſon ſomewhat more enlarged. But Queen *Margaret* and Prince *Edward*, tho' by the Earl recall'd, found their Fate and the Winds ſo adverſe, that they could not land in *England*, to taſte this running Banquet to which Fortune had invited them. And ſtaid ſo long by Neceſſity; that Diſcretion inſtructed them, in the End there was no Hope of Felicity, ſcarce of Safety in their Return.

The Government put into the Duke of Clarence and Earl of Warwick's Hands.

The Re-eſtabliſhment of King *Henry* in the Kingdom by the univerſal Acclamation of the Parliament, and the general Silence of the other Faction, no Man ſo much as mentioning the Title of *York*, cool'd that Fervour of Reſpect with which the Duke of *Burgundy* had at firſt embraced King *Edward*; eſpecially when the Treaſon of *Monſieur Vauclere* was apparent: For of *Callis*, both the King and the Duke ever thought themſelves ſecure, he having declared himſelf ſo faithfully, and they rewarded him ſo liberally. But now the Traitor turned his Inſide outward, and with the loudeſt proclaim'd his Joy for the Proſperity of *Warwick*: And ſo far did the Vanity of his former Services betray him, that he boaſted even his Treaſon for Merit. And whatever Meſſages the King ſent to him, he rejected with Scorn, to whoſe more notable Affront, he wore enamel'd in his Hat, the Bear and ragged Staff, the Earl's Cognizance.

Vauclere revolts from K. Edward to the Earl of Warwick.

The Neglect which accompanied his Adverſity, made the King weary of any further Dependances, and urge the Duke to have Licence for departing. For although the Dutcheſs neglected no Duty of a Siſter, and woo'd him moſt paſſionately to a longer Stay, yet ſo little had his Fortune inſtructed him to Patience, that neither Love nor Fright of Danger could detain him longer. For the Duke was diſtemper'd with ſuch an Ague of Diſcourteſie, that thoſe Fits which before came but every Third or Fourth Day, became now Quotidian; neither knew the King to how high and dangerous a Malice the Diſeaſe in Time might riſe. His Importunity therefore in the End prevail'd, and under Hand obtain'd a large Supply of Money, and ſome Men. Four great Ships of *Holland*, and Fourteen of the *Eaſterling*'s Men of War well arm'd, he hired for the Tranſportation of his Forces; which conſiſted of the *Engliſh* who accompanied him in his Flight, and had eſcaped over after him, and 2000 *Dutch* Men. With the Ships he covenanted, that they ſhould ſerve him till Fifteen Days after his landing; and to the *Dutch* Soldiers he gave ſuch large Promiſes, that they vowed their Lives to the greateſt Cruelty of his Fortune.

K. Edward obtains Leave to depart, and an Aſſiſtance of Men and Money from the Duke of Burgundy.

King Edward's Forces.

At *Ravenſpur* in *Yorkſhire* he landed (*a*), where the People naturally devoted to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, (ſhewed in the Malice of their Looks, what evil Luck they wiſh'd him) tho' they wanted Courage with their Arms to oppoſe him.

His Landing in Yorkſhire.

Which ſo diſmal Aſpect made him more wary in his March to *York*, fearing it might preſage the general Riſing of the Country. But when he came thither, and found the Citizens ſo well pleaſed with the preſent State, and ſo in their Opinion confirm'd for King *Henry*, he began to deſpair the Recovery of the Crown. And in that Reſolution, perceiving them obſtinate beyond any Hope of Remove, faſhion'd his Behaviour by a new Art, pretending he came to recover his Dukedom and Eſtate. Whereupon, tho' he could not move them to Obedience by the Authority of his unqueſtion'd Right to the Crown, yet by relation of his preſent Calamity, he perſwaded them to Compaſſion. So that whom they refuſed to ſerve as King, which had been an Act of Loyalty, they condeſcended to aid as Duke of *York*, which was abſolute Rebellion. It being High Treaſon in a Subject, tho' never ſo apparently injur'd, to ſeek his Remedy by Arms. And by the Senſe of his own Misfortunes, he made his Oratory ſo powerful, that all began to exclaim againſt the Injuſtice of the laſt Parliament, in conferring the Dutchy of *York*, which by Right of Primogeniture belonged to *Edward*, upon his Second Brother *George*, Duke of *Clarence*. Which Act could not be imagin'd, freely granted by the Parliament, but extorted by the overgreat Sway of *Warwick*: And had *Edward* by Uſurpation of the Crown, deſerv'd ſo heavy an Attainder, he might yet quit himſelf from the Crime, having been excited thereunto, not by his own ambitious Deſire of Reign, but by the Inſtigation of *Warwick*; who no longer would ſuffer the Government of his King, than the King knew how to obey his inſolent Direction; and who had thus planted and ſupplanted Princes, not out of Love to Juſtice, but only thereby to tranſplant the Sovereignty into his own Family.

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The Citizens of York aſſiſt King Edward to recover his Honour and Eſtate, but not the Crown.

Thus the Commonalty argued for *Edward*, and made him yet partake in the Fortune of a Prince, by not permitting him to bear the Burthen of his own Faults; and that he might recover the Dutchy belonging to his Family, many Perſons of Power and Name reſorted to him, he ſolemnly ſwearing never to attempt hereafter the Re-obtaining of the Kingdom. The ſame Oath ſwore *Henry* of *Bullinbrook*, when pretending to the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, he landed in the North, and arm'd againſt King *Richard*, which he broke as *Edward* after did upon the like advantage. So that with Humility we ought to wonder at the Judgments of the Almighty, who permitted Perjury now to unbuild the Greatneſs of *Lancaſter*, which at firſt was built by Perjury.

K. Edward ſwears not to attempt to recover the Crown.

K. Edward ſwore on the Holy Sacrament he would not attempt the Crown.

Leaving therefore a Garriſon in *York* (a ſafe Retreat upon the worſt Occaſion) he march'd towards *London*; about which Place he had ever found his Fortune moſt kind and proſperous. And confidently led on his Forces (which could not deſerve the Name of an Army) although the Marqueſs *Mountacute* with a far ſuperior Power lay then at *Pomfret* to hinder his Journey. Nigh which when King *Edward* came expecting Battle; *Mountacute* who had both Ability and Opportunity to have deſtroy'd him, let him quietly paſs, not permitting any Act of Hoſtility to be ſhow'd, or Advantage taken.

K. Edward marches to London by Marqueſs Mountacute's Permiſſion.

This groſs Over-ſight in ſo abſolute a Commander receiv'd ſeveral Interpretations, according to the Complexion of the Men who diſcourſed it. The more Religious who favoured K. *Edward*'s Title thought Almighty God, intending to ſet the Crown upon the Right Head, had infatuated the Counſels of his Enemies: The more Vulgar judg'd it Cowardize in the Marqueſs which durſt not fight againſt that Majeſty for which he had ſo often fought, and

Mountacute's Act variouſly interpreted.

His March to York.

(*a*) On the Twelfth of *March*.

againſt

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againſt a Prince who had never been in Battle but Victorious: But the more indifferent eſteem'd it a piece of over-cunning (which in the Event is ever Folly) to let his Forces paſs, whereby after he might incloſe him between his and his Brother's Army, and ſo without Hazard deſtroy him, or elſe ſome Intelligence which ſecretly he held with K. *Edward* to whoſe Love and Benefits he owed ſo much. Whence this Miſtake proceeded, I will not diſpute, but certainly it ſerv'd well to the King's Purpoſe and Safety; and receiv'd from the Earl of *Warwick* and his Faction no other Name than that of Falſhood and Treaſon.

King *Edward's* Army mightily increaſed, and the claims the Crown.

King *Edward* was no ſooner paſt this Danger, but many of the Nobility with mighty Forces repair'd to him at *Nottingham*, either deſirous of another Revolution of State, not having found their Expectation anſwer'd in the laſt; or directed by their better Angel to adhere to that Side which ever was more juſt, and ſuddenly more likely to be more fortunate. But before they would ſolemnly declare themſelves, they intreated and ſoon prevail'd with him to caſt off the poor Intention to a Dutchy, and lay his Challenge to, what was his Inheritance, the Kingdom. For it would leſſen, even to Contempt, the great Reputation of his Birth and former Victories, to let the People perceive that a ſhort Eclipſe of Fortune had made him fall ſo low, as to depoſe himſelf from the Royalty. Neither could they juſtifie their taking Arms to ſettle a Subject in his Inheritance. Since the Law is open to end ſuch Controverſies, and if he would ſubject himſelf to the Law, the laſt Parliament, had for ever diſabled him from any ſuch Claim.

K. *Edward* haſtens to fight the Earl of *Warwick*.

Weaker Arguments would have been of Power enough to have perſwaded his great Spirit; but by theſe he was confirm'd in his own Thoughts; and ſo being proclaim'd King, with that Title, and a full Army he march'd directly to *Coventry* (*b*) fierce in his Deſire to give *Warwick* Battle, who lay there encamp'd. But no Provocation could bring him from his Trenches, knowing his Army divided, and thoſe Forces he had there under his Command, unequal to maintain Fight with the King. For the Marqueſs *Mountacute* was not yet return'd from the North, and the Duke of *Clarence*, tho' often and earneſtly ſollicited excuſed himſelf, and kept his Power apart. So reſerv'd a way in them, made *Warwick* begin to hold both in Suſpicion; but moſt of all *Clarence*, whoſe Forces were ſo near and in ſo good Order, that there could be no Excuſe but in the Unpreparedneſs of his Mind.

K. *Edward* and the Duke of *Clarence* reconcild.

The King therefore perceiving nothing could force *Warwick* upon uneven Terms to fight, march'd againſt *Clarence*, and as ſoon as he drew near, both Armies prepared for the Encounter: But as a Plot in a well-contriv'd Comedy is ſo cunningly wrought, that it diſcovers not it ſelf till the laſt Scene, and then Expectation acknowledges her ſelf deluded by Invention. So this Reconciliation between the Brothers agreed on long before, on the ſudden now broke forth when all outward Appearances threaten'd Hoſtility. For the Duke of *Glouceſter* and other Lords ſeeming to abhor the inhuman Nature of the prepared Battle, paſt often formally between the Brothers, and urg'd them by all Reſpects both Religious and Politick to prevent a Quarrel ſo ruinous and ſo ſcandalous to both; wherein the Triumph could not be but almoſt the Deſtruction of the Conqueror. After much Mediation and much ſeeming Reluctancy, that was in the end concluded, which had long before been reſolv'd on: And the Duke of *Clarence* ſubmitting himſelf to King *Edward*, brought with him all thoſe Forces which upon *Warwick*'s Reputation, much more than upon his own, he had raiſed. But that in this Agreement he might not appear to forget the Office of a Son-in-law and a Friend, he jointly with the King ſent to intreat the Earl to enter League with them; for Confirmation of that Title which himſelf had firſt defended, and to avoid the Effuſion of ſo much Blood as this Quarrel muſt neceſſarily draw. For Conditions he himſelf ſhould ſet down his own, knowing he would be ſo rational in his Demands, as to require nothing above the Decorum of a Subject to ask, or a Prince to grant.

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Peace offer'd the Earl of *Warwick*.

Warwick refuſes to ſubmit to an Agreement.

But *Warwick* had a Spirit too ſtubborn to bow to any Conditions, which himſelf had not been the firſt Propoſer of; and as an Injury threw back all Offers of Courteſie, and reſolv'd to be reveng'd or die. And now too late he began to curſe the Error of his Indulgency, which had added Power to theſe Brothers only for his own Deſtruction. From *Edward* he could expect no Safety, for he deſerv'd it not; having cancell'd all former Obligations by his laſt Revolt, by which he forced him to ſo hazardous a Flight, and from *George* he could not look for a true Faith, conſidering that for the only Appearance of better Hopes he had heretofore broke it even with a Brother. And from both what thought of perfect Friendſhip, unleſs (and that his Nature could never ſuffer) he would fall beneath his former Height, in which ſhould he continue, Suſpicion would never let him remain ſecure from Danger. That Subject ſcarce ever having been reputed Innocent, in whoſe Power it was to be Nocent.

K. *Edward* goes to *London*, and is receiv'd by them after a feign'd Reſiſtance.

Whereupon K. *Edward* ſeeing himſelf by all the Charms of former Friendſhip and Promiſe of Future, unable to lay the Spirit that raged in *Warwick*, left him obſtinate in the Proſecution of his own Deſigns: And accompany'd with his late reconcil'd Brother, and follow'd by a gallant Army march'd to *London*; where the Citizens out of Conſcience of their late Oath taken ſo ſolemnly to K. *Henry*, and by the Inſtigation of the Duke of *Somerſet*, Archbiſhop of *York*, and others of *Warwick*'s Friends, made ſome ſhow of Reſiſtance (*c*): But ſoon the Care of their own Safety abſolv'd them from that Scruple, inſtructing them that Oaths by Fear extorted lay no Obligation upon the Soul (*d*). And with much Alacrity they yielded up to him their City, together with the Perſon of King *Henry*, who was reſerv'd ſtill to be made the Sport of Fortune, and again impriſon'd in the *Tower*. For certainly Hiſtory ſhows us not an Example of any Prince, who in ſo many Viciſſitudes, never met with one

(*b*) He came before *Warwick* the 29th of *March*.

(*c*) The Arch-biſhop of *York* on the 9th of *April* brought King *Henry* out of the *Tower*, and carried him thro' the City to ſhew him to the Citizens, hoping that his Preſence would confirm their Loyalty; but the Terror of King *Edward*'s Approach with a mighty Army, drew them from their Obedience, and the Prelate was forced to come to a Treaty, and deliver up the *Tower* and the King, which he did the next Day.

(*d*) *Philip de Comines* writes with much more Reaſon than this Author has; for that he ſays, *That the Citizens were engaged in his Intereſt, by the Debts* Edward *ow'd them, and the Importunity of their Wives; for as to their Conſciences certainly their Firſt Oaths to King* Henry *juſtified their Second*.

fully

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fully to his Advantage: So that juſtly we might have condemn'd him for Unhappy, had he not been endued with ſuch a Piety as raiſed him above his Fortune, and united him to God.

At (*e*) his Entrance into the City, as a general Applauſe entertain'd King *Edward*, all thoſe Inhabitants who had ſecretly wiſhed happy Succeſs to his Affairs, now openly expreſſing their Triumph; ſo the Queen and thoſe many of the King's neareſt Followers, who for the Space of Six Months had ſecured themſelves in Sanctuary, ran forth to congratulate their own, as well as his Happineſs in his Reſtitution. And even in this general Alacrity concurred the Votes of many Merchants, Natives and Foreigners, who before had hated him and ſupplied King *Henry* with Money to his Deſtruction. For the King out of the Mildneſs of his natural Diſpoſition, and a Deſire that at this univerſal Triumph there ſhould not be a ſad look ſo much as among his Enemies, gave their Offences a general Pardon. Only letting them underſtand that he knew both the Value of his own Mercy, and of the Greatneſs of their Forfeitures, their aiding the contrary Faction having loſt them their Eſtates and Liberties, and in Rigor their Lives. Neither was this an unhappy Policy in him, to oblige many by the forgiving that, the Extremity of which had he taken (his Buſineſs being then ſo unſettled) might have endanger'd a Mutiny in the City, upon the firſt Approach of the Enemy.

K. *Edward* welcom'd by his Friends, pardons his Enemies.

Having therefore by his happy Fortune comforted his Friends, and by his Clemency won upon the Affection of the Reſt, and ſo ſettled the Town to his Obedience, that he ſuſpected no Danger at his Back: He led forth his Army to oppoſe the Earl of *Warwick*, who having reunited his ſcatter'd Forces by eaſie Marches was come to St. *Albans* (*f*). The Reaſon of bringing his Power ſo near *London* was a Confidence he had, that his Reputation among the Inhabitants would draw many to his Part, or at leaſt ſo divide them, that they ſhould be no Advantage to the King. But the King jealous of their Levity, as one who had known them (how affectionate ſoever they pretended themſelves to be to his Fortune) ſiding ſtill with the Prevailer, interpoſed his Army between the (*g*) City and the Enemy, whereby he cut off even the Poſſibility of Intelligence: And that the Preſence of King *Henry* might not be the Occaſion of any Tumult in *London*, nor his Eſcape add Authority to *Warwick*'s Quarrel, or hereafter endanger a further War; he took him to the Battle: Whereby the Poor diſtreſſed King, what Side ſoever prevail'd, was morally certain of Deſtruction.

K. *Edward* leaves *London* to fight the Earl of *Warwick* at St. *Albans*.

K. *Henry* carry'd to the Battle.

Upon a Plain near *Barnet* mid-way between *London* and St. *Albans* the King pitch'd his Field. The Van-guard was commanded by the Duke of *Glouceſter*, the Rear by the Lord *Haſtings*, the main Battle by himſelf (*h*). The Common Soldiers needed no Incouragement of Words, (*i*) the great Examples of their Leaders was the beſt Oratory. And none of them but underſtood their Lives, Eſtates, and Liberties were at Stake: Their Prince, if over thrown, every Day not unlike to produce new Troubles, and new Dangers; if Victorious, a full Concluſion of the War, with Wealth and Triumph.

The Battle in a Plain near *Barnet*. King *Edward*'s Army.

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On the other Side the Earl of *Warwick* with as bold a Reſolution prepared his Forces. The Right Wing which conſiſted of Horſe, he committed to the Earl of *Oxford*, in whoſe Company fought the Marqueſs *Mountacute*; the Left to the Duke of *Exeter*; and the main Battle which was compoſed of Bills and Bows (the beſt Sinews of our *Engliſh* Strength) to the Duke of *Somerſet*: He himſelf giving Direction in every Quarter. And when he had ſurvey'd his whole Hoſt, and liked both their Order and their Courage, he ſent away his Horſe, reſolving to fight on Foot, and that Day to try the utmoſt of his Fortune; prefixing to his Imaginations no Mean between Victory and Death. Then he lovingly imbraced all thoſe great Commanders, in every of whom appear'd a Reſolution equal to the Cauſe; and having by many Proteſtations declared their ſincere Faith and Forwardneſs to the preſent Service, every Man betook himſelf to his ſeveral Charge. Nothing extraordinary to be obſerv'd in ordering the Field on either Side, but that neither *George*, Duke of *Clarence*, on K. *Edward*'s Side, nor the Marqueſs *Mountacute* on the Earl's commanded any Way in Chief that Day: So impoſſible it was to extirpate that Suſpicion, which by their former Actions had taken Root in their Brother's Minds.

The Earl of *Warwick*'s Army.

It was *Eaſter-Day* (*k*) in the Morning (a Day too ſacred to be profaned with ſo much Blood) when both Armies prepared themſelves to fight. That for the King took Courage from the Juſtice of their Quarrel, and the Fortune of their Prince. That of the Earl from the long Experience and noble Valour of their Leader, and from the Piety of him for whoſe Redemption that Day they had brought their Lives to the Hazard. Both fought for their Kings, both Kings having been crown'd, and by ſeveral Parliaments acknowledged. And indeed the Queſtion was ſo ſubtil, that even among Divines it had held long, and at that Day remained not abſolutely decided. No marvel then if the common Soldier had on both Sides the ſame Aſſurance of Truth, ſince if they have any, their Faith for the moſt is led by the Direction of their General. Both Armies therefore had equal Juſtice, which made them with equal Fierceneſs begin and continue the Fight.

The Battle fought on *Eaſter-Day*.

Six Hours the Victory was doubtful, Advantages and Diſadvantages indifferent on both Sides, till at length Error brought Diſorder to *Warwick*'s Army, and that a final Overthrow. For the Earl of *Oxford* (*l*) giving his Men a Star with Streams for his Badge, begot in the Army a Miſtake that they were part of the Enemy whoſe Badge was the Sun: (which Miſtake might eaſily happen by the thick Miſt that Morning), wherefore being in the Right Wing, and preſſing forward they were thought King *Edward*'s Men flying, which made their own main Battle fall fiercely on them in the Back: Whereupon *Oxford* ſuſpecting Treaſon in *War-*

The Earl of *Warwick*'s Army overthrown.

(*e*) On the 11th of *April*.

(*f*) He encamp'd on *Gladſmore-Heath*, towards St. *Albans*.

(*g*) He encamp'd on the ſame Heath in the Night nearer *Barnet*.

(*h*) And the Duke of *Clarence*. In the main Body the Unfortunate King *Henry* was carry'd in Triumph.

(*i*) King *Edward* ſpoke to his Soldiers, and gave the uſual Names of Traytors and Rebels to their Adverſaries, and the Earl of *Warwick* was not behind him in hard Words in his Speech; calling him Tyrant and Uſurper. *Holinſhead*, pag. 684.

(*k*) The 14th of *April*.

(*l*) This brave Lord routed King *Edward*'s Left Wing, and drove them out of the Field before that fatal Miſtake happen'd.

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wick (whoſe haughty and reſerved Ways were ever liable to Suſpicion) fled away with eight hundred Men, and King *Edward* with certain freſh Troops of Rutters for ſome ſuch Purpoſe reſerv'd, perceiving Diſorder in the Enemy violently aſſaulted them, and ſoon forced them to ſhrink back. *Warwick* oppoſed againſt their Fear both with Language and Example; but when nothing could prevail, he ruſh'd into the thickeſt of the Enemies, hoping either his whole Army would bravely follow, or otherwiſe by Death to prevent the Miſery of ſeeing himſelf overthrown. *Mountacute* perceiving how far into Danger his Brother was engaged, ran violently after to his Reſcue, and both preſently oppreſt with Number fell, and with them the Spirit of the Army, which thereupon immediately fled. In their Deaths they both clear'd thoſe Calumnies with which they were blemiſhed. *Warwick* of having ſtill a ſwift Horſe in readineſs by Flight to eſcape from any apparent Danger in Battle; *Mountacute* of holding Intelligence with King *Edward*, or betraying at *Pomfret* the Quarrel of his great Brother. For that Story is to be rejected as a Fable forged by Malice, which Reports that the Marqueſs having put on King *Edward*'s Livery was ſlain by one of *Warwick*'s Men, and that the Earl labouring to eſcape, at a Wood's Side where was no Paſſage, was killed and ſtripped to the naked Skin by two of King *Edward*'s Soldiers. Yet both of them in their Deaths partaking with the common Condition of Men; the poor being ever eſteem'd as vicious, the overthrown as Cowards. By which Judgment we impiouſly ſubject the Almighty Diſpoſer of Human Affairs to our deprav'd Affections, as if Felicity or Infelicity were the Touchſtone by which we might diſcern the true Value of the inward Man.

Earl of *Warwick* and his Brother the Marqueſs *Mountacute* ſlain.

False Reports about their Deaths.

K. *Edward* carries the News of his Victory to *London* himſelf.

King *Edward* as ſoon as he ſaw the Diſcomfiture of the Enemy and certainly underſtood the Death of the two Brothers; that himſelf might be the firſt Reporter of his own good Fortune, with King *Henry* in his Company poſted up to *London*. He came into St. *Paul*'s Church at Evening Prayer, and there offer'd up his own Banner, and the Standard of the Earl of *Warwick*, the Trophies of his Morning Service, where waited on him an univerſal Acclamation, the flattering Shadow which never forſakes Victory. The dead Bodies of *Warwick* and *Mountacute* he cauſed to be expoſed three Days barefaced in St. *Paul*'s Church, that no Pretences of their being alive might ſtir up any Rebellion afterward.

To the Duke of *Clarence* and the Duke of *Glouceſter* was left the Care to Quarter the Soldiers, whoſe Enquiry ſoon found that on both Sides that Day were ſlain four thouſand ſix hundred and odd. On the King's Side of Eminency only (*m*) the Lords *Bourchier* and *Barnes*, the former Son and Heir to the Earl of *Eſſex*, this laſt to the Lord *Say*: On the other Side were kill'd the Earl of *Warwick* and the Marqueſs *Mountacute* attended with three and twenty Knights. The Duke of *Exeter*, who by his many Wounds was reported dead, recover'd Life, and got into Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*, but was never more ſeen in Action; his Body after ſome length of Time being caſt upon the Shore of *Kent*, as if he had periſh'd by Shipwrack: The Manner of his after-Life and Death left uncertain in Story. The Duke of *Somerſet* and Earl of *Oxford* fled towards *Scotland*, but fearing that through the length of the Way they might fall into their Enemies Hands, they turn'd into *Wales* to *Jaſper*, Earl of *Pembroke*.

The Slain in *Barnet-Field*.

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To this violent End came the Earl of *Warwick*, the greateſt and buſieſt Subject our latter Age hath brought forth. And indeed how was it poſſible ſuch a ſtormy Life could expect a calmer Death? in his Spirit, Birth, Marriage, and Revenue he was Mighty, which raiſed his Thoughts above Proportion. For all theſe Benefits of Nature and Fortune ſerv'd him only as Inſtruments to execute his Rage; into which every ſmall Diſpleaſure taken or miſtaken from his Prince, threw him head-long. His Bounty extended it ſelf moſt in Hoſpitality, which was dangerous to the Gueſt, for his Meat was infected with the Poiſon of Faction. The open Aim of all his Actions was at the Publick Good, which made his Power ſtill recover Strength, though ſo often weaken'd by evil Fortune; but his ſecret Intention was to advance his own Greatneſs, which he reſolv'd to purchaſe tho' with Sale of the publick Safety. He was queſtionleſs Valiant, for a Coward durſt not have thought on thoſe Dangers into which he entred upon the ſlighteſt Quarrels. His Soul was never quiet, diſtaſted always with the preſent Affairs; and his Pride like a fooliſh Builder, ſo delighted to pull down and ſet up, that at length part of the Frame himſelf had raiſed, fell upon him and cruſh'd him to Death. He was a paſſionate Extoller of Chaſtity in a Prince, which proceeded rather from Spleen than Zeal, becauſe in that he tacitly made the King Contemptible for his voluptuous Life. Being bred up from a Child in Arms (the worſt School to learn Religion in) he had certainly no tender Senſe of Juſtice, and his varying ſo in approving contrary Titles, ſhew'd either a ſtrange Levity in Judgment, or elſe that Ambition not Conſcience ruled his Actions. The Pretences of his Revolt from King *Edward*, were neither to the World Politick nor to himſelf Honeſt. For what greater Hopes could he conceive by reſtoring a Family himſelf had ruin'd? Since Injuries make ſo deep an Impreſſion, that no after-courteſie can take it away? Or how could any Violence offer'd to his Daughter's Honour by the King (for that was then by him pretended) Licenſe him to War? Since no Injuſtice in a Sovereign can Authorize the Subject to Rebellion. But who will give a true Account of his latter Attempts, muſt look back upon his firſt Familiarity with *Lewis* XI. For never had *France* ſuch a Merchant to vent Diſorder in Foreign Kingdoms, and buy up the Faith of all the greateſt Officers to neighbouring Princes. But when by the moſt powerful Engines of Policy and War, he had ſcrewed up his Intentions to the Higheſt, by making himſelf King in Authority though not in Title, the Crown being entailed upon the Two Princes, who had married his Daughters: Almighty God in one Overthrow ruin'd him, and permitted his Sons-in-law, with their Wives not long after to end by ſtrange Deaths, none of them anſwering his Hope, but the Younger Daughter and that prepoſterouſly to his Deſign. For ſhe indeed by marrying *Richard*, Duke of *Glou-*

The Earl of *Warwick*'s Character.

His Hoſpitality.

His Courage.

The Cauſe of his Revolt from K. *Edward*.

His Younger Daughter was a Queen.

(*m*) On the King's Side were kill'd the Lords *Cromwell* and *Say*, the Lord *Mountjoy*'s Eldeſt Son; the Lotd *Bernard*'s Son, Sir *Humphry Bourchier*, and 1500 Soldiers. On the Earl's Side, himſelf, the Marqueſs his Brother, Sir *William Tirrell* and 7000 Soldiers. *Hol.*

Hall ſays, there fell in all 10000 on both Sides.

geſter,

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ceſter, the Butcher of her Husband Prince *Edward*, became Queen to an Uſurper, and ſoon after by Poiſon (as it was juſtly ſuſpected) made Reſignation of her Crown. His Grand-Children by *Clarence*, who arriv'd to any Age, died by the Ax upon a Scaffold; and all that Greatneſs he ſo violently labour'd to confirm in his Poſterity, by violent Deaths was reduced to nothing: The large River of his Blood, divided now into many Streams, run ſo ſmall, they are hardly obſerv'd as they flow by.

The Marqueſs *Mountacute's* Character.

Of his Brother the Marqueſs *Mountacute* little can be clearly ſpoken: So reſerv'd were his Imaginations and ſo obſcure his Ways; eſpecially to us who look on him ſo far off, and with ſo imperfect a Light. Neither of himſelf can he afford much Hiſtory, having never been but Second in any Buſineſs of Moment; and like ſoom poor Gameſter ſeldom or never play'd his own Cards. He had certainly as much Valour and Diſſimulation, as render'd him both a perfect Soldier and Courtier. He never miſcarried, in any Battle, till the laſt, in which he periſh'd; ſo that indifferently we may aſcribe to his good Conduct and Fortune, the Proſperity of his Succeſs: His Affections being divided between a King and a Brother, made him ſuffer that Misfortune that ever attends Neutrality: Though indeed he may be rather ſaid to have been for both, than either. His Nature was nothing ſo ſtubborn as his Brother's, which perhaps was bended to Plauſibility, by the Dependances of his Fortune. The Deportment of Men ſeldom ſwelling to a diſtaſtful Pride, unleſs from the very Cradle flatter'd with Reſpect, without the Competition of an Equal. He abhorred Peace, whoſe ſtrict Rules circumſcrib'd him within the narrow Limits of his own Revenue, and lov'd War which called not his Expences to acount, and equal'd, if not elevated him above thoſe great Men, whom he muſt have envied in a quiet State. In a Word, the Diſpoſitions of theſe two Brothers are beſt diſcovered to us by the King himſelf, of whom *Warwick* was ſtill either eſteem'd or hated, *Mountacute* lov'd or pitied.

His Valour and Diſſimulation.

His Love of Wars.

King *Edward's* Love to the Marqueſs *Mountacute.*

The Affection which K. *Edward* bore *Mountacute* during Life, appear'd by the good Language he always uſed of him, even when in Arms againſt him, which perhaps occaſion'd ſome Jealouſie of his Faith in *Warwick*; and after Death in permitting his and, and for his ſake, his Brother's Body the Honour of a convenient Burial. For after they had both lain two or three Days barefaced in St. *Paul's* Church, expoſed a Spectacle obnoxious to ſuch Paſſions, as the Beholders were inclined to either by Nature or Faction; they were carried down to the Priory of *Biſham* in *Barkſhire*, where among their Anceſtors by the Mother's Side the Earls of *Salisbury*, the two unquiet Brothers reſt in one Tomb.

Q. *Margaret* lands, and takes Sanctuary

Queen *Margaret* now when it was too late landed at *Waimouth* in *Dorſetſhire* having in (*n*) her Retinue ſome few *French* Forces, the wary King *Lewis* loth to venture much upon an after-game of Fortune. And here when ſhe expected the Acclamations of Triumph, ſhe firſt received the News of *Warwick* ſlain and his Army defeated. Which to her Mind, prepared then to have received ſome Taſte of Happineſs, was ſo ſad a Diſtraction, that ſhe knew not which Way to direct her Reſolutions, but her Courage failing her ſhe ſwooned. At length Deſpair forced her to the common poor Refuge of Sanctuary. And in *Bewly* in *Hampſhire*, a Monaſtery of *Ciſtercian* Monks ſhe regiſtred her ſelf, her Son and Followers for Perſons priviledged. To her in this Agony of Soul came *Edmund*, Duke of *Somerſet* (who had eſcaped from the Overthrow at *Barnet*) with his Brother the Lord *John Beaufort*, *John Courtney*, Earl of *Devonſhire* (Brother to *Thomas*, who being taken at *Towton*-Field was beheaded at *York*) *Jaſper*, Earl of *Pembroke* (*o*) Younger Son of *Owen Tudor* by Queen *Katherine* Dowager, *John Longſtrother*, Lord Prior of St. *John's*, (*p*) and *John*, Lord *Wenlock*, who had received his firſt Advancement to Honour by his great Services to King *Edward*, and now by the Folly of his Ingratitude, had likned himſelf to a ruinous Faction.

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Several great Perſons join her, and Promiſe their Aſſiſtance

Theſe noble Perſonages greater far in the Reputation of what they had, or might have been, than in their preſent Power, labour'd what they could by their Advice and Preſence to raiſe up the Queen, ſunk with the Weight of her Misfortunes. They related to her the Hopes ſhe yet might retain in the Amity with *France*, and Authority ſhe had in *England*: Multitudes yet ſurviving, whom if not Affection to the Title, the Smalneſs of their own Fortunes, and Safety of their Perſons, would neceſſitate to take Arms. All Overthrows rather ſowing, than taking away the Seeds of War. Neither if ſhe look'd indifferently upon the laſt Battle, had ſhe reaſon to be Diſconſolate. For if ſhe reflected on the Number of the Slain, it was not Conſiderable; or upon the Death of the General the Earl of *Warwick*, ſhe might receive that Loſs as a Benefit; he having been indeed a cruel Enemy, but never but an inſolent Friend; whoſe Fortune had it continued Proſperous as it began, it might have been a Queſtion whether the Duke of *York's* or his Uſurpation would have been the more inſupportable. They urged farther the Authority *Somerſet*, *Devonſhire*, the Lord *Prior*, and *Wenlock* had in *England*, and the Multitudes *Pembroke* might arm in *Wales*. But above all, what a Confluence of the boldeſt Youth there would be to the Prince, would he but take the Field, and appear in his own Quarrel. Nothing having advanced the Title of *York*, but *March's* Preſence in all Battles, or foil'd the Reputation of *Lancaſter*, but King *Henry's* unactive Piety, and fighting ſtill by Deputies. The Soldiers thinking it in vain for them to hazard their Lives, where the Prince whom it concerns, timorouſly refuſeth to venture his own.

They comfort and encourage the Queen to attempt a Recovery of the Crown.

The Prince encouraged to appear in Arms.

But all theſe Arguments ſet off by the moſt perſwaſive Oratory, could not recover the ſad Queen to a perfect Life in her Spirit. For either ſo many Diſaſters, and falling ſo thick together, made her deſpair of Succeſs; or elſe the Soul before a great Miſchief hath a certain divining Knowledge of future Accidents. And now ſhe began to think that ſmall Time her Husband had been re-inveſted in the Kingdom, was but a Lightening before the Death of all Sovereignty in his Family. Yet when ſhe looked upon the Prince, hope flatter'd her Deſires, that he might hereafter revive the Greatneſs of his Blood; but then the Memory of forepaſt Misfortunes, made her a melancholy Prophe-

Q. *Margaret* deſpairs, but endeavours to get her Son's Right.

(*n*) She landed on the very Day that the laſt Battle was fought upon.
(*o*) The Earl of *Pembroke* was then raiſing Forces in *Wales*, and did not join her at all.
(*p*) The Prior of St. *John's* and the Lord *Wenlock* came from *France* with her. *Hol.*

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teſs of future Ruin. Howſoever the Objects of her Thoughts were diſmal, ſhe diſſembled them, and was as buſie in all Politick Contrivances, and as forward in ſetting forth the Army as the moſt reſolute Commander. (*q*) But when ſhe perceived the Lords earneſt to have the Prince preſent in the Battle, ſhe violently oppoſed it, in reſpect of his Youth, want of Experience, and the ſo mighty Venture: For if he periſh'd in this Storm, even Hope it ſelf would in him be Shipwrack'd. She therefore urged earneſtly to have him convey'd back into *France*, where in Safety he might attend the Succeſs of the preſent Enterprize, which if unproſperous, he might there remain, till by the Increaſe of Years and Power, he might be inabled to fight his own Quarrel. But the contrary Opinion overrul'd in her all the Paſſions, both of a Woman and a Mother; and having already loſt ſo much at this Play of Fortune, ſhe was perſwaded like a deſperate Gameſter, to hazard at one Caſt the Remainder of all her Stock.

The Queen refuſes to let her Son be in the Battle.

Having therefore yielded to this Reſolution, ſhe leaves the Sanctuary and puts her ſelf in Arms; The very Name of Prince *Edward*, like a Diamond, attracted Multitudes to the War. Her Companies immediately ſhe advanced to *Bath*, where the Duke of *Somerſet*, and the Earl of *Devonſhire* were high in Reputation, and by whoſe Authority daily new Forces came in to the Prince's Service. Yet were they not grown to ſo full a Number, as might encourage the Queen to think upon a Battle. Whereupon ſhe keeps her ſelf in the Town, until the coming of *Jaſper* (*r*) Earl of *Pembroke*, upon the Addition of which *Welſh* Forces, ſhe reſolved to take the Field, and encounter King *Edward*.

Q. *Margaret* and her Son the Prince gather Forces.

Who as ſoon as he had perfect Intelligence of her Reſolutions, gathered his Army together, which he (ever too confident of Peace, ſo amorouſly courted by him) had after the Victory at *Barnet*, licenſed to diſperſe it ſelf. And with ſo unexpected Suddenneſs he made his Preparations, that before the Return of *Pembroke*, he incamp'd at *Marlborough*, within fifteen Miles of *Bath* (*s*), and by the Interpoſition of his Army, hindered all Succours which could come to the Enemy from *Wales*. Which ſo near Approach diſtracted the Reſolutions of the Queen, and made her ſuſpect her Safety, if ſhe remain'd longer there. Wherefore ſhe retired to *Briſtol* (*t*), from whence ſhe ſent to the Lord *Beauchamp* of *Powyke*, who had the keeping both of the City and Caſtle of *Glouceſter*, to deſire Paſſage over the *Severn* there, but he refuſed her, and forced her to march up to *Tewksbury*, there to endeavour to croſs the River.

K. *Edward* ſpeedily re-aſſembles his Army, and encamps at *Marlborough*.

In her Way thither, as ſhe paſt by *Glouceſter*, which in Diſcretion ſhe durſt not Aſſault, tho' by the former Diſcourteſie provoked; he taking Advantage of the Place and ſome Diſorder in the Queen's Rearward, fell ſuddenly upon it and carry'd away, after ſome Slaughter of the uncircumſpect Soldier, much of her Artillery. This Loſs troubled her a little, but when ſhe found her ſelf purſu'd by King *Edward* ſo cloſe, that before ſhe could reach *Tewksbury* (*u*), he with his Horſe were in Sight; Deſpair ſeiz'd her, ſo that ſhe began only to look which way to flie. And indeed to that Extremity was her Buſineſs reduced, that there was left no other hope of Safety: The King having ſo much odds in Courage and Number. But the Duke of *Somerſet* prevail'd againſt her Fears, and the ſober Opinion of moſt of the beſt Commanders; upon which, neglecting to eſcape at firſt into *Wales*, where *Pembroke* had raiſed mighty Forces for her Service, ſhe was ſoon by the King neceſſitated, either to yield or endure the Battle. Whereupon ſhe reſolv'd to fight it out that Day, which was the laſt, and that which decided the great Quarrel between the two Houſes.

Q. *Margaret* flies to *Tewksbury*, and is forced to engage King *Edward*.

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The Duke of *Somerſet* pitch'd his Field in a Park adjoining to the Town, and entrench'd his Camp round ſo high and ſo ſtrong, that the Enemy could on no Side force it; and when he perceiv'd an inevitable Neceſſity of preſent Fight, he Marſhal'd his Hoſt for the Service. The Foreward he and his Brother commanded, the Earl of *Devonſhire* the Rear. In the main Battel was the Prince, under the Direction of the Lord *Prior*, and the Lord *Wenlock*. The Queen ſeeing the Hour draw near, and that there was need the Soldiers ſhould have Advantage of Valour to equal the Enemy, who had it in Multitude, took the Prince with her and rode about the Army. In her Looks appear'd nothing but Life and Reſolution, in her Language almoſt an Aſſurance of Victory; ſo cunningly ſhe conceal'd the Wound her Deſpair had given her, that then only it bled inward. She told them, That it reſted in their Courage that Day to reſtore their impriſon'd King to Liberty and his Crown; and themſelves not to Safety only, but to Honour and Treaſure; for the Wealth of the rebellious Cities ſhould be their Spoil, the Kingdom their Inheritance to be divided only among them, and all thoſe Titles the Enemies ſo proudly wore, to be conferred upon their Deſerts. If the Inequality of Number frighted them, ſhe ſhow'd it was not ſuch, but that they might be confident their great Hearts animated by the Juſtice of the Cauſe, would eaſily take away the Diſparity. Then ſhe wiſh'd them to look upon the Prince (whoſe Perſonage the fond Mother thought would make them like deſperate Lovers contemn Danger) and fight for him their fellow Soldier, with whom they were to ſhare in Fortune, and who once in Poſſeſſion of the Throne, would never forget them, by whoſe Courage he was ſeated there.

Q. *Margaret*'s Army, and its Leaders.

Q. *Margaret* animates her Soldiers to Fight.

The Soldier generally appear'd reſolv'd againſt the ſharpeſt Danger, receiving her Words with much Alacrity: And as ſoon as the Signal was given bravely repulſed the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who having the leading of King *Edward*'s Vanguard, had aſſaulted the Queen's Camp. Upon which Repulſe, the Duke of *Somerſet* ſeeing *Glouceſter* retire with ſome Appearance of Flight (an Appearance indeed it was only to betray the Enemy) ran after ſo far in the Purſuit, that there was no Safety in the Retreat. Then did *Glouceſter* on the ſudden turn back upon him, and having by this Deceit

The Duke of *Somerſet*'s Wing deſtroy'd by the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s cunning.

(*q*) This long Account of the Queen's Deſpair is not very certain, but very natural, ſhe being a Woman of a Maſculine Spirit.

(*r*) The Earl of *Pembroke* did not join her.

(*s*) *Marlborough* is Twenty Four Miles from *Bath*, and not at all ſituated to cut off the Communication between *Briſtol* and *Wales*, the King lay at *Cirenceſter* in *Glouceſterſhire*.

(*t*) She was very well receiv'd and ſupply'd by the Citizens of *Briſtol*, and was ſo far from ſhunning the King's Army, that ſhe came to *Sudbury* in *Glouceſterſhire* and inſulted King *Edward*'s Quarters. Some of her Scouts entring the Town and bringing off Five or Six of his Men.

(*u*) She march'd the Night before, and that Day Thirty Six long Miles, and encamp'd at *Tewksbury* the Third of *May*. *Hol.*

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intiſed him from his Trenches, he cut all the Vanguard in pieces. The Lord *Wenlock* who had the Conduct of the main Battle, and whom it concern'd to have reliev'd the Duke, only looking on as if he were a Spectator, and no Actor in the preſent Tragedy. *Somerſet* enraged with his Diſcomfiture, and having *Wenlock*'s Faith in ſome Jealouſie; upon his eſcape back upbraided him with the moſt ignominious Terms of Cowardize and Treaſon, and tranſported by the Heat of Paſſion, with an Ax he had in his Hand ſtruck out his Brains.

A Diſorder in the Queen's Camp.

This Outrage begat nothing but Diſorder in the Queen's Camp; and ſo great grew the Confuſion that no Man knew whom to obey, or how or where to make Reſiſtance againſt the aſſaulting Enemy. So unhappy is Government both in War and Peace, when all Authority is not conferred on one: A multitude of Commanders dividing the Obedience of the Inferior, and ever diſtracting Reſolutions among themſelves. Whereas Nature inſtructs us to a Subordination, and as in our own, ſo in a publick Body, it is monſtrous either to have no Head, or elſe to have more than one.

K. *Edward* conquers the Queen's Army.

The King took Advantage of this Uproar, and by it gain'd a moſt entire Victory: for entring without any Oppoſition the Queen's Trenches, he committed a moſt cruel Slaughter on all who reſiſted. Three Thouſand of the Common Soldiers (for they always pay for the Raſhneſs or Folly of their Commanders) were ſlain that Day, and among them the Earl of *Devonſhire*, the Lord *John Beaufort*, and ſome other Gentlemen of Name (*x*). The thick Woods of the Park preſerv'd ſome, and the Sanctuary others, but them only for a while; for King *Edward* who was never an overſcrupulous obſerver of religious Rites, with his Sword drawn would have entred the Church and forced them thence. But a good Prieſt careful to maintain the Immunity of the Place, with the Euchariſt in his Hand, oppoſed the Violence and would not let him enter a Place ſacred to our moſt merciful God, until he had granted to all there his Mercy by a free Pardon. But this Pardon betray'd them, for on the *Monday* after they were taken out of the Church, and all beheaded in the Market-Place at *Tewksbury* (*y*). Among whom thoſe of principal Note were the Duke of *Somerſet*, and the Lord *Prior* of St. *John*'s, and many other Knights of great Reputation and Fortune. By which Violation of the Sanctuary he made good the Opinion which the World before had conceived of him; that Religion never could prevail ſo far upon his Conſcience as to be any bar either to his Pleaſures or Revenge.

He violates the Priviledges of Sanctuary, and breaks his Promiſe.

Q. *Margaret* and Prince *Edward* taken.

The Queen half dead in her Chariot was taken in the Battle (*z*), and not long after, the Prince was brought Priſoner to the King by Sir *Richard Crofts*, who taking Notice of the Proclamation, whereby the Reward of a Hundred Pound by the Year during Life was promiſed to whoſoever ſhould yield up the Prince's Body, dead or alive, to the King, (with Proteſtation not to offer any Violence to his Perſon if alive) brought him unhappily to his Death: Which when the good Knight afterward found, he repented what he had done, and openly profeſſed his Service abuſed, and his Faith deluded.

K. *Edward* again breaks a ſolemn Promiſe.

For King *Edward* preſently upon the Delivery of the Prince, cauſed him to be brought into his Preſence, and entertain'd him with ſome Demonſtration of Courteſie: Moved perhaps thereunto by the Innocency of his Youth, Compaſſion of his Misfortune, or the Comlineſs of his Perſon, the Compoſition of his Body, being guilty of no Fault but a too feminine Beauty. At firſt it was ſuppoſed the King might have ſome charitable Intention, and reſolve happily to have ſettled him in the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, his Father's Inheritance, a Patrimony too narrow for a King, and ſomething too large for a Subject; and for that End is ſaid to have enter'd Diſcourſe with him, to make Tryal whether his Spirit would ſtoop to acknowledge a Superior. He therefore queſtion'd him what mad Perſwaſion had made him enter into ſo raſh an Enterprize, as to take up Arms againſt him, where the very Attempt was Rebellion, being againſt his Sovereign, and Folly being in Oppoſition to a Prince ſo far in Power above him? He expected an humble Anſwer, as if he were to beg his Life, or ſoft and gentle, according to the Complexion either of his Fortune or his Face. But he with a Reſolution (as bold as his Grand-father *Henry* the Fifth, would have replied with) anſwer'd, 'That to recover his Father miſera-
'bly oppreſſed, and the Crown violently uſur-
'ped, he had taken Arms. Neither could he
'be reputed to make any unjuſt Claim, who
'deſir'd no more than what had been poſſeſſed
'by *Henry* the Sixth, the Fifth and Fourth, his
'Father, Grand-father, and great Grand-fa-
'ther Kings of *England*; and acknowledged
'by the Approbation not of the Kingdom on-
'ly but the World, and even by the Progeni-
'tors of K. *Edward*.

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K. *Edward* courteouſly entertains Pr. *Edward*, and talks with him.

The Prince's Anſwer to King *Edward*.

By the Spirit of which Language when the King perceived how much his Life might threaten Danger, with a Look full of Indignation he turned from him, thruſting him diſdainfully away with his Gauntlet (*a*). Which ſo mighty Rage obſerv'd, and his ſo diſtemper'd parting out of the Room: The Dukes of *Clarence* and *Glouceſter*, the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, and the Lord *Haſtings*, ſeiz'd ſuddenly upon the Prince, and with their Poniards moſt barbarouſly murther'd him. Of whom we can make little Mention, his Youth having perform'd nothing worth Story, though it promiſed much. For under the Government of a Mother (the worſt Education for a Son) he had been bred up, until this laſt Scene of Life; which he acted alone, and bravely, ſo that Poſterity laments his Misfortune yet, and applaudes the Juſtice of the Almighty in Puniſhment of his Murtherers. For all of them came to violent Ends: *Glouceſter* being Executioner of the Reſt, and of him the Earl of *Richmond*, the next ſurviving Kinſman of the butcher'd Prince. The Severity of which Example, holds a Glaſs before the Eyes of the Wicked, and ſhows them how rotten is all that Greatneſs, which is not raiſed upon, and maintain'd by Vertue; and as the Conſcience is ever after ſuch a crying Sin, inwardly tortured upon the Rack of Fear; ſo ſeldom doth the Body eſcape outwardly an exemplary Death by Violence.

Prince *Edward* murthered by K. *Edward* his Brethren and Friends.

The Prince's Death revenged.

After this general Defeat of the Enemy, the Death of the Prince, and all the great Partakers

(*x*) This Battel was fought the Fourth of *May*, and 3000 private Soldiers were ſlain.

(*y*) The Duke of *Somerſet*, the Prior of St. *John*'s, Sir *Thomas Treſham*, Sir *Gervaiſe Clifton* and others were formally tried before the Duke of *Glouceſter*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, and preſently condemn'd.

(*z*) She was not taken in the Battle, but in a Monaſtery near *Worceſter*. *Hol.* 688.

(*a*) He ſtruck him with his Gauntlet. *Hol.*

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kers with the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and the Surprize of the Queen her ſelf: the King returned toward *London* (*b*): This being the only compleat Victory he ever gain'd, from which no Man of Eminency eſcap'd; and no Man, who might pretend to a Competition, was now preſerved except King *Henry*, and he Iſſueleſs, and in Priſon.

King *Edward* returns to *London*, and carries Queen *Margaret* in Triumph.

And to make this Triumph reſemble ſomething of the *Roman*, the King carried with him his great Captive the moſt afflicted Queen *Margaret*. A Woman moſt unfortunate to her ſelf, and moſt ruinous to this Kingdom. For after her Marriage into *England*, ſoon finding her Husband's Weakneſs, ſafe however in being directed and ſtrengthened by ſober Counſel, ſhe never left off inventing new Machinations till ſhe wrought him into her ſole Command, with the Deſtruction of his neareſt Friends. So that to make the Proſpect of her Greatneſs larger, ſhe broke down and levell'd his ſtrong Bulwarks. The Duke of *Glouceſter*, which might perhaps a little check her ambitious Eye, being taken quite away, left her open to every Tempeſt. Having therefore by fomenting Diſſention at home, loſt (except only *Calais*) all our wide Territories abroad: By the Murther of the good Duke, her Husband's Uncle, ſhe gave Liberty to the Houſe of *York*, to make their juſt Claim to the Crown; and in the end to put her out of that Government, ſhe prepoſterouſly managed. In her Proſperity, ſhe was rather ambitious than wanton; though from the laſt Opinion did not abſolutely acquit her. Which Aſperſion certainly was caſt upon her, by Reaſon of her too intimate Familiarity with ſome of the younger and finer Lords: For the more diſcreet and aged, either diſlik'd her Projects, or were diſlik'd by her, as Perſons too cautious to conſult with a giddy Woman. Her mighty Confidence in the Duke of *Suffolk*, who wrought her Marriage with *England*, had left the largeſt Part of that falſe Suſpicion upon her Name. For they who are juſt to her Memory, cannot but ſay, beſide that ſhe was religious, ſhe was even too buſie to think of Love Matters. But perhaps the Misfortune of her Carriage gave ſome ſmall Occaſſion of the Report. Her proſperous Fortune preſents her to us in the worſt Colours a factious, buſie, and imperious Queen. Her Adverſe in the beſt, a moſt induſtrious Woman to recover what her Folly had loſt, an excellent Wife, and a moſt indulgent Mother. And had ſhe never appear'd in Action but when Misfortune had compell'd her to it, ſhe had certainly been numbered among the beſt Examples of her Sex: But now the Merits of her latter Part of her Life, by redeeming the Errors of the former, ſerve only to level her with the Indifferent. The Time ſhe continued a Priſoner in *England*, ſhe ſhewed us no Face but that of Deſolation; the Strength of her Spirit, either broken in the Murther of her Son, or elſe ſhe accounted it a needleſs Imployment now to raiſe her ſelf above her Sorrows. After ſome time, her Father, with the Sale (*c*) of much of that poor Eſtate, of which he remained yet in Poſſeſſion, ranſomed her for 50000 Crowns; whereby ſhe was redeemed to another Air, tho' not to a freer Fortune. In Addition to her other Miſeries, ſhe was puniſh'd with a long Life, which ſhe ſpun out ſadly and ingloriouſly, living humbly upon the narrow Exhibition her Father did ſteal from himſelf to afford her. Her Life was much the Talk of the preſent and ſucceeding Times, becauſe it concurr'd to the Deſtruction of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, a Family beyond any then in the Chriſtian World, both in Extent and Dominion, Greatneſs of Alliance, and Glory of Action. Her Death was ſo obſcure (for who counts the Steps of the Unfortunate?) that it is not left certainly in Story when ſhe died.

Q. Margaret's Character.

Her Ambition.

Her Chaſtity.

Her Religion.

Her Grief.

Q. Margaret ranſom'd by her Father.

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But King *Edward*, by her Misfortune reckoned his own Felicities; and now juſtly conceived himſelf ſecure in that Throne, he ſo paſſionately had endeavoured to ſit at eaſe in. But becauſe the Scene of his Fortune had had more Changes than any King in *England* yet, except his Competitor, he continued ſtill with a moſt watchful Eye to look about him. And not knowing to how dangerous a Growth Enemies might arrive, which for the preſent appeared weak, he thought fit to take Order with *Jaſper*, Earl of *Pembroke*, who remained in *Wales*, with a Power unable to offend the King, but able enough conſidering the Nature of the Place, to defend himſelf. Wherefore, that without a publick Trouble he might deſtroy ſo private a Perſon, he ſent *Roger Vaughan* ſtrong both in Kindred and Followers, with Commiſſion by ſome Stratagem to entrap him. But the Earl had a Diſcovery of his Plot, and to deceive the Deceiver, ſeemed to give Opportunity for Execution of the Deſign; by which means he got *Vaughan* into his Poſſeſſion, and preſently cauſed him to be beheaded. But knowing this Act concurring with the whole Progreſs of his Life in Oppoſition to the King, would bring him to Ruin, either by open Power or ſecret Practice, he reſolv'd to ſail over into *Brittain*, and under the Protection of that State to ſecure himſelf from the preſent Storm. With him he carried his Nephew *Henry*, Earl of *Richmond*, Heir of the *Tudors* Family by the Paternal, by the Mother's Side of the Houſe of *Somerſet*, for the Civil War had now deſtroyed all thoſe great Dukes, who had with Loſs of their Lives ſhewed their Devotion to King *Henry*, and left the Inheritance of their Honour, with a far more favourable Aſpect to this young Earl.

K. *Edward* endeavours to ſettle his Kingdom in quiet, and vanquiſh the Earl of *Pembroke*.

Earl of *Pembroke* flies into *Brittain* with *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*

By the Duke of *Brittain*, they were received not only with Promiſe of Safety, but with an Allowance of a Penſion. Him perhaps the Conſideration of the Inſtability of humane Affairs, moved to this noble Pity. But *Peter Landois* (the ſole Director of the Duke, and a wicked Man) perſwaded his Maſter to give them Entertainment out of a covetous Deſign one Day, to make a good Merchandize for himſelf by Sale of them into *England*.

Duke of *Brittain* receives them, and allows them a Penſion.

Yet could not the King bring his Happineſs to that Quiet he deſired; ſome few ſmall Drops fell upon him after the great Tempeſt: For (*d*) a baſe Son of *William Nevill*, Earl of *Kent*, (*e*) commonly known by the Name of the Baſtard *Falconbridge*, having been employed

The Baſtard *Falconbridge* raiſes ſome Stirs by Sea and Land.

(*b*) There was a Riſing in the North in Favour of King *Henry*, and King *Edward* before he went to *London* march'd Northward to ſuppreſs it; but the Northern Men hearing of the ill Fortune of their Friends in the South, deſired the Earl of *Northumberland* to mediate with the King for a Pardon, which he did actually at *Coventry*. The King did not come to *London* till the 21ſt of *May*.

(*c*) He borrowed the Money of the *French* King, and pawn'd only *Naples* and *Sicily* for it, Two Kingdoms that never were in his Poſſeſſion.

(*d*) *Thomas Nevill.*

(*e*) Baſtard Son to the brave Lord *Falconbridge*. *Hal.*

Vice-

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Vice-Admiral by the Earl of *Warwick*, during the late Combuſtions of the Kingdom, to hinder all Succours which might come from the *Low-Countries* to King *Edward*'s Aid, ſoon as he underſtood the Earl's Death, ſet up for himſelf, and fell to Trade in open Pyracy. His Conditons were ignoble as his Birth, and only can be ſaid a fit Inſtrument to move the baſer Multitude to Sedition. Between *Dover* and *Callis* he robb'd moſt, and had now got under his Command a Navy great enough to work Miſchief. Eſpecially having the chief Men of *Callis* (who had ſided lately with the Earl) of his Confederacy, and by that Means Safety upon all Occaſions in their Harbour. Gathering therefore into his Retinue many of thoſe who had eſcaped from the two former Overthrows, and preſuming upon the Affection of the *Kentiſh* and *Eſſex* Men, he ſailed up the River of *Thames*.

His Navy.

The Intention of his Arms he gave out to be for the common Liberty, and the Redemption of the King and Queen impriſon'd by an Uſurper. By which Pretence, ever powerful to incline the Vulgar to Sedition, he invited to the Quarrel ſo great a Multitude, that the Number was reckoned 17000 fighting Men; moſt of them the Dregs and Lees of former Rebellions: Such who having been heretofore on King *Henry*'s Side, and wanting Courage to make good the Undertaking, had by Flight eſcap'd; or elſe Men whom Guilt of ſome enormous Diſorder had prepared for any Attempt; becauſe neither of them could hope to remain long ſecure from Puniſhment, when once the ſevere Eye of a peaceable Government, ſhould look narrowly into their Offences.

His Army of 17000

With this Army he march'd to *Kingſtone* hoping there to have croſſed the River, but being debarr'd, he led his Army into St. *George*'s Fields, (*f*) and from thence with his Ordinance made ſome ſmall Battery on the City. And to ſtrike the more Terror, in the mean time he cauſed 3000 of his Men to be tranſported by Boat at St. *Katherine*'s, to make an Aſſault on the other Side at *Aldgate* and *Biſhopſgate*. Who being ſet a Shore with a Courage as deſperate as their Quarrel, offered to force an Entrance, but by the Citizens were bravely repulſed. The Lord (*g*) Mayor and Aldermen, directed by the great Experience of the Earls of *Eſſex* and *Rivers*, and the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, neglecting no Part of the beſt Commanders And ſo valiantly they purſued the Rebels (who ſoon began to ſhrink) that *Falconbridge* with much Difficulty recovered his Ships. For he over-confident of Succeſs, had commanded them to fall as low as the *Downs*, little fearing he ſhould ſo ſoon be forced to ſeek Safety at Sea, and having vainly deluded himſelf and his Soldiers with Expectation of great Forces from *Wales* under the Conduct of *Jaſper*, Earl of *Pembroke*. With much Danger of being deſtroyed at *Black-heath*, where, for a while he entrench'd, he got at length to *Sandwich*, and fortified the Place. Few of the Rebels, who had any weak Hope of Pardon, following their General upon a forc'd Retreat.

He aſſaults the City, and is repulſed by the Mayor.

The Commons entring thus upon every ſlight Invitation into Rebellion, when the Preſervation or Reſtitution of King *Henry* was but mention'd, made the King begin to conſider how dangerous his Life was to the State: and that his Death would diſarm even the Hope of his Faction, for ever reflecting more upon the Wars. It was therefore reſolv'd in King *Edward*'s Cabinet Council, that to take away all Title from future Inſurrections, King *Henry* ſhould be ſacrificed. For howſoever, ſome either to clear the Memory of the King, or by after Cruelties gueſſing at precedent, will have this Murther to be the ſole Act of the Duke of *Glouceſter*: I cannot believe a Man ſo cunning in declining Envy, and winning Honour to his Name, would have undertaken ſuch a Buſineſs of his own Council, (*h*) and executed it with his own Hands. Neither did this concern *Glouceſter* ſo particularly, as to engage him alone in the Cruelty; nor was the King ſo ſcrupulous, having commanded more unneceſſary Slaughters, and from his Youth been never any Stranger to ſuch Executions. In killing the Prince he had *Clarence*, *Dorſet* and *Haſtings* for his Conductors; and in the very Murther of his Nephews (which was the ſecuring his Uſurpation) he truſted *Tyrrel*: So confident had his innate Inhumanity made him, that he doubted not but others might be faithful in Villany. But the Death of King *Henry* was acted in the dark; ſo that it cannot be affirmed who was the Executioner; only it is probable it was a Reſolution of State. The Care of the King's Safety and the publick Quiet, in ſome ſort making it, however cruel, yet (*i*) neceſſary.

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K. *Henry*'s Death reſolved on by K. *Edward* and his Council, and effected, but by whom is not known. Duke of *Glouceſter* not the Murtherer of King *Henry*.

But that the World might not ſuſpect King *Henry* lived ſtill, and thereupon be ſtirred up to new Deſigns; he was no ſooner dead, but with ſome Show of Funeral Rites, his Body was brought into St. *Paul*'s Church, where upon *Aſcenſion-Day*, with his Face uncovered, he was expoſed to the Curioſity of every Eye. For the King was reſolved rather to endure the Scandal of his Murther than to hazard the Queſtion of his Life, which continually gave Life to new Seditions. From St. *Paul*'s next Day, the Corps obſcurely without any Ceremony (in thoſe Days with much Piety obſerv'd toward the Dead) was conveyed to the *Black-Friers*, and from thence by Boat to *Cherſy*, in *Surry*. Whence, after it had reſted ſome while, it was removed to *Windſor*, and there at length found Quier. The King having even after Death partaken with the Troubles and Diſgraces of his Life.

K. *Henry* being murthered, is expoſed bare faced in St. *Paul*'s Church.

The Reaſon of burying him thus in the Dark, I cannot gueſs to be any Diſreſpect to ſo great a Prince; but only to ſtop the Diſcourſes of the Commons, who always pity them dead, to whoſe Deaths their Votes concurr'd. Unleſs it be true what is commonly written, that the People began to cenſure hardly the King for his Death, becauſe at what time his Body lay in St. *Paul*'s, and after in *Black-Friers*, a large Quantity of Blood iſſued from his Noſe. A moſt miraculous Way of ſpeaking the Barbariſme of his Murther, and giving Tyrants to underſtand that the Dead dare in their Language tell the Truth, and call even their Actions to Account. For this manner of bleeding was never obſerved to happen, but when againſt Law, Nature had been oppreſſed with Violence, and ſeemed to challenge Juſtice.

K. *Henry*'s Corps bled in St. *Paul*'s and the Interpretation of it.

With what Aſpect he entertain'd his Fate, I cannot write: But well we may believe, he could not but ſmile upon Death, who by a continual Exerciſe in Vertue, from his very Infan-

K. *Henry* Sixth's Character.

(*f*) On the 12th of *May*.

(*g*) *Thomas Stockton*, Mercer.

(*h*) Sir *Thomas More* in his Life of *Edward* V. ſays the Duke of *Glouceſter* ſlew him with his own Hand without the King's Privity; and it was conſtantly reported in his Time, who was Contemporary with him, tho' it was in his Youth.

(*i*) The Author vindicates K. *Henry*'s Murther as neceſſary.

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cy had triumph'd over Sin, which only makes Death Formidable to a Chriſtian. Of his outward Actions, all good Men of that Time took a reverend Notice; eſpecially of his due Obſervation of all the Laws of the Church, his exemplary Piety, Humility beneath the State commonly uſed by Princes, and a Modeſty even to Admiration. But they were the Vertues, which crowned the firſt part of his Life, which was paſt over in a full Proſperity, and appertain not to my Story. His Misfortune and Death only fall to my Task. And in his Misfortune he expreſſed ſo ſingular a Fortitude, that he was never obſerv'd to be dejected upon the Report of any ſad Accident. But entertain'd all Afflictions as ſent from the Almighty, and abſolutely reſign'd his Will to that of Heaven. How innocently he ſpent the laſt Ten Years of his Life, which was in as much Adverſity as ever Prince ſuffer'd, his ghoſtly Father gave a happy Teſtimony: Affirming that in all that long Trial of the inward Man, he never in Confeſſion could accuſe himſelf of any actual Sin. His Imployment was Prayer, and his Recreation only pious Diſcourſes which perſwaded Man to ſet a true Value upon heavenly Things, and throw a juſt Contempt upon the World. And to ſuch Reputation the Sanctity of his Life arrived among the Common People, that after his Death they honour'd him with the Devotions due to a Saint. And King *Henry* the Seventh (who owed the higheſt Opinion to his Holineſs, becauſe he had fore-profeſſed he ſhould enjoy that Crown for which the two Houſes then ſo much conteſted) labour'd his Canonization with the Pope, but that ſucceeded not; for however the World was aſſured of his Piety, there was much Queſtion of his Government: So that he might be term'd a juſt Man, but an unjuſt King. Since his Title to the Crown was unjuſt; for though it came by Deſcent to him, yet was it but a continued Uſurpation: His Reign, was guilty, I will not ſay through his Demerit, but thro' his evil Fortune, of much Miſchief, and the Effuſion of a Sea of Chriſtian Blood: And however in the Contemplative Part he was Religious toward God, in the Active he was Defective to the World: So that to have made him worthy that Honour *Henry* the Seventh would have provided for him, he muſt either (being reſolv'd in Conſcience his Title was juſt) have fully perform'd the Office of a King; or knowing it queſtionable have ſubmitted it to be diſputed freely, and upon the Reſolution made Reſignation of what he unlawfully poſſeſſed. But Juſtice which commands any Diminution of Greatneſs, is ſeldom obey'd by Princes, and Death only makes them ſurrender up what was violently by their Progenitors uſurped, and unjuſtly by themſelves continued, for till Death, Ambition betrays the Conſcience, and Fear of being leſs makes it not dare to ſee the Truth, which perſwades to Reſtitution.

K. Henry the Seventh endeavour'd to have him Canoniz'd.

Falconbridge in *Sandwich* ſubmits to the King.

King *Henry* thus taken away, the Forces under *Falconbridge*'s Command, which before had the ſpecious Title of a juſt War, could now pretend to nothing but an unjuſt Sedition. And ſo low they fell both in Courage and Reputation, that all they intended was but to make ſhow of War, whereby the eaſier to work their Peace: No Man of Name or Power, who before ſecretly had favoured them, but openly proteſted againſt the Enterprize. In *Sandwich* Nine Hundred of them remained, till they certainly underſtood the King's Approach with a mighty Power; then they ſent forth Sir *George Brooke*, to acquaint his Majeſty with their Deſire to return to his Obedience, if they might by his Pardon be ſecured of their Lives and Liberties. They proteſted it was no Fear or preſent Neceſſity induced them to this Submiſſion, having Confederates enough Abroad to relieve them upon Extremity, and for the preſent Victuals for Six Months, and Ammunition to oppoſe any Aſſault. If this Offer might be accepted, they would give up with themſelves, the Town and Caſtle, together with all the Shipping in the Harbour; if not, Neceſſity would force them to their own Defence. And if they muſt die, they would ſell their Lives at ſo dear a rate, that the King might repent his Purchaſe; conſidering he had kill'd ſo many, who would have been as bold to have fought his Quarrel, and loſt ſo good Shipping, and ſo commodious a Haven-Town; for they were reſolv'd to ſee both conſum'd with themſelves, that the Victory might be no Triumph to the Conqueror, and the Conquer'd might have that Comfort in their Ruin.

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The King pardons them, and receives the Town and Shipping

The Propoſition was accepted by the King, and the Duke of *Glouceſter* (whoſe Wiſdom and Valour had wrought him high in the Opinion of the King) was ſent with a general Pardon to the Rebels, and Authority in the King's Name to receive the Town, the Caſtle, and all the Shipping in the Harbour.

But after executes the Leaders, and Fines many of the Followers. K. *Edward* again breaks his Promiſe.

But the King, who never let any Pardon be an Impediment to his Purpoſe, having them in his Power, cauſed the Laws ſeverely to proceed againſt them. And for the Example of the reſt, *Spicing* and *Quintin* (two of the chief in this Rebellion) were executed at *Canterbury*, and their Heads ſet upon thoſe Gates, which at their laſt being at *London*, they ſo furiouſly aſſaulted. And that the King might not only draw Blood, but Treaſure from this Buſineſs, a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* was directed to the Lord *Denham*, and Sir *John Fog*, to inquire againſt all Offenders in the laſt Rebellion, and to inflict on them either corporal or pecuniary Puniſhment. But the Commiſſioners who underſtood both the Neceſſity and Intention of the State, made rather choice of the latter, knowing Death would but incur the Cenſure of Cruelty, and no way advance the King's Benefit. Whereas great Fines weaken as much the Diſcontented, and make the Prince as ſecure from Danger, even with the Reputation of Clemency.

Falconbridge put to Death at *Southampton*.

And that *Falconbridge* the firſt mover of this Sedition might have no more Priviledge than his Complices; coming into *Southampton* he was apprehended and put to Death. The inſerting of his Name in the former Pardon, though often pleaded by him, ſerving only to make him ſuffer the ſame Execution with the reſt.

The Archbiſhop of *York* made a Priſoner for Life.

The Puniſhment of theſe ſucceeding ſo well, the King proceeded againſt others. And firſt againſt the Archbiſhop of *York*, Brother to the Earl of *Warwick*, who with his ſpiritual Authority had ſet a Gloſs of Religion upon all the latter Attempts. And by his working inclin'd the Commons of the North to ſo conſtant a Reſolution for King *Henry*. With him the King took Order, becauſe he found his Ambition irregular, and ſent him to be kept Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Guiſnes*. Where deſervedly he endured a long Reſtraint, and never attain'd Liberty till Death enlarged him. No Man afforded the poor Comfort of Pity to his Affliction, becauſe in his Proſperity he had been Inſolent and Factious.

The

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And his Goods, Eſtate, and Archbiſhoprick ſeized.

King *Edward* very unfaithful.

The Manner of the Attachment was according to the Cuſtom of the King, unfaithful. For having admitted the Archbiſhop, after *Barnet-Field*, not only into Favour, but a ſpecial Familiarity; as he was hunting with him near *Windſor*, he promiſed to come to *More-Park*, (a Place in *Hartfordſhire*, which was not long before purchaſed, and built up moſt commodiouſly by the Archbiſhop) and there to hunt with him; with this Caution, that there might be nothing but a liberal Mirth, and friendly Entertainment. With much Complacency, the Archbiſhop retired to his Houſe, joyful to ſee the King ſo free in his Affection, without Memory of former Diſcontents. And that the Entertainment might not be altogether beneath the Majeſty of his Perſon, againſt the King's coming, beſide all coſtly Proviſion, which the Shortneſs of the Time could make; he had gathered together of his own and his Friends, Plate and other rich houſhold Stuff, to the Value of 20000 *l.* Next Day expecting the Preſence of the King, on the ſudden, Sir *William Par*, Knight, and Maſter *Thomas Vaughan* entred the Houſe, and by Virtue of a Commiſſion to that Purpoſe, confiſcated all thoſe Goods to the King's Uſe; and having arreſted his Perſon and ſent that to Priſon, ſeized upon all his Eſtate both Temporal and Eccleſiaſtical: The former forfeited for ever, the latter during the Archbiſhop's Life.

The Earl of *Oxford* fortifies St. *Michael's Mount* in *Cornwall*, and held it out againſt the King.

The Crime objected againſt him was Treaſon, for ſecretly aiding the Earl of *Oxford*, who at that Time had fortified and held St. *Michael's Mount* in *Cornwall*, ever ſince *Barnet-Field*. For the poor Earl ſeeing the whole Iſland loſt from the Houſe of *Lancaſter* (in whoſe Defence he had been ſo conſtant) and all the great Favourers of the Quarrel deſtroyed; having no Place of Safety to ſhelter himſelf abroad, took this Corner of the Kingdom, and endeavour'd to make it good. But this was but the Enterprize of a deſperate Man; for all his Hope this way could be only to prolong a wretched Life without Servitude. As for Liberty he was his own Goaler, and his Fortreſs his Priſon. The whole Number of his Soldiers were but 70, ſcarce enough for his Retinue. Yet with theſe he managed his Buſineſs ſo happily, that tho' beſieg'd, he revictualled the Place, and made his Defence good ſome Months. But when *Richard Forteſcue*, Eſq; of the Body to the King, (*k*) and then Sheriff of the County, came down, and by open Offer of the King's free Pardon to all the Earl's Men, and ſecret Practiſing, had wrought them to his Purpoſe; the Earl was forc'd to yield, and with him the Lord *Beaumount*, Two of the Earl's Brothers, and *Thomas Clifford*; all Perſons of great Name and Quality. The King receiv'd them to Mercy, as far as their Lives were concern'd: But for their Eſtates (for now he began to husband his Victories to the Benefit of his Treaſury) he confiſcated them wholly; not allowing the diſconſolate Counteſs any Part of her Joynture. Inſomuch that during the Life-time of King *Edward* (for all that while was the Earl kept Priſoner near *Callis*, in the Caſtle of *Hames*) ſhe was forc'd to live upon the Courteſie of her Friends, a kind of better Sort of Alms.

Richard Forteſcue, Sheriff of *Cornwall*, cauſed *Michael's* Mount to be yielded.

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All now were reduced to Order, except the Earls of *Richmond* and *Pembroke*; and them the King laboured to fetch in: For now either his Nature was alter'd to a ſtrange Miſtruſt, which in his Youth had been ſo taxed of an uncircumſpect Confidence; or elſe he began to be govern'd by a Council of a more wary Judgment, and whoſe Sight could diſcern Danger afar off. And certainly, who compares the firſt and laſt Times of the King's Government, ſhall perceive a ſtrange Difference in the Policy; unleſs in thoſe Affairs wherein he obeyed his own Direction, and in them remain'd a Tincture of his natural Error. The Change of Government may be aſcribed to the Duke of *Glouceſter*, a Man whom the Conſcience of his own Infidelity, made jealous of the Faith of others; who thought no Enemy alive and with Liberty, but full of Danger, how weak ſoever his Power or Pretence might be; and who at this Time held the Stern of the Council, while the King at Pleaſure wanton'd in his Cabin. By his Advice Commiſſioners were ſent over to the Duke of *Brittain*, in whoſe Dominions the Earls remained, to expoſtulate the Injury of giving Entertainment to any Evil affected to the State of *England*. *Pembroke* having been upon all Occaſions an open Rebel, and *Richmond* only wanting Age to take Arms, and who ſhortly appeared to threaten no leſs Dangers. They deſired him 'as he reſpected any Confederacy with *Eng-*
'*land*, and the Common Policy of Princes, not
'to diſoblige the King by harbouring his Ene-
'mies, and ſuccouring ſuch who could bring
'nothing but Ruin to their Abettors: Neither
'to prefer Faith with Two miſerable Exiles,
'before Love to a Prince, who had both the
'Power and Intention to join with him in any
'War, that might tend to the Safety or Ho-
'nour of his Dutchy. They concluded with
an earneſt Requeſt, 'That he would deliver up
'into their Hands the Two Fugitives, that ſuch
'Order might be taken as was ſafeſt for the
'preſent State. Or if the too ſcrupulous Ob-
'ſervance of an Oath perplex'd him, that at
'leaſt ſuch Care might be had, that they might
'neither attempt Confederacy abroad, or a
'Power to enable them to return home.

A. D. 1472. Reg. 12.

K. *Edward* endeavours to get the Earls of *Richmond* and *Pembroke* into his Power from the Duke of *Brittain*.

Duke of *Glouceſter* manages all Affairs of State.

Pembroke and *Richmond* demanded of the Duke of *Brittain*.

The Duke made Anſwer, 'That in Point of
'Honour he could not condeſcend to the King's
'firſt Demand; having upon their Arrival
'there given them his Word. But for the ſe-
'cond Part, he would beyond the King's own
'Deſire conſult for the Safeguard of his Ma-
'jeſty, and reſtrain them from any Power to
'attempt new Enterprizes. And perhaps, as
'it would preſerve his Reputation clearer to
'the World, ſo would it more advance the
'King's Purpoſe to let them remain in *Brittain*,
'rather than to have them returned into *Eng-*
'*land*; conſidering, at Home they had a great
'Kindred, and by the Slaughter of the reſt,
'were grown chief of the Faction of *Lancaſter*:
'Whereas, if they continued with him, they
'ſhould be in a free but a ſafe Cuſtody, in a Coun-
'try where they were ſo far from Power, that
'they wanted Acquaintance: And that him-
'ſelf would narrowly look that no diſconted
'Perſons ſhould reſort to them, or that they
'ſhould make their Addreſſes to any other
'Prince. Whereupon he entreated his Ma-
'jeſty to conſider him as a Confederate moſt re-
'ligious in Maintenance of that Amity, here-
'tofore ſo happily begun, and hitherto ſo faith-
'fully maintained.

Duke of *Brittain* refuſes to ſurrender the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Richmond* to K. *Edward*; but promiſes to keep them from diſturbing his Nation.

With this Anſwer the Ambaſſadors return'd, and the Duke made good his Promiſe to the

(*k*) *Forteſcue* was not Sheriff of the County at that Time, but one *Bodringham*, who favoured the Beſieged, and gave the Earl an Opportunity of Victualling his Garriſon. *Hol.*

A. D. 1472. Reg. 12.

King. For presently he remov'd all their *English* Servants, and set *Brittains* to attend them, who did rather observe than serve them: Men who cunningly mark'd not only who made their Dependencies upon them of the *English*, or with what People they held Intelligence, but even their Looks, and sent the Copy of them into *England*, oftentimes with a false Interpretation. Then (that Two together might not animate each other, and enter into dangerous Counsels) they were kept divided, and all Communication either by Language or Letter, absolutely forbidden. And (that both being in the same Restraint, might not conspire to the same Escape) there was a Guard set upon them, who narrowly, tho' respectfully watch'd them. So that we may guess this great Care the King took for their Restraint, to have wrought a strange Effect. *Richmond* esteeming himself more considerable as he was more suspected; and by the Fears of the King making Valuation of his own Prerences. Great Thoughts crept into his Mind by the Circumspection of such great Princes; and the Vulgar both abroad and at home began to believe (for they always think there are strange Depths even in the Shallows of Princes Actions) there was much Mystery in *Richmond*'s Title, and Danger in his Liberty. Whereas had he lived unsuspected by the King, he had perhaps died unobserv'd by the World.

Duke of *Brittain* sets Spies upon the Earls of *Richmond* and *Pembroke*'s Actions.

By this Negotiation with *Brittain*, having secured himself of these Two Earls, who might endanger the Quiet of the Kingdom at Home, he began to look abroad, whither yet he had never Liberty to cast his Eye: His Pleasures, or Dangers hitherto so taking up his Time, that he had only served his Appetite, or Safety; but now he had quieted all Civil Troubles, and even rooted up the very Fear of War hereafter; he therefore thought it necessary to look first upon *France*, a Nation which had made Benefit of our Ruin; and while we busied our Thoughts and Courage in Destruction of each other, recovered so much Life, that they were grown dangerous. Of their farther Growth the King was fearful, and resolv'd, if he could not make them less, at least to keep them at a Stay. Whereupon, having Intelligence of a Marriage in Agitation between Duke *Charles* (Brother to *Lewis* XI. and then Heir apparent to the Crown) and the Daughter and sole Heir of *Charles*, Duke of *Burgundy*, he endeavoured by all Arts to break off the Treaty. For he considered how formidable the *French* would grow to our Kingdom, should the so large Territories of the Seventeen Provinces with the other Dominions of the Duke be added to them. How they would then be enabled to revenge those many Injuries the Fortune of our Victories had done them, when we should be left to our own Arms, the *Burgundian* (by whose Aid we had entred and conquer'd *France*) now prepared to war upon us. How *France* superior always to the *English* in Multitude, and Extent of Territories, and defective only in commodious Havens, would by this be enlarged with a mighty Sea Coast, and with as good Men for Navigation as the World then had; by which they would have absolute Command at Sea, and keep us within the narrow Limits of our Island: If they would permit us that. These Considerations made the King solicite both the Duke of *Brittain* and the Count St. *Paul* (the Two earnest Mediators for Duke *Charles*) to desist from farther Negotiation in the Marriage. *Brittain* he moved to reflect upon his own Danger, if *Charles* should survive King *Lewis*, as by Course of Years it was probable, and have so great an Empire under his Command, telling him, *That greater Princes, like greater Rivers swallow up the less, and after a while retain no Memory of them. And if he presumed upon the Friendship between him and Duke* Charles, *and the many Courtesies done him, it was a treacherous Hope that never yet kept Faith. That* Brittain *never enjoyed all the Privileges appertaining to the Dutchy, but when* France *was disabled to break them.*

K. *Edward* endeavours to hinder the Growth of the *French* by a Marriage with the Heiress of the Duke of *Burgundy*.

The Danger of the *French* King's being Master of the *Netherlands* to *England* and all *Europe*.

He dissuades the Duke of *Brittain* from furthering it.

With the Count St. *Paul* he dealt another Way, by representing to him, *The near Friendship that ought to be between them Two, in Respect of the so near Alliance, being Uncle to his Queen; by which he entreated him not urge a Business so prejudicial to the Crown of* England, *which in a near Degree concern'd his own Blood. Withal he advised him, to take Care of himself, and not to exasperate too far King* Lewis, *to whom the Treaty of this Marriage was most unpleasing; in Regard to the Safety of his own Estate. To foment Discord between Brothers, being injurious to Religion, and unsafe to Policy: For Nature reunites them, and throws both their Malices on him, who occasioned the first Breach; and so he for the most part is yielded up a Sacrifice to the Reconciliation.* He concluded, *with the Madness of his Actions, who would provoke the just Anger of so subtil, and so revengeful a Prince, for the frail Amity of so weak and inconstant a Man as his Brother Duke* Charles, *who so often had been entrap'd.*

He discourages the Count de St. *Paul* from mediating in it.

From both these Princes he received such Answer as shewed they resolv'd to prosecute their Design, but not to have him suspect it; giving fair Protestations of their Desire to be overrul'd by the King's Direction. But neither of them understood the Business to be of that dangerous Nature, as it was conceived in *England*. For tho' King *Lewis* had no Son at that Time, yet was there every Day Expectation he might have; the Queen likely to conceive, and *Lewis* in much Health and Strength of Body. And indeed, soon after a young *Dauphin* was born, who succeeded in the Kingdom. Moreover they considered the Malice between the Brothers grown to that Height, that all Attempts of Reconciliation was needless; and that there was no such certain Way to maintain a general Dissention in *France*, as by enabling Duke *Charles* with a Power to make good the former Contestation. Nothing likely to incline him to seek Friendship with his Brother, but being disabled to continue an Enemy.

The Duke of *Brittain* and Count St. *Paul* dissemble their Designs to K. *Edward*.

The King suspecting the Reality of their Intentions, and being resolv'd upon any Terms to prevent the Marriage, had in his Determination to have forgot all former Discontents justly conceived against King *Lewis* in abetting the contrary Faction of *Lancaster*, and to have entred into a particular League with him against the Duke of *Burgundy*: But before he would make the Overture, he tried by his Ambassadors to know the certain Resolution of the Duke himself, who had in the Marriage of his Daughter always held his Thoughts apart from the World. And in Truth the End of his Intentions was to keep all neighbouring Princes in Expectation, but to conclude with none. For at the same time when Duke *Charles* had so many underhand Promises, with the self same Hope did he entertain *Maximilian*, Son to the Emperor *Frederick* the Third, *Nicholas*, Duke of *Calabria*, and *Philibert*, Duke of *Savoy*. His Ambition being to create many Dependancies upon himself, and never to marry her to no Man, unless he should be forced to it by some evil Fate in War,

Duke of *Burgundy*'s Policy in marrying his Daughter.

A. D. 1472. Reg. 12.

War, and then he doubted not but by her to work himself safe and honourable Conditions.

The Duke of *Burgundy* declares against the Marriage to K. *Edward's* Ambassadors, and satisfies the King.

Much importun'd by the *English* Ambassador to give his Resolution, and not knowing to what Danger the King's Suspicion might grow, or to what new Leagues it might incline him; he answer'd him faithfully that he intended no such near Alliance with Duke *Charles*. And that all those Appearances of Treaty were only to retain him in Discord with his Brother, who otherwise might chance to be reconciled, and hazard to destroy that Faction, which the Necessity of his Affairs did inforce him to advance. He desir'd therefore the King not to listen to every false Suggestion, but to believe he would do nothing in so material a Point, without much Advice, and Care had for Satisfaction of so great a Confederate, and so near an Allie.

Charles the King of *France's* Brother dies.

This so absolute Resolution of the Duke took away the former Jealousie, which soon after would howsoever of it self have vanish'd. For Duke *Charles*, not without a strong Suspicion of Practice in King *Lewis*, died of Poison, and so fixed a Period to those many civil Wars which had distracted the State of *France*, and to all those busie Ambitions, which had so much disquieted his own Content.

A. D. 1473. Reg. 13.

K. *Edward* in Debt, calls his Parliament for Supply.

At Home the King was continually stung by a swarm of Creditors, who during his late Troubles had supplied him with Treasure, and for whom Gratitude did oblige him to provide Repayment. He found his Exchequer empty, and a Necessity to desire the Commonalty to contribute with their Purses, that many of his best Friends might not be ruin'd. He therefore summon'd a Parliament to be held at *Westminster*, wherein though the Reformation of Abuses, and enacting Laws wholsome for the present Time was pretended, a liberal Subsidy was the Aim. But in the Beginning all those Acts which had been heretofore made during the first part of King *Edward's* Government, and abrogated by King *Henry* the last Parliament when for a Time he was restored, were reviv'd and enacted to continue in full Force for ever: And whatever other Statutes were made by King *Henry*, repealed. By Virtue of which Acts all the Nobility who had adhered to the House of *York*, and had been for that Attainted, were restored in Blood and to their Patrimonies; and all of the contrary Faction found Guilty of high Treason, and their Estates confiscated to the King. Then for Relief of the King's great Necessities (for all those so mighty Fortunes serv'd only to reward the Multitude of his Adherents) a full Subsidy was granted; In Recompence of which he gave them a general Pardon. And indeed by that, liberally repaid them; for by the late Civil Wars, the Lapse into Treason was so universal, that scarce any Estate could be safe if License were given to Informers, the Cormorants of a Commonwealth, who swallow much, but seldom or never grow Fat; and least of all Advance that they most pretend, the King's Benefit.

Acts of Parliament repealed by K. *Henry*, re-enacted by K. *Edward* again.

A general Pardon.

Lewis de Bruges much honour'd by the King.

Some few Days before the Parliament began, *Lewis* of *Bruges* a Netherlander, Lord of *Gruthuse* and Prince of *Steinhuse* came over into *England*, who was receiv'd by the King with all the Demonstrations of Amity: And on the Thirteenth of *October* in the Parliament-Chamber created Earl of *Winchester*, receiving with the Title the Ancient Arms of *Roger Quincy*, heretofore Earl of the Place, with Addition of the Coat of *England* in a Canton. The Reason of this so extraordinary Favour conferred upon a Stranger, was the much Application of Respect he made to King *Edward*, when by the prevailing Fortunes of the Earl of *Warwick*, he was forced to flie for Refuge under the Protection of the Duke of *Burgundy*. For he being a Nobleman of that Country, composed himself totally to comfort the King, distracted with his present Affliction.

A. D. 1471. Reg. 11.

Soon after him, the Parliament being newly ended, came Ambassadors from the *Low-Countries*; who, after the first open Audience, (wherein for the most part passed only the Complement of Princes) being admitted to the King and some few Lords most intimate to the King's Resolutions, spoke to this Purpose,

An Embassy from the Duke of *Burgundy* to King *Edward* to invite him to a War with *France*.

May it please your Majesty,

'WE are sent by our great Master the 'Duke of *Burgundy* upon an Embassy, 'that may prove strange at the first Apprehension, and even in it self Contradictory. To 'Congratulate your Majesty the Glory of that 'Peace you enjoy, and to invite you from it, 'to a new War. But Glory is like Time, ever-'lastingly in Motion, and when it stops it ends.

K. *Edward* invited to a War with *France*.

'Your Majesty hath by the happy Conduct 'of your Power and Fortune, restored the 'Kingdom to it self: That was an Act of Ne-'cessity. For you could not be your self, if 'your great Enemies had not been reduced to 'nothing. Now as great a Justice doth invite 'you to the Recovery of a larger Kingdom. 'Which we know your high Spirit cannot re-'fuse to undertake, least the World have just 'Reason to suspect you took Arms to live, not 'to reign. For if your Title to the Crown of 'England be just, as Man did always allow in 'Judgment, and Almighty God hath approv'd 'in the Success; the same Title is good to the 'Crown of *France*: Both having been united 'into One ever since the Usurpation of *Philip de Valois*.

King *Edward's* Title to *France*.

'The People's Affection to Princes of their 'own Nation enacted an injurious Law; that 'authoriz'd Injustice, and confirm'd the Sove-'reignty in the Heirs-Male. The Female were 'excluded, as if the Distinction of Kind could 'make a Difference in Right, and the being 'born a Woman were to be born Illegitimate; 'for the Law *Salique* in a Manner bastardizeth 'the whole Sex.

The Injustice of the *Salique* Law in *France*.

'Your great Ancestor *Edward* the Third, 'whose Name and Magnanimity you inherit, 'with his Sword abrogated this Law: And cal-'led the Law-makers to a severe Account at 'Crescie and *Poitiers*, where more Veins of 'France were open'd, and more Blood issued, 'than any Time records, considering the small 'Numbers of the *English*. In the latter of the 'two Battles *John*, Son to *Philip* of *Valois*, la-'bouring to make good the Pretensions of his 'Father, was taken Prisoner, and so continued 'less than a free Subject, by endeavouring un-'justly to be a Sovereign.

Edward the Third's Victories in *France*.

'The little Handful of Men with which the 'English then opposed the vast Armies of the 'French, not only showing the high Advantage 'the Nation hath in Courage; but the mira-'culous Justice of the Almighty, who delights 'to make the Destruction of Usurpers his own 'Work, and not to permit Man by his Power 'to rival Heaven in the Punishment.

English conquer'd *France* with small Forces.

'Your Majesty needs not History to perswade 'you to the Quarrel, or Example to assure 'you of the Success The Justice of the Claim 'will easily prevail with you to draw again 'your Sword, which hath been hitherto almost 'ever unsheathed in Vindication of your Right;

King *Edward's* just Claim to *France*.

A. D. 1473. Reg. 13.

and that with ſo much Proſperity, that they who admire your Valour and Direction, applaud your Fortune.

K. *Edward* oblig'd in Policy to War with *France.*

'But if the Nature of Man, delighted in the Felicities of Peace, ſhould adviſe your Majeſty to ſatisfie your Mind with the Triumph of thoſe Victories you have already purchaſed; Yet neither a juſt Revenge, nor diſcreet Policy will admit it. For how can *England* remain ſafe from future Injuries, and acquit her ſelf in Honour againſt thoſe who have heretofore affronted her; if *France*, where all the late Combuſtions were firſt conceived, remain unpuniſh'd?

King of *France* the Cauſe of the Civil Wars in *England.*

'The huge Body of the Civil War lies now a dead Trunk, wounded to Death by your Arm, but yet *Lewis* of *France*, the Head of that Monſter, tho' contrary to the ordinary Courſe of Nature, retains ſtill a Life, and quickens Miſchief hourly againſt this Kingdom; leaſt otherwiſe his own be not ſecure. And ſhould your Majeſty out of Deſire to avoid the further Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, permit him to continue in the unjuſt Poſſeſſion of a Kingdom, he would interpret his Safety and your Mercy to be either a blind Ignorance, or a degenerate Fear: And from your Lenity draw the Boldneſs to prepare new Troubles againſt your Quiet.

A War with *France* neceſſary to purge our Malecontents.

'And if it be not an over-much Care in a Confederate and an Allie, to make ſo narrow a Scrutiny into your Majeſty's Affairs, our Maſter believes that this War will not be unneceſſary for the preſent State of *England*. In regard this Way thoſe many evil Humours, gather'd in the Body of the Kingdom by the late Diſorders, will be eaſily purged away, or at leaſt diverted. Seeing Experience teacheth us how impoſſible it is, for a Nation nurſed in Civil War, ſuddenly to embrace a Peace, and endure a ſevere Government. And ſhould the Diſcontented not vent themſelves thus Abroad, how dangerous it might make the Diſeaſe at Home, is eaſie to be conjectured.

Small Preparations neceſſary for a War with *France.*

'But all this ſhows only the Juſtice and Neceſſity of your War: Preparations great enough to oppoſe a King of *France*, yet we have not touched upon. And that indeed is it, our Maſter gave us in our Inſtructions moſt to acquaint your Majeſty withal: As by which it will be moſt apparent, how without any Reflection upon his own Occaſions, he invites you to this Undertaking. For his Highneſs underſtands how far this Overture lies open to a falſe Interpretation, conſidering his Enmity with King *Lewis*, did not the Circumſtance of the Buſineſs ſhow how your Majeſty is rather deſir'd to a Triumph than a Battle.

The Allies of *France* few.

'Never had *France* ſo many Enemies ſo powerfully united, and never ſo few Friends, if ſhe may be ſaid to have any. For except only the poor Duke of *Lorrain*, who happily may be a Burthen, never an Aid to any Prince; we can hardly reckon a Confederate. For ſo treacherous have been all King *Lewis*'s Arts, ſo diſſembling his Nature, that the World hath concluded it much ſafer to be at Enmity with him, than upon the faireſt Terms. His Friendſhip having ruin'd ſome, his Arms never any Man.

Confederates againſt *France.*

'In Confederacy with our Maſter, and in abſolute Reſolution to invade *France*, are the Duke of *Brittain* and the Count Saint *Paul*. *Brittain* able of his own Subjects to bring a powerful Army into the Field, Saint *Paul* by his Kindred and Intelligence to cauſe a general Revolt of all the Nobility from the King.

'And indeed, ſuch hath been the Character of that politick Prince (for that Epithete his poor Shifts have got him) that a continual Contempt hath been thrown by him upon the great Lords, and a moſt near Familiarity enter'd into with the baſeſt People. His Barber being more acquainted with the Affairs of State, than the whole Body of his Council. *A. D.* 1473. Reg. 13.

The *French* Nobles ſlighted by their King.

'This prepoſterous Courſe of Favour, hath made the greateſt States of the Kingdom ſcorn their preſent King, and reflect upon your Majeſty, whoſe Comportment in War and Peace hath been ſuch as juſtly makes your Triumph in the general Affections of your many Friends, and utter Deſtruction of your Enemies.

K. *Edward* promiſed great Aſſiſtance to conquer *France.*

'If it may therefore pleaſe your Majeſty to admit of that Greatneſs your high Deſcent hath Title to, and your Predeceſſors have had Poſſeſſion of: The Arms of theſe great Princes are prepared to ſerve you. Our Maſter firſt honoured your Majeſty as a potent Neighbour, great in your ſelf as in Dominion. Then by Marriage he grew into the neareſt Degree of Correſpondence; the Title of Brothers, (a Ceremony uſed between Princes) being of due in Alliance between you Two: Laſtly, He had the Happineſs which Potentates ſeldom have (tho' with ſome Trouble to your Majeſty) to enjoy entire Familiarity: By which thoſe other Reſpects, common among Perſons of like Quality, and which are often but weak Ties of Amity, are converted into a perfect Friendſhip. So that the Deſire his Highneſs hath to advance your Majeſty's Glory and Command, proceeds only from Love to the Poſterity of your Perſon, and Juſt Claim.

Duke of *Burgundy*'s Friendſhip with King *Edward.*

'With how powerful Forces he will concur to this great Action, hath been of Purpoſe omitted: Becauſe the World hath had ſufficient Teſtimony, how able his Highneſs hath been to oppoſe, if not oppreſs, King *Lewis* without borrowing Aid from a Confederate.

Duke of *Burgundy*'s Power aſſerted.

'He therefore intreats to know your Majeſty's Reſolution, whether you will paſs over and perſonally make your own Claim to the Crown. Your Majeſty's only Preſence being of Power to raiſe a fuller Army in the very Heart of *France*, than yet ever King of *England* led to conquer *France.*

King *Edward*'s Reſolution deſir'd.

This Overture took generally with the great Lords, who in their Infancies by their Nurſes having been told no Stories but of our Triumphs in *France* (and thoſe Tales imprint deeply in the Memory) and now for many Years ever acquainted with the Wars at Home, embraced Danger as the only Means to Honour. Moreover an Appetite of Glory, mingled with a Noble Emulation of the Powers of their Fathers, made every Man of Name thruſt forward to this Action. Neither were the more Covetous backward, conſidering they were to War with a richer, and a more effeminate Nation; and not unlikely to return loaden with Spoil, if not to remain there in a fertiler and a pleaſanter Country. The Soldier, who was in a manner all the Gentry of the Land (for the Civil Wars had engaged them all to the ſtudy of Arms) reliſh'd this Buſineſs more than the great Lords. For they, having been bred up in the free Licenſe of War, abhorred to be circumſcribed within the narrow Bounds of the Laws, which never have abſolute Power but in Peace. So that the whole Body of the Kingdom paſſionately affected the Quarrel, and by their univerſal Acclamations in Praiſe of it, per-

A War with *France* encouraged by the *Engliſh* Nobility and People.

A. D. 1473. Reg. 13.

perſwaded the King ſoon to declare his Aſſent.

K. *Edward* promiſes to invade *France* in the Spring.

Whereupon ſending for the Ambaſſadors, he ſhowed his Reſolution to the War, which he would undertake in Perſon, and that very Spring (for it was now preſently after *Chriſtmas*) tranſport his Forces into *France*. He deſired therefore to underſtand, in what readineſs the Duke of *Burgundy* had his Army, and where he would appoint the Place for the *Engliſh* to joyn, and which way ſhould firſt be taken. To which the Ambaſſadors made anſwer, That the Duke had his Forces ſo well prepared, that if the King would nominate a certain Time when he would be at *Calis*; the Duke would be ſure three Months before to waſte the whole Country belonging to the *French*, and to have his Men ſo expert, that they ſhould be able to inſtruct the *Engliſh*, unacquainted with the Place. And as for Tranſportation of his Soldiers they deſired his Majeſty not to trouble himſelf, in regard his Highneſs would provide Boats for that Purpoſe.

The Confederacy againſt *France* ſhew'd K. *Edward.*

Then that the King might perceive how faithfully the Duke dealt with him, they ſhowed the Articles agreed upon between the Dukes of *Burgundy*, *Brittain*, and the Count St. *Paul*, to joyn in a War offenſive againſt King *Lewis*; as likewiſe a Catalogue of the Names of all the great Lords of *France*, who held ſecret Intelligence with them, and who would revolt from the *French* King, as ſoon as the Duke's Army took the Field.

Duke of *Brittain* rejoyced in the Confederacy of K. *Edward* keeps up his Reſolution to invade *France.*

With this ſo ſatisfactory Anſwer, the Ambaſſadors returned to the Duke, who in this attained the Ambition of many Years working. For all the Fear which troubled his buſie Mind was, leaſt King *Edward* won by the Practices of King *Lewis*, might be induced to ſide with *France*, or elſe to remain a Neuter. And indeed the laſt he ſuſpected moſt, knowing the Nature of our King ſo prone to Voluptuouſneſs, to which the Noiſe and Trouble of the Wars never gives free Licenſe. He therefore by continual Embaſſies, kept him conſtant to his Reſolution, and with larger Promiſes of Supply, and clearer Appearances of Succeſs, prick'd forward his Ambition to the Enterprize.

King *Edward's* Ambition to conquer *France*, and the *Engliſh* antipathy againſt the *French.*

But all theſe Arts were Needleſs, for the King was forward to the Quarrel; either out of a brave Emulation of *Henry* the Fifth his Predeceſſor of the other Line; or out of a Confidence as eaſily to throw King *Lewis* out of the Throne of *France*, as he had King *Henry* out of the Sovereignty of *England*; or perhaps not to appear backward in an Attempt of Glory, when the Expectation of the Kingdom called upon him to arm. For unleſs ſome Malice rancor'd in the Genius of our Nation againſt the *French*, the *Saxon* Government having received a final Overthrow by them, in the Conqueſt of Duke *William* (though to that great Buſineſs conſpired all the adjacent Countries) it would be our wonder why the *Engliſh* were never ſparing of their Lives or Treaſure, when any War might be advanced againſt the *French*; and of this ſo extraordinary Forwardneſs in his People, the King took a great Advantage.

The Reaſon why the *Engliſh* are always ready to War with the *French.*

To compact the Body of this Enterprize, Money the Nerves and Sinues of War were wanting. The ordinary Courſe for Supply was by Parliament, and that at this Time was held Difficult if not impoſſible: In regard the King but a little before had diſſolved the Aſſembly, having received for Diſcharge of his Debts a large Contribution; and to urge them to a Second Aid, would probably end in Diſtaſte, if not in Denial. Neither could it appear leſs than extream Exaction, to force the Farmers, who make up the greateſt Number in any Payment, to yield to a Subſidy, conſidering the Precedent Troubles of the Kingdom had utterly impoveriſh'd them by hindering Tillage and all good Husbandry. And for the Nobility who pay a large Share in all general Collections; they for the moſt part prepared themſelves for the Expedition. And it could not but rebate the Edge of their Courages to be at a vaſt Charge not only in the particular ſetting forth of their own Perſons and their Retinue; but in the general Preparations. There was therefore a New Way found out, by former Ages never known without oppreſſing the Commons, to ſupply the King, the Name it bore was a Benevolence, (though many diſproved the Signification of the Word, by their Unwillingneſs to the Gift) and it was cunningly and diſcreetly required only of the better ſort of People, who were known to have a plentiful Revenue, of whom he got a particular Catalogue. And eſpecially of ſuch whom Eaſe and Wealth were likely to detain at Home. Knowing that the heavieſt Burthen might be laid on them without a publick Murmur, as Men hated by the Soldier, and upon whoſe Proſperity ever attends a common Envy.

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K. *Edward* furniſhes himſelf with Money for this Expedition by a Benevolence and not by Parliament.

K. *Edward* ſupplies himſelf with Money for the War by a Benevolence

The Way of raiſing the Benevolence.

In advancing this Contribution no Policy was omitted, either by private Menaces, or publick Entreaties. Some came in led by fear (not knowing to what Indignation a Denial might provoke the State) Others were cunningly perſwaded to a vain hope of enjoying the King's particular Favour by their Forwardneſs: Few granted it for Love to the Enterprize; moſt only becauſe their Neighbours did it, and they wanted Courage to diſobey Example. In Hiſtory a Widow is much ſpoke of, who having freely, and ſomewhat above the Proportion of her Eſtate, contributed Twenty Pound, receiv'd from the King a Kiſs. Which his ſo extraordinary Favour (extraordinary to a Widow declin'd in Years) ſo overjoy'd her, that ſhe doubled the Sum, and preſented it to the Collectors. By which ſlight Paſſage, a Judgment is eaſie to be made of the King's Nature; either of it ſelf full of Humanity, or without Difficulty bending to the loweſt Courteſie, when it any Way concern'd the Advancement of his Profit.

A Widow's Generoſity by a Kiſs from the King.

By this Art Monies were raiſed, and now nothing was wanting to the Expedition. The univerſal Language of the Kingdom being of the Wars, and all Exerciſes Military. No Perſon of Blood or Quality, but prepared for the Journey, except only thoſe whom Infancy or extream Age exempted, or the neceſſary Adminiſtration of the Commonwealth. And all they who went, emulated each other in the Glory of their Armour, the Richneſs of their Pavilions, the Bravery of their Horſes Furniture and Servants Apparel. Every Man being held ſo far to recede from Honour, as in his Preparations he expreſſed an Unwillingneſs to the Buſineſs.

The general Preparation for an Expedition with *France.*

The Army conſiſted of 1500 Men at Arms, 15000 Archers, 8000 common Soldiers, beſide 3000 Pioneers (l) appointed to guard the Ord-

King *Edward's* Army that invaded *France.*

(l) And a Thouſand Men belonging to the Train. In all 31500 Men.

nance

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nance and the Carriage. Three Thousand good Soldiers were sent into *Brittain*, to joyn with his Forces, and assault *France* on the other Side.

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K. *Edward* hastes into *France.*

All Things disposed in so full a Readiness, the King sent over to the Duke of *Burgundy*, to acquaint him with the State of the Army, and to know in what Forwardness Businesses were on that Side. Who returned Answers full of confident Promises, and Exhortation to the King to make all possible Haste over, the Summer coming on apace; which if past further without Action, would indanger the Loss of the whole Expedition for that Year. He assured him moreover of certain (*m*) Towns under the Government of the Count St. *Paul*, which should be surrendred into the King's Hands, for Retreat to the *English* upon any Occasion of the Badness of Weather or Fortune. And indeed how weak soever the Duke knew the Condition of his Army, yet fearful he was to express it, least the King should take Advantage to give over the Undertaking. The King's Nature being known diseased so much with the Love of Peace, that the Duke was justly Suspicious how sound soever it appeared for the Present, it might upon the least Distemper fall into a Relapse.

Some Towns to be surrendred to K. *Edward.*

Upon these Assurances from the Duke, the King gave Order that all his Forces should repair to *London*: Whence after some few Months spent in Preparations, he march'd towards *Dover*. But before he took Shipping, that the Progress of the War might be the more Successful, the Beginning was made according to the Old Heroick Strain of Bravery. For the King sent *Garter* an Herald over with a Letter of Defiance to *Lewis* of *France*; in which he was requir'd to surrender up to the King of *England*, the Realm of *France*, as due to him by the Laws of Inheritance, and violently wrested away from *Henry* the Sixth, by *Charles* the Seventh, and as unjustly possessed by *Lewis*: By which voluntary Resignation of the Crown, it was shew'd how without Effusion of Blood, the King of *England* should be enabled to restore the Clergy and Nobility to their ancient Greatness and Priviledges, and the Commons to their Liberty: Of which they had all been so cruelly depriv'd by the injurious Usurpation and tyrannical Government of *Charles* and *Lewis*. It showed likewise how far the Kingdom of *France* in general, would by this receive Benefit, considering it would be eased of all those many and unsupportable Exactions, which by those covetous Princes, had been laid upon it. It concluded with a threatning of all the Mischiefs which accompany War, and an absolute Despair of all future Mercy, or Care to be had of *Lewis*'s Provision; If upon so fair an Admonishment, and Summons given, he refused to yield the Kingdom.

A Letter of Defiance sent by an Herald to K. *Lewis.*

This Letter saith *Comines* (an Author of that Time, happy in writing many cunning Particulars of the Princes he serv'd, but rude in the Art of History, and ever blemishing the Glory of our Nation) was penn'd so elegantly both for Language and Matter, that he believ'd it was beyond the Abilities of an *English* Wit; a bold and ridiculous Censure. For how could he who was born no Native of *France*, and never had been instructed in any Learning, judge of Language? Or how of the witty Contrivance of the Letter, since in his own History, which is receiv'd by the World with so univer-

Phil. Comines's Censures of the Letter confuted, and a Judgment of his History.

sal an Applause, there is an apparent Defect in Order and Method? And without Vanity our Nation may assume to it self the Praise, (considering the narrow Limits of the Island,) to have produced as many Scholars admirable in all Degrees of Knowledge, as any Country on this side the *Alpes*. Neither was that Age (though according to the Necessity of the Time, more expert in Arms than Arts) without Excellent Wits famed for Literature. But this Digression the Reader must pardon; a Sense of our Nation's Honour thrust my Pen out of the Way, if this be from the Purpose.

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Habington condemns *Comines* unjustly.

Whatsoever the Letter was in the Composure, it was such in the Substance, that it discomposed King *Lewis*, and troubled all his Imaginations. He read it softly and fearfully; which was beneath that part of Understanding he was most Master of, even Policy it self. For it could not but beget strange Interpretations in the Court, when the Message of an Enemy deliver'd publickly by Letter should be kept concealed. The Demand must probably be easily conjectured, and this silent Way of answering could not but procure Suspicion, that his Resolution might descend to yield more than became a Prince. But in the Manage of this, as in all other Businesses, King *Lewis* delighted to give Order alone, and show his Authority Independant of any Council, without perplexing himself at all to satisfie Opinion.

K. *Lewis's* Disturbance at the Letter.

Having read the Letter he withdrew himself into a Wardrobe, and commanded the Herald to be brought to his Presence. To whom he in answer to the Letter said, That he knew the King his Master had not resolv'd upon this Enterprize, out of his own Disposition; but overcome by the Sollicitation of his People, and the Perswasion of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Count St. *Paul*. His People infatuated with a vain Presumption of Victory, because heretofore the Success of their Wars in *France* had been fortunate, never considering the Disparity of the State of Things, or the Uncertainty of Events, especially where Fury and Fortune, two blind Powers, bear the whole Sway. The Duke of *Burgundy*, (loving War for it self, and having rashly engag'd himself into many Quarrels) out of Desire to draw the King of *England* into his Dangers, or at least at another's Cost, to beat the bargain of Peace to a lower Rate. The Reason why he had so labour'd King *Edward* to take Arms, and revive an absolute Title to the Kingdom of *France*, being only for his own Preservation which was threatned by all his injured Neighbours, or else as it is reported of People, diseased of the Plague, in Envy to the Health of other Nations desirous to infect even his neerest Allies with the Contagion of his Quarrel. As for the Count St. *Paul*, who had ever subsisted by Dissimulation, and causing Division between Princes, whereby his Assistance either for the Prosecution of the War, or Conclusion of Peace might be required as Necessary: All his Hopes in this Quarrel were only to fish in troubled Waters, and by an universal Combustion to raise himself into Authority, in regard Peace levelled him with inferior Lords, and made his Service of no Use.

K. *Lewis* discourses with the Herald, and desires of Peace with the *English.*

King *Lewis* proceeded to tell him in how miserable a Condition the *Burgundian* Army was, having been broken at the Siege of *Nuz* (a desperate and mad Undertaking) and being now return'd Home, the Soldier destroy'd either by the Sword or Famine; and that small

The Weakness of the D. of *Burgundy* discovered to the Herald.

(*m*) St. *Quintine* and others.

Number

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Number which escaped, so wretched that the Duke might well expect Protection from the King, but could no way be of Power to advance his Purpose. He added how the Season of the Year, Summer being almost past, must of Necessity deter the King from crossing the Sea, and many other Arguments against the present Undertaking; as if the Herald being perswaded to Quiet by Oratory, *France* might have been reprieved from War for that Year. And to make him the more his Friend, he gave him with his own Hand three hundred Crowns, with Promise of a Thousand more, if the Peace, so much desired by him, took effect.

The Herald promises to promote a Peace with K. *Edward.*

The Herald, overcome much by his Perswasions, but much more by his Money, reply'd, 'That no Pains on his Part should be omitted, 'that might tend to the Service of his Majesty's 'Intentions; and that he, as far as his Observation upon the King's Nature could reach, 'imagined no great Difficulty to bring his 'Master to a fair Agreement; but that, as yet, 'the Motion would be most unseasonable, considering, that after so vast a Charge in levying 'of an Army, and so universal an Applause to 'the Design, his Majesty could not retire, until, at least, he had led his Forces into *France* 'and made some Appearance of intending what 'so constantly he had pretended. He desired him therefore to let his Army pass over to *Callis*, and thither to send his Herald to desire a safe Conduct for his Ambassadors, with Order to make Addresses to the Lords *Stanley* and *Howard*, and himself; and that the Way should be prepared so plain for King *Lewis* his Purpose, that there should be no Impediment at the worst to a fair Respect, if not to a full Satisfaction of his Desires.

The *English* Herald sent away.

All this Discourse past in Private: In Publick there was Caution, by the King's strict Command given, That no *French* Man should have any Communication with him; and as soon as possible he was dismissed with many fair Words, and thirty Ells of Crimson Velvet for Reward. The King after his Departure, expressing in his Look and Carriage, much Cheerfulness and Courage, either comforted by the faint Hopes our Herald gave him, or else cunningly dissembling his Fears.

K. *Lewis's* impolitick Management in Treating so with the Herald.

The Order of this Discourse between them, is delivered to us as a high Reach of Policy in King *Lewis*. But to an indifferent Understanding it appears nothing but the ordinary Wit of Cowardize; and certainly how covetous soever the Necessity of his Occasions made him to buy Peace, yet his manner of Traffick at this Time was beneath the Spirit of a Prince. For although his Largess to the Herald wrought the wish'd Effect, yet he might have been deceiv'd by him, and by his so earnest Desire to avert the present War, have endanger'd to bring it much more fierce upon him. Neither could it be imagined common Discretion to impart his Fears to an Enemy, who might perhaps betray them to the Scorn of the *English* Army, or to negotiate Peace with a Herald (though a Person of much Worth and Understanding) yet commonly a Stranger to the Knowledge of the more inward Resolutions of State, but the Management of this Business thus, took a good Effect, and that concurring in a Prince, whose other Actions were politickly order'd, made it have so happy a Censure.

Upon return of the Herald, the King embark'd for *Callis*, and after him follow'd his Army, which was transported in certain flat bottom'd Boats of *Holland* and *Zeland*, by them usually called *Scuts* (*n*), lent as before covenanted by the Duke of *Burgundy*. And notwithstanding the Commodiousness of the Vessels and Multitude, being Five Hundred in all, three Weeks were they in their Passage, among all the Forces there not being one Page. Which as it instructs us in the vast Numbers of the Soldiers, so doth it in the Strength and Power, in regard they were all able Men, who undertook this Enterprize, and who came not to learn but to make Proof of their Knowledge in Arms.

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K. *Edward* passes over to *Callis* with his Army.

As soon as he heard they were certainly ashore, the Duke in all Haste came to congratulate the King's safe landing, and happy Arrival of the Army; for there was just Ground for fear that the *French* Navy might have endeavour'd to trouble their Passage: But the Duke coming with a very small Train, much afflicted the Expectation of the *English*, who thought to have seen him march to meet them with 2500 Men at Arms well appointed (*o*), beside a large Power of Horse and Foot; as by his Embassadors and his own Articles had so amply and frequently been promised: But to take away this Suspicion from them for fear it might any way drive back their thoughts toward *England*; he told them, *That his so private comming to the King was only to express his Joy for the King's Safety and theirs, and that his Army was further in the Country so well prepared for the present Design, that they should have no Reason to think him any way to have boasted.* He therefore invited them to march up into the Land, where they might be better accommodated, and conducted the King to *Bullen*; a Town which having been heretofore morgaged by the *French*, to *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, with a large Part of *Picardy*; was notwithstanding the often tender of the Money by *Lewis* still detained violently by Duke *Charles*. There he gave the *English* a free Entertainment, and still kept their Expectation high. From thence he went with them to *Peron*, another Town of *Picardy* kept upon the same Terms. Into which he admitted but few of the better Sort of the *English*, and over those too he carried a watchful Eye: The Army forced to lodge in the Field, which was the less Inconvenient in regard of the Season of the Year, and the Commodiousness of Pavilions and Tents, with which they were so plentifully furnish'd. The Duke perhaps loath to trust the Army in Possession of so important a Place least their Expectation being disappointed they might attempt to give him some Trouble. To *Peron* the Count St. *Paul* sent to congratulate the King's Arrival in *France*, to promise all Service to his Enterprize, and his Towns to his Use and Command. Whereupon the King removed to St. *Quintin*, over which St. *Paul* commanded, there to accommodate his Army, till the Duke's Forces were in Readiness to take the Field. But as some over-hasty Troops having got the Start of the Army came confidently toward the Gates, expecting to be receiv'd, if not with Triumph, at least with all the Demonstrations of Joy; the Artillery from the Town shot against them, and some of the Garrison issued forth to skirmish, in which Two or Three of the *English* perish'd. This

Duke of *Burgundy* comes with a small Retinue to congratulate K. *Edward*'s Arrival, which dis-contented him.

The *English* Army disgusted at the Duke of *Burgundy*'s and Count St. *Paul*'s Behaviour to them.

(*n*) Five Hundred Flat-bottom'd Boats.
The King landed at *Callis* the 4th of *June*.

(*o*) The Duke of *Burgundy* was to have joyn'd K. *Edward* with 4000 Horse and 9000 Foot. His Forces were then besieging *Nuis* in the Electorate of *Cologne*.

Apperance

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Appearance of Hoſtility from a Confederate, confirmed the former Jealouſie of the Army, and raiſed a ſtrange Murmur both againſt St. *Paul*, and the Duke, which was increaſed by the Difficulties of a tempeſtuous Night, with which the *Engliſh* after were troubled: For an extraordinary Rain fell, and made the ſo open Lodging very unpleaſing, with Danger of Diſeaſes to the Army.

Duke of *Burgundy* not able to ſatisfie the Suſpicion of the *Engliſh*.

The Duke of *Burgundy* oppoſed againſt this Diſcontent with his Authority, but in vain: For not able to give Satisfaction for his own Weakneſs and Breach of Promiſe, he was more diſabled to clear Suſpicion from another. Whereupon he took his leave of the King, intreating his and the Armies Patience for a while, till he brought his Forces to join with them, and a full Account from the Count St. *Paul*, of his Garriſon's Demeanure at St. *Quintin*.

But this his Departure compared with the former Carriage of Things, begot yet a ſtronger Doubt of their Intentions in the *Engliſh*, who being Strangers in that Place, and not having any particular Aim in Conduct of the Buſineſs, but only a general Reſolution to regain *France*, interpreted theſe Delays and falſe Play to direct Treaſon. And began openly to inveigh againſt their own Folly in confiding on the Promiſes of ſuch, who indeavour'd not the Glory of the *Engliſh* Name, or the King's Title, but only their own Safety: For Preſervation of which, under a ſpecious Pretext of recovering a Kingdom, they had ſeduced them into a ſtrange Country, in hope hereafter to ſell them to the *French*. And altho' this Diſcourſe were only in the Mouth of the common Soldier; yet did the Thoughts of the Commanders participate with the Vulgar, tho' not ſo freely opened. For hitherto there had been no Aſſurance given of any real Intention either in *Burgundy* or St. *Paul*.

The *Engliſh* Complaints of the Duke of *Brittain*'s Treachery.

Their Diſcontents defended.

The much Indignation expreſſed by the *Engliſh* upon this Occaſion was thought a ſtrange kind of rude Ignorance, and a Note even of Barbariſm. Which Cenſure favours too much of Malice, conſidering it could not be judged blind Preſumption that induced our Nation to this Undertaking; the State, for it, having the faireſt Apperance of Human Reaſon, and the Religion of the ſtrongeſt Oaths. And if the unexpected Treachery of St. *Paul* ingendred Choler; why ſhould this Paſſion be ſo Contemptible, ſince an Injury from a Friend is ever quicker and ſharper to the Senſe; and all Nations remov'd from their own Seats upon dangerous Adventures, are prone to Suſpicion. And for Ignorance in Art of War, I ſee not how by Malice it ſelf it can be obtruded upon the *Engliſh*, ſince their only Miſery was too much Experience in Arms, which ever begets Knowledge. Neither could they be but Skilful even in the Military Exerciſe of the *French*, few of the Soldiery who were now of any Age, but their Youth had been bred up and inſtructed under the Command of that great Captain *Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury* and others: Not full twenty Years expired, ſince we turn'd our Swords upon our ſelves, and gave *France* Liberty to recover Breath.

K. *Lewis* ſends an Herald to propound a Peace with the *Engliſh*.

But this Dilatory Way in the Duke, and Treachery in the Count, prepared the Army to a good Thought of Peace; and brought the two Confederates, into more Hatred than an open Enemy: So that when an Herald came from K. *Lewis*, he was receiv'd into the *Engliſh* Camp with much Humanity; and friendly invited by the Soldier, to refreſh himſelf with Wine and Meat, till the King, who was then at Dinner, was at Leiſure to give him Audience. For *Lewis*, following the Inſtructions of our Herald, as ſoon as he underſtood King *Edward* was landed, and had heard likewiſe of ſome Diſguſts, appearing between him and the Duke; reſolv'd to ſend to him, and attempt to perſwade him to a Peace: But ſo poor was he in the outward Ceremonies of Majeſty, that no Herald attended on his Camp; whereupon he was enforced to ſuborn a Fellow, a Servant of one Monſieur *de Hale*, of whoſe Wit and Confidence he had taken ſome Notice, to act the Part. Who having received full Inſtructions from his Maſter, addreſſed himſelf to the Lords *Stanley* and *Howard*, and the *Engliſh* Herald, by whoſe Aid being brought to the King, he handſomly delivered his Meſſage. The Effect of which was, To ſhow the great Deſire the King his Maſter had to live in perfect Amity with all neighbouring Princes, but above all with his Majeſty of *England*, as the King, who in the Extent of Empire, and his own Proweſs was moſt Conſiderable; That he had much Reaſon to believe the preſent War had not received the firſt Life in *England*, eſpecially not in the Diſpoſition of the King; which (as he was inform'd) abhorr'd the unneceſſary drawing of Chriſtian Blood; That they who had firſt hatch'd this Quarrel, did it only with their Neighbour's Danger to procure their own Safety, and when they had made an advantagious Peace, to conſpire with him, who before had been the common Enemy, for beating back their beſt Friend the *Engliſh*; That he doubted not but that his Majeſty would ſuddenly find good Ground for Suſpicion, when he ſhould perceive the Duke of *Burgundy*, not able to bring into the Field one entire Regiment; all his Forces having been utterly broken upon deſperate Services, to which an innate Love to War had madly engag'd him. Then he proceeded to excuſe his Maſter's ſuccouring the Faction of *Lancaſter*: To which he proteſted he never gave Aſſiſtance for it ſelf, but only for the Earl of *Warwick*'s Sake, whom he ſupported only to affront *Burgundy*, whoſe irreconcilable Enemy *Warwick* had ever profeſſed himſelf. And if he had inclined more to favour King *Henry*, he might well excuſe it, in reſpect of his near Kindred to him and his Wife Q. *Margaret*, and ſomething too in Reaſon of State, to oppoſe *Burgundy* who pretended to be a Friend (how falſe ſoever he prov'd) to the Houſe of *York*. That if his Majeſty would be pleaſed to ſearch up to the very Head of this Buſineſs, he ſhall find more Streams of Aſſiſtance to have flowed from *Burgundy* than from *France* to K. *Henry*; Duke *Philip* and this Duke (till his Marriage with the Princeſs *Margaret*) having moſt paſſionately laboured the Supportation of that Family, to which they were ſo near in Kindred. The Concluſion was to deſire his Majeſty to grant a ſafe Conduct for two Horſe, in whoſe Company ſhould come Embaſſadors enabled with larger Inſtructions, and who ſhould make Propoſal of ſuch Conditions, as could not be rejected by the King or Kingdom of *England*, ſince they ſhould be for the Honour and Profit of both; unleſs it would better ſtand with his Majeſty's Liking to aſſign a Place of Treaty in ſome Village between both Armies, to which they might joyntly ſend Commiſſioners.

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The *French* Herald's Speech to deſire a Treaty.

French King's Reaſons for aſſiſting the *Lancaſtrians*.

Duke of *Burgundy* aſſiſted the *Lancaſtrians*.

This Meſſage deliver'd in a ſoft Tone, expreſſing much Humility, and ever aſcribing to the King's Greatneſs of Spirit and the Nation's Glory; together with a Promiſe to make Overture of Conditions both Honourable and Profitable, begot a favourable Audience. And

many

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K. Edward and his Nobles agree to a Treaty of Peace.

many of the great Lords, who had plentiful Revenues at Home, were as forward as the King to liſten to Peace, and forſake unneceſſary Dangers Abroad. Neither did the greateſt Statiſts diſlike a Treaty, conſidering that all our Wars in *France* had rather purchaſed Fame than Treaſure to our Kingdom, and when our Soldiers returned Home, their Scars were greater than their Spoils. And howſoever we had by Starts and Fits got Poſſeſſion of the largeſt Territories in *France*, yet ſtill we retired back again; as if the Divine Providence had decreed to have our Empire bounded within our Seas. Moreover they who affected the Happineſs of a Kingdom and loved their own Country, deſir'd rather *France* under a Foreign Governour, leaſt if in Poſſeſſion of our King, *England* being the leſs, both in Extent and Fertility, might be reduced to the Condition of a Province, and live in Obedience to a Deputy, enriching the greater Kingdom with her Tribute. Other Conſiderations likewiſe of the preſent State of the Wars, prevail'd to give leave for a Treaty; Whereupon with Reward of 100 Angels in a Gilt Cup, the Herald was diſmiſſed, a Safe-Conduct granted, and the Place for the Commiſſioners appointed in a Village near *Amiens*, the Armies to abide at Four Miles Diſtance on each Side: For the King were nominated, the Lord *Howard*, Sir *Anthony St. Leger*, and Dr. *Morton*; for the *French*, the Baſtard of *Burbon*, Admiral of *France*, the Lord St. *Peire*, and the Biſhop of *Eureux*.

The Place, and Commiſſioners appointed for it.

Peace agreed between K. Edward, and the King of France upon a Payment of certain Sums.

Theſe Men at the firſt Meeting brought almoſt the Treaty to a Concluſion, for on both Sides they brought Minds diſpoſed to Peace. And altho' the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners at firſt demanded the Crown of *France* as due to the King by Right, from which in Honour he could not recede; and afterward with much Appearance of Difficulty condeſcended to be content with *Normandy* and *Guien*, yet they themſelves knew well Princes never uſed to part with Countries upon Treaty, before the Battle hath impoſed a Neceſſity to yield. And indeed the *Engliſh* expected not that *Lewis* would be frighted out of ſo important Limbs of the Body of *France*, only upon the braving of an Enemy. Soon this firſt Flouriſh of Buſineſſes came to more eaſie Terms. *Edward* deſir'd to be gone without Loſs of Honour, *Lewis* to have him gone with as much Reputation as he deſir'd. *Edward* had occaſion for Money, and *Lewis* was willing to make him a Bridge of Gold from *Callis* to *Dover*, whereon to carry back his Army. And ſhortly to both their Contents an abſolute Agreement was made, whereby 75000 Crowns were to be paid to K. *Edward* before his Departure out of *France*, and 50000 annually.

King of France paid King Edward a Tribute.

Concerning the Annuity of 50000 Crowns, there is much Controverſie among *French* and *Engliſh* Writers about the Name. They call it a Penſion, we a Tribute. And certainly the later (to ſpeak without Partiality to our ſelves) hath in it much more Propriety of Language. For a Prince who over-awed by a powerful Army mediates by ſubmiſſive Meſſages to divert the Battle, and afterward buys his Safety not only with a preſent Sum, but an annual Payment cannot have a freer Name than Tributary. And as for Penſions they are granted upon Petition to the Poor and Weaker, not upon Fear to the Mightier. But to compare the greater Actions of Princes to the Cuſtoms of Subjects: The 75000 Crowns (*p*) was the Fine K. *Lewis* paid for *France*, and the 50000 annually the Rent: Only the Farm was too mighty to be ſet, and the Tenant too ſtrong and ſtubborn ever to quit Poſſeſſion to his Land-lord.

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The Princeſs Elizabeth affianced to the Dauphin.

Then for Eſtabliſhment of Future Peace (that Poſterity might Partake in the Benefit of this Agreement) it was concluded that the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Daughter to K. *Edward*, ſhould marry with *Charles* the *Dauphin*, Son to *Lewis*; and for her preſent Maintenance (*q*) 5000 Crowns from *France* ſhould be paid in the *Tower* of *London*; and after the Expiration of Nine Years, ſhe and the *Dauphin* to be inveſted in the Dutchy of *Guyen*. And that on the *Engliſh* Side there might be no Fraud; upon Payment of the firſt Sum the Lord *Howard* and Sir *John Cheinie*, Maſter of the Horſe, were to remain Hoſtages until the Army were returned into *England*. But that the King might not ſeem to forget his Confederates, the Duke of *Burgundy* and *Brittaine* were comprehended if they would accept the Peace. The Count St. *Paul* was abandon'd in this Treaty, as a menial Servant and Subject to the Crown, being Conſtable of *France*; and who by his Diſſimulation and Treaſon, had moſt offended the Nature of our King. And uſually thus to reconcile great Princes, leſſer are offer'd up for Sacrifice.

The Army pleaſed, but the Duke of Glouceſter angry at the Peace.

This Peace was generally received by the Army with Applauſe, as by People who began to conſider no Victory before the Battle certain, and in the Battle much Hazard. Only the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who ſtood aloof off on the other Side, for Honour frown'd at this Accord, and expreſſed much Sorrow, as compaſſionating the Glory of his Nation blemiſh'd in it. He repeated his Jealouſie of the World's Opinion, which neceſſarily muſt laugh at ſo chargeable a Preparation to attempt nothing; and ſcorn either the Wiſdom or Courage of the *Engliſh*, when they ſhall perceive them in ſo full Numbers, and ſo well arm'd to paſs the Sea, after a Defiance ſent, and challenge to a Crown, to return back without drawing a Sword: Moreover to forſake the Amity of ſo conſtant Friends, and in extream Neceſſity to betray them who were beguiled by a common Diſſembler; whoſe Shifts and Tricks of State, like the Slights of Hand in Jugglers, are diſcovered, and wondred at by thoſe Fools only, whom he Cozens. And what carried with it an Appearance of moſt Danger, to neceſſitate the Duke of *Burgundy* to a Peace with K. *Lewis*, whereby both may hereafter join in a common League againſt us: Who by this one Act have forfeited all Leagues with our ancient Confederates, and frighted any other Princes from joyning with us.

Glouceſter, and his Faction's Aim in diſliking the Peace.

With *Glouceſter* agreed many of the Army, who were either Dependant upon him, or who had as unquiet Thoughts as he; ſome likewiſe, who having ſet up the Reſt of all their Fortunes upon this Gain, found themſelves undone in their Hopes, becauſe the Princes had drawn Stakes. But moſt of a diſcontented Humour, that maliciouſly always interprets the Actions of Princes to the worſt Senſe. But the Duke of *Glouceſter* had a further and more dangerous Aim; as who by the Diſhonour of his Brother, thought his Credit receiv'd increaſe, and by how much the King ſunk in Opinion, he ſhould riſe. And in regard good and quiet Men were delighted in the Accord he would be numbred with the Wicked, and unquiet, to add a luſter to his Faction by drawing the Nation's Honour to his Part.

(*p*) He receiv'd but 72000. *Phil. de Com.*
(*q*) It ſhould be 50000 Crowns. *Phil. de Com.*

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This Peace no dishonour to the *Engliſh*, as was reported.

But why this Peace ſhould endure ſo hard a Cenſure, both at Home and Abroad is ſtrange, and above all why K. *Lewis* ſhould aſcribe any Honour to himſelf, or think the Advantage on his Side. For what Eclipſe ſoever the *Engliſh* Glory ſuffered, certainly the *French* by a moſt ſervile Way purchaſed Safety. They deſcending beneath the Honour of Men by Money to wave a Battle; we being only Faulty in not having perform'd more than Men. For if we conſider our ſelves ſubject to the Chance of War, why was not an honourable Peace to be preferred? Eſpecially ſince if we had fail'd in the Succeſs, how wretchedly had our Forces been broken in their Hopes, and how impoſſible on the ſudden to re-inforce the Army? And if the *French* had declin'd the Battle into what Neceſſities had we faln, the Summer almoſt paſt, and both *Burgundy* and St. *Paul* refuſing to let us have Towns to Winter our Men? And if we look upon the Peace it ſelf, nothing is in it diſadvantagious to our Honour or Profit. Conſidering it brought not only a great preſent Sum and annual Revenue, but brought it from the then greateſt Prince in Chriſtendom enforced by Fear. And for Convenience, the Marriage of the King's Daughter to the *Dauphin*, could not but be eſteem'd of main Conſequence. Why then won that Apothegm ſo much Reputation, that reported our King to have gain'd Nine Battles in which he perſonally fought, and never to have loſt any but this? Since in this he overcame a Prince of far greater Power than he ever fought with before, with no Diſadvantage, but that the Victory was purchaſed without Blood, which ſhould be eſteem'd an Addition to the Glory of it. And if you caſt your Eye back upon the Courſe held in the moſt famed Empire, and eſpecially in the *Roman*, which was the nobleſt, you ſhall find they never refuſed their Friendſhip to any Prince who humbly (as *Lewis* of *France* did to King *Edward*) requeſted it; and accounted it more Glory to have Kings their Tributaries, than their Kingdoms Farm'd out for a more profitable Revenue. But of this enough, and but enough, ſince it tends ſo much to the Vindication of the *Engliſh* Honour; which the *French* vaunted ſo much to have ſuffered in this Treaty. In which they think us by their Wits miſerably over-reach'd, and perhaps indeed we were, if the Articles be only judged by their Fears, and not by the Difficulties of our Army at that Time, and the juſt Jealouſie of the King that his Confederates intended not his but their own Advantage.

The pretended Advantages of the Peace.

Duke of *Burgundy* in Diſcontent at the Peace, comes poſt to K. *Edward*, and upbraides him for his Sloath and Cowardize.

The News of this Peace no ſooner came to the Court of the Duke of *Burgundy*, but in all haſte he poſted to the *Engliſh* Camp, attended only by 16 Horſe. The Diſtraction of his Look and Geſture expreſſed the Wildneſs of his Thoughts; ſo that the whole Army diſcover'd his Diſcontent before he utter'd it. His firſt Addreſs to the King was, in Queſtion of the Truth of the common Report that ſpoke a Peace concluded between him and K. *Lewis*? Which when he was reſolv'd was true, he preſently broke into a moſt paſſionate fierce Language, upbraiding the King with Inglorious Sloath; and the indefatigable Courage of former Kings of *England*; upon whoſe Attempts waited ever the nobleſt Victory. He made a ſcornful Repetition of the Mirth his Enemies would make at his Return; as if he had come over with ſo huge an Army, Merchant like to traffick for a little Money; and the Contempt he muſt needs become to his own People, when they ſhould preceive the great Conqueſts their Contributions have brought Home. And when it was intimated to him, that he and the Duke of *Brittaine* were included in the Peace; he diſdainfully rejected it, proteſting that for the Love he bore the *Engliſh* Name, not Care of his own Safety, he had perſwaded K. *Edward* to this Enterprize. And to ſhow how little Dependancy his Fortune held on any other, and how without Mediation of an Allie, he was able to make his own Peace; he vowed to conclude none with *France*, until the *Engliſh* Army had been Three Months at Home. After he had thrown forth theſe diſorder'd Speeches, in much Diſcontent he left the King: Who wonder'd to hear himſelf ſo diſdainfully intreated; having ſeldom been accuſtom'd to any Language, but what was poliſh'd to delight by Flattery. But they who miſliked the Peace, commended the Spirit of the Duke, being overjoy'd to hear their unquiet Thoughts, which Fear reſtrain'd from Utterance, ſo freely ſpoken; yet they had little Cauſe to Triumph when *Edward* had reply'd with equal Boldneſs, That 'twas his own Falſehood, and not his Cowardize that had diſpoſed his Mind to a Peace: for had he met Actions ſuitable to his Brags, he had never comply'd; but he could not fight in their Cauſe, who had not Heart enough to defend themſelves, and therefore choſe to ſide with a fair Enemy, rather than a treacherous and falſe Friend (*r*).

Count St. *Paul's* bad Condition.

But the Count St. *Paul*, aſcertain'd of this Peace, was ſeiz'd upon by a far other Paſſion. For by diſſembling with theſe three Princes, in hopes to win Love and Reputation with the more Fortunate; he had offended them all, ſo far, that he knew not to which confidently to fly for Refuge. *France* was irreconcilable, becauſe he had been ever practiſing againſt the Quiet and Safety of that State; and who both by the Ties of Alliance (as having marry'd the Siſter of K. *Lewis*'s Wife) and Loyalty, as who held much Land in *France*, and executed the Place of Conſtable; being oblig'd to ſeek the Preſervation of his Country; had for many Years nouriſh'd Treaſon, and ſometimes brought the Crown it ſelf to the Hazard. Then from *England* or *Burgundy*, there was no Probability of Friendſhip, both having been deluded by his Promiſes, and in the laſt Buſineſs at St. *Quintin* provok'd to the higheſt Indignation. For altho' the *Engliſh* only ſuſtain'd the Loſs in point of Safety, in the preſent Expedition; yet in point of Honour, the Duke had his Share in Suffering: He having before the King's Paſſage out of *England*, covenanted for the Faith of the Count St. *Paul*. But certainly the Miſery of a petty Prince is lamentable, and his Eſtate moſt unſafe, when there is any Jealouſie growing between his more potent Neighbours. For Neutrality is incompatible with his Fortune, in regard his Country ſhall then lie open to the Spoil of every Army, if he deny to declare himſelf; and if he declare himſelf, he muſt run the Hazard of anothers Fortune. And oftentimes the very Situation of his Principality enforceth him to take part, not with the Stronger or Juſter; but with the nearer neighbouring, as in Danger of whoſe Rage his Eſtate is moſt ſubject. But in Addition to the Miſery of his Fortune, St. *Paul* had the unquietneſs of Mind, raiſed up into a high Ambition, by the cunning of Wit. For he had ſo many, and ſo far Fetches in his Imaginations, and of them ſome had proſper'd ſo

The bad Eſtate of Petty Princes.

St. *Paul's* deep Politicks.

(*r*) His Words were, *better have Peace with an old Enemy, than the Promiſes and Familiarity of a new Diſſembling Friend.*

much

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much to his Advantage; that it made him Pre sumptuous of his Abilities to diſſemble, and therefore continue in it, till at laſt the Diſcovery took away all Belief from his after Pretenſions, and happily too from his real Intentions. But among the greateſt of his Misfortunes, is to be reckon'd, the Time he lived in: For had he not met with ſo Politick a Prince as *Lewis* of *France*, who had likewiſe the Start of him in good Luck, he queſtionleſs might have attained ſome one of thoſe many Deſigns, he ſo wittily and probably contriv'd. But in the Conduct of their Affairs, Princes ſhall find a diſcreet Honeſty not only toward God, but even to the depraved World, the ſafeſt Rule of human Actions. For the abſolute Diſſolution of a State was never known to happen by Obſervance of Faith or Religion; and ſeldom in the Time of a good Prince, I mean if his Goodneſs were active, not over-ruled by evil Counſel to Miſgovernment.

St. Paul addreſſes to King Edward.

St *Paul* in this Diſtraction of Thoughts endeavour'd to recover a Game quite loſt, and made his Addreſſes to the King of *England*, whom he believed to be of the eaſieſt Nature, and from whom he expected leſs Severity, becauſe the King had ſuffer'd leſs than the others by his Diſſimulation. He therefore firſt excuſed the Diſtaſt given the *Engliſh* at St. *Quintin*, caſting the whole Fault upon the unhappy Raſhneſs of his Soldiers billeted in the Town, and the Jealouſie of the Townſmen: Then he adviſed him to be wary of giving too much Faith to K. *Lewis*, who was reſolved after the Departure of the *Engliſh* Army to obſerve no Covenant; wherefore his ſafeſt Courſe would be to demand *Eu* and St. *Valerie* to billet his Soldiers in this Winter, which he was ſecure *Lewis*'s Fears durſt not deny, and by which Grant he would not be neceſſitated to ſo ſudden a Return. Laſtly, (obſerving the Avarice of the King's Diſpoſition in the laſt Treaty) he tender'd him the Loan of 50000 Crowns, and promiſe of all faithful Service in the Future.

K. Edward rejects Count St. Paul's Offers,

But the Memory of former unfaithful Paſſages, and deſire to enjoy the Pleaſures of Peace, made the King ſo far Deaf to theſe new Propoſitions; that it ended even in ſcornful Language of the Offerer, which drove St. *Paul* into utter Deſpair. For the King was not to be remov'd from his new-begun Amity with *Lewis*, which every Day by the Interchange of Favours, and by labouring to excel each other in Confidence, gather'd increaſe. For preſently upon Concluſion of the Articles between the Commiſſioners, a Truce being made, until the Peace were ratified by the Oaths of both the Princes; the *Engliſh* Soldiers had free Admiſſion into all the *French* Towns. And one Day ſo great Number of the Army went to make merry in *Amiens*, as might have endanger'd the Surpriſal if there had not been faithful Intentions in K. *Edward*. But he to ſhew the Integrity of his Mind, and to take away all Occaſion of Jealouſie of any underhand Deſign, ſent to K. *Lewis* to intreat him to give Order for Reſtraint, if by entering in ſo large Multitudes the Soldiers endanger'd Suſpicion; which *Lewis* (never overcome in Complement) refuſed with many Proteſtations of his Confidence; only deſiring our King, if he diſliked the Abſence of ſo conſiderable a Part of his Army from the Camp, to ſend ſome Yeomen of his Crown to guard the Gates, in regard he was reſolv'd no *French* Man ſhould ſtop the Paſſage of the *Engliſh*. But our King ſtrain'd his Courteſie much too high, when to out-vy King *Lewis*'s Favours, he offer'd to give him a Catalogue of all the *French* Noblemen, who had conſpired with St. *Paul* in this War, and had given Faith to Revolt to the *Engliſh*. For as in the Rule of common Juſtice, this Diſcovery could give no better an Attribute to the King than that of State-Informer; ſo could it not but infinitely prejudice the Affairs of *England*; conſidering it would ſhut up for ever the Paſſage to all Intelligence, if this Peace ſhould chance to break hereafter. And indeed by ſo voluntary undertaking that Office, which an honeſt Mind thinks it ſelf unhappy to be forced to, preſents his Nature to us moſt ignoble; ſince this Treaſon was only Intentional, and as the State of Buſineſſes now ſtood in *France*, reconciled to the *Engliſh*, it no way concern'd the Safety of his new Confederate.

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King Edward's overfondneſs of King Lewis, and Treachery towards the French Noblemen.

K. Lewis's Kindneſs and Fidelity to the Engliſh.

On the other Side K. *Lewis* ſhow'd himſelf moſt affectionate to the *Engliſh*, when, contrary to the Circumſpection of his Nature, he rejected all the Suſpicions of his Council, who wiſh'd him to be watchful that K. *Edward* by pretending this Peace, did not betray him to a ruinous Security: When likewiſe he ſent ſuch exceeding Plenty of all Proviſion to the *Engliſh* Camp, and liberally feaſted thoſe ſo innumerable Multitudes, who daily reſorted to *Amiens*. But perhaps ſome State-Criticks will interpret the Former in him, not a good Opinion of our Faith; but a Conceit of a dull ignorant Honeſty in our Nation not quick to take Advantages; and the latter only an obſequious Way to continue us in our former Reſolution for Peace. What ever Paſſion prevail'd with him in other Courteſies, I am confident he expreſſed more Nobleneſs than in any other Action of his Life; When he refuſed to deſtroy the *Engliſh* Army, having oftentimes ſo fair Opportunity, by reaſon of the many Diſorders the Truce begot.

An Interview of K. Edward and King Lewis at Picquigny.

While theſe Paſſages of Endearment laſted between the Two Kings, a Place convenient for an Interview was found out at *Picquigny*, a Town three Leagues from *Amiens*, ſtanding upon the River *Some*, and Commiſſioners were ſent to provide there ſhould be no Danger of Treaſon in the Place, for the King were the Lord *Howard*, and Sir *Anthony* St. *Leger*; for the *French*, the Lord of *Beuchage* and *Comines*. In the Choice of which Place *Comines* lays a groſs over-ſight to our Commiſſioners. For he affirms by reaſon of a Marſh on both Sides the Cauſey, on which the King was to come to the Bridge where the Meeting was; his Perſon might have been in Danger, if the *French* had not meant good Faith. And if this were true, it certainly deſerv'd a Signal Reprehenſion; in regard the ſad Experience of thoſe Times taught, there could not be too much Circumſpection at ſuch an Interview: But the Succeſs guilty of no infelicity; clear'd the Commiſſioners either from the Fault, or from much of the Blame.

The Courteouſneſs of the two Kings to each other at their Meeting.

At the Meeting there was as much interchange of Courteſie, as could be between two Princes. The *French* King was firſt at the Grate (for theſe two Lions could not without Danger of Combat meet but at ſo ſafe a Diſtance) and our King was a Gallant in the Management of his Body, (1), by bending himſelf lower at Salutation: In which he expreſſed Youthfulneſs and Courtſhip. In their Language was much of Sweetneſs and endearing, and in their Behaviour an Appearance of Congratulatory Joy.

(1) *Philip de Comines* ſays this Interview was on the 29th of *Auguſt*, 1475. but that could not be, for K. *Edward* landed at *Calais* in *June* 1474, and return'd in *September* following. The Peace according to the ſame Author being made three Months after his Arrival in *Picardy*.

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Each labouring to obtain the Victory in the Expreſſions of a cordial Affection; and indeed the main Buſineſs took up leaſt part of the Time. Twelve Perſons of principal Name (*t*), attended on each Prince according to the Nature of the Ceremony, out-vying each other in the Curioſity and Riches of their Apparel. On the *Engliſh* Side the Duke of *Glouceſter* was abſent (*u*), in regard his Preſence ſhould not approve; what his Opinion and Senſe of Honour had heretofore diſallow'd. And that there might be no Fraud nor Treaſon; on the *Engliſh* Side were four of the *French*, and on the *French* four of the *Engliſh*; who watchfully obſerv'd every Word and Geſture: So much Jealouſie waits upon even the moſt friendly Meetings, and ſo ſuſpected is the Faith of Princes. 800 Men at Arms attended on the *French* King, on the King of *England* his whole Army. Which ſet in Battle-array to the beſt Advantage for the Eye, afforded a Proſpect of much Delight and Bravery to them, who at a more unfriendly Encounter would have trembled at the Sight.

The Chancellor of *England*'s Oration at the Interview.

The (*x*) Chancellor of *England* made an Oration congratulatory for the happy Agreement, whereby ſo much Blood was preſerv'd in the Veins of both People, and ſo many Bleſſings of Peace like to enrich both Kingdoms (*y*). His Congratulation was intermingled with Propheſie of future Happineſs, which would grow ſtronger by length of Time; touching in that upon the Marriage of the *Dauphin* with the Lady *Elizabeth* of *England*. But the good Biſhop of *Lincoln* (*z*) (for in him was then the Office of Chancellor) in this ſhow'd himſelf a better Orator than Prophet. Himſelf living afterward to diſprove his own Divination.

K. Lewis invites K. *Edward* to *Paris*.

After the Oration ended, and the two Kings ſworn to the fore-mention'd Peace, K. *Lewis* ſomething wantonly (as who knew how to tune his Language beſt to K. *Edward*'s Ear) invited him to take a Journey as far as *Paris*; where if any of the Beauties ſhould make him treſpaſs upon his Chaſtity; the Cardinal of *Burbon* (a gentle Ghoſtly Father) ſhould eaſily afford him Abſolution. The King in the Pleaſure of his Look approv'd the Facetiouſneſs of the Diſcourſe, and found no great Difficulty in himſelf to admit the Offer (*a*).

K. Lewis excepts againſt the Duke of *Britain*'s being included in the Peace.

But K. *Lewis* (who never uſed Mirth but as a Preparative for ſomething ſerious) having wrought himſelf into the King's good Liking; and as he thought facilitated him to grant any Requeſt, urged that the Duke of *Brittain* might not remain in the Protection of the *Engliſh*; but that he might be left to his own Defence, againſt the Juſt Anger of the *French*, whom he had ſo often provoked by open Confederacies and ſecret Practices. To which the King anſwer'd reſolutely, *That he never would forſake the Care of a Confederate, who had maintain'd his Faith ſo conſtantly.* And afterwards being importun'd by ſome great Lords employ'd in that Negotiation by *Lewis*; he not only ſhew'd an apparent Diſtaſte to the Motion; but openly profeſſed, that rather than the Duke ſhould be endanger'd in his Safety, he would forget all other Amities, and paſs the Seas himſelf to his Relief. Which ſhew'd a noble Diſpoſition in the King, and an adviſed Judgment; for the Duke had been ever friendly to him in the worſt of Fortune, and in his better a moſt faithful Neighbour, and in this Enterprize on *France* had uſed no Diſſimulation, nor in the leaſt Carriage of Buſineſſes betray'd that Faith at firſt he promiſed. In the Protection therefore of him againſt the *French*, the King ſhew'd the Gratitude of his Memory; as likewiſe a politick Caution that the Crown of *France* might not grow too potent by warring with a weaker Prince, whoſe Ruin could not but give to it a dangerous Addition.

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K. *Lewis*'s ſmooth Acceptance of a Denial.

But this Diſcourſe touching the Duke was in private between the Kings; for *Lewis* to ſhow the Authority he had over his greateſt Lords, had commanded them to retire when he entred into this Speech. And in treating this Buſineſs, which ſo nearly concern'd the Policy of his Intentions, he ſhew'd a great Art; not urging the King ſo far, as that the Denial might come off with a Diſtaſte. But ſmoothly he gave it over, when he perceiv'd him not eaſily to be remov'd; although with ſome inward Difficulty to find his Affection ſo conſtant to the Duke, of whom he had reſolv'd to make a Spoil, and to lay the firſt Stone of his mighty Building in his Deſtruction.

The happy concluſion of this Meeting of the two Kings.

He preſently therefore diverted his Diſcourſe again to Ceremony, and after ſome ſhort intercourſe of Courtſhip they both at the ſame Minute parted from the Grate, and took Horſe; publickly giving very liberal Commendations of each other. And how ever Interviews are generally eſteem'd unſafe for Princes, in regard the Advantage falling of Neceſſity on the one Part, throws a Contempt upon the other; yet this was both in Probability before and after in the Succeſs moſt Fortunate. For both Princes tho' of different Complexions had equal Preheminences, and by ſeveral Ways came to ſtand upon even Ground.

Lewis and *Edward* compar'd.

K. *Edward* had the Advantage in Youth, Perſonage and Behaviour, which win ſuddenly upon Eſtimation: *Lewis* in the cunning of Wit, and Authority of his Carriage, which although ſlowlier, ſink deeper in Opinion. *Edward* had a daring Courage ever ſeconded by a propitious Fortune: *Lewis* a circumſpect Judgment which order'd Buſineſſes ſo ſure, that he left ſcarce any Thing to Fortune. *Edward* by his Sword had brought himſelf to the preſent Greatneſs of his State: *Lewis* by his Policy had ſettled himſelf in his Father's Conqueſts. And indeed ſo apparent was the Equality of theſe Princes, that they both deſpaired to gain any Thing by Oppoſition, which made *Lewis* at any Rate deſirous to buy K. *Edward*'s Return; and *Edward* willing no more to traffick with *Lewis*, from whom nothing was to be got in the Way of Bargain: Whatſoever the one did by Valour, the other likely to undo by Cunning.

King *Edward*'s Policy to diſpoſe his Army for a Peace.

This Peace by all Conjecture was likely to ſuffer in Opinion at Home, where by comparing the Fortune of the preſent with that of former

(*t*) As the Duke and Cardinal of *Burbon*, &c. on the *French* King, and the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Haſtings*, the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, &c. on the King of *England*.

(*u*) But the Duke of *Glouceſter* afterwards waited on the *French* King at *Amiens*, and had Preſents from him as well as others. *Com.*

(*x*) Biſhop of *Ely*.

(*y*) *Comines* ſays the Biſhop began his Diſcourſe by a Propheſie (*dont les Angleis ne ſont jamais deſpourveus*) of which the *Engliſh* are never unprovided, that a great Peace was foretold, would be made at *Picquigni* between *England* and *France*.

(*z*) *Thomas* of *Rotheram*.

(*a*) At which the *French* King, ſays *Comines*, was not very well pleaſed, not liking to let the King of *England* be tempted to come thither.

Ex-

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Expeditions, Expectation promiſed it ſelf nothing leſs than the entire Recovery of *France*. To prevent which, the King had happily, perhaps judiciouſly (as who foreſaw that the Succeſs might end in Agreement) brought over with him many (*b*) from *London*, for their Wealth of moſt Reputation in the City. Theſe Men whom Plenty endeared to the Love of Life, as ſoon as he had reſolv'd to decline the preſent War, he cauſed to be aſſaulted every Hour with New Fears, repreſenting to their affrighted Minds the Horror of a Battle, the many Difficulties of a Seige, and the Certainty of an untimely Death, if not by the Cannon or the Sword, yet by the Inconveniences of Lodging and the Weather, which the Winter coming on was likely to be moſt tempeſtuous: And if beyond Hope Death were eſcaped, how cruel might be an Impriſonment, and how deep the Ranſom! Then he gave Order that the Enemy ſhould be reported of far more Danger than indeed he was, and every Night falſe Alarms to be given. And for Diſtruſt already held of *Burgundy* and St. *Paul*, he let it be augmented in the Army, cauſing Rumors to be ſpread abroad, That there was Treaſon in them from the Beginning of this Enterprize, and that now they were prepared to unite their Forces with the *French* to the utter Deſtruction of the *Engliſh*.

His Judgment applauded in making the Peace.

By which Frights he ſo moulded them to his Deſires, that they writ back to their Friends, the Impoſſibility of any Succeſs in the preſent Buſineſs, and the great Judgment and Fortune of the King, if he could conclude a Peace, with Advantage of Honour. The Example of this Policy King *Edward* bequeath'd to *Henry* VII. who left none of his Predeceſſor's Arts unpractiſed that might advance either his Profit or Reputation. And ſo far this Deſire of Peace and Delight in it ſpread it ſelf, that when upon the Day of the Interview by Accident a white Pigeon lighted upon the King's Pavilion, and there pruned it ſelf after a Shower of Rain, the Sun ſhining comfortably, the Soldiers cried out it was the Holy Ghoſt, who deſcended in that Form, to ſhew how grateful the preſent Accord was to Heaven. Which Interpretation pleaſed exceedingly the preſent Humour of the King; any Superſtition being nouriſhed in the Subject, which tended to advance the Reputation of their Prince, eſpecially when his Actions are doubtful to be underſtood.

A white Pigeon interpreted to be the Holy Ghoſt.

The Night that enſued the Interview, many of the *Engliſh* Nobility reſorted to *Amiens*; the *French* Affability, and ſomething too of Curioſity inviting them. The Lord *Howard*, who was always foremoſt in his Application to King *Lewis*, at Supper whiſper'd him in the Ear, that he conceiv'd his Maſter might be perſwaded without much Scruple to make a Journey to *Paris*; where by a friendly Entertainment the new begun Amity might be perfected.

King *Edward's* Journey to *Paris* mentioned to King *Lewis*.

But the wary King had no Deſire to bid ſo dangerous a Gueſt to *Paris*, for fear the Delicacies of the Place might invite him, either to a chargeable continuance there, or to ſuch a Love of the *French* Air, that it might perſwade him to return hereafter thither, though unbidden. He therefore chid his own overforward ſtraining a Complement, and was forced to the Invention of an Excuſe, to take away Diſcourteſie, from Denial of what before ceremoniouſly he had offered: He anſwer'd the Lord *Howard* thereupon ſuddenly, and to the outward Judgment ſeriouſly, *That he was extream ſorry the Neceſſity of his unſettled State, would not afford him Licence of ſo much Happineſs, being preſently to make an Expedition againſt the Duke of* Burgundy, *who was buſie in his Preparations againſt him, ſo that with Safety yet, he could not attend the Pleaſures of Peace.* Which Anſwer gave but a half Satisfaction; but the Lord *Howard* was devoted to his Affairs, and that made the Reliſh of it better with the King.

K *Lewis* Excuſes againſt inviting K *Edward* to *Paris*.

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But that the King might neither reap all the Benefit, nor yet bear all the Blame of this Peace, there were not a few Lords great in Opinion of the State, who ſhared proportionably in the Booty. Even the ſcrupulous Duke of *Glouceſter* returned not Home without a large Preſent both of Plate and Horſes. For when he ſaw the whole Stream of the Army flow in to King *Lewis*, either out of Curioſity, or in Policy loth to particularize an Enmity upon himſelf from ſo potent a Prince, he went to him at *Amiens*, where he found a Reſpect anſwerable not only to the Greatneſs of his Blood, but to the Extent of his Judgment and Authority.

Duke of *Glouceſter* brought to engage in the Peace.

But with him King *Lewis* dealt with more Circumſpection, knowing it impoſſible to win Ground upon him by any Slight or Strength of Wit. The good Affection of all the other Lords he bought up, according to the ordinary Courſe in Markets; as they were worth more in the King's Eſtimation, ſo were they at a higher Price with him. The principal Men of Name who were in Penſion as we find them in Hiſtory, were the (*b*) Lord *Haſtings*, Lord *Chamberlain* to the King, the Lord *Howard*, Sir *John Cheiney*, Maſter of the Horſe, Sir *Anthony* S. *Leger*, and Sir *Thomas Montgomery*. Among theſe, beſide the preſent Gifts, he annually diſtributed 16000 Crowns, and exacted from every Man an Acquittance for the Receipt. Which no Man refuſed, but only the Lord *Haſtings*, denying abſolutely that ever his Hand ſhould be ſeen among the King's Accounts at *Paris*; but welcom'd ſtill the Penſion, which without that Formality was continued.

K. *Lewis* made the Lords his Friends by Annuities and Penſions.

At how high a Rate King *Lewis* prized his Amity with *England* by this profuſe Liberality, (a Quality ſo contrary to his parcimonious Diſpoſition) is eaſily to be judged. But how lawful it was in the Receivers, I will not too ſeverely cenſure: For, although in this King's Reign, as likewiſe in the Time of *Henry* VII. many of the great Counſellors were in Penſion to *Lewis*, and afterward to his Son *Charles* VIII. yet it is hard to judge how it could agree with the Decorum of their Dignity; it being much beneath the Honour of a noble Mind to owe any Part of their Revenue to a Prince, whoſe Safety and Advantage muſt never be in the firſt Place of their Care. In Peace it may happily not carry any Appearance of Diſloyalty, becauſe by their good Offices they may deſerve that Way of Gratitude; but in Times of Jealouſie, and eſpecially of Enmity, it can no Way be allowed. For though the Penſioner give no underhand Intelligence prejudicial to his Country, yet by a certain neceſſity of Gratitude, it ſtops the Freedom of Advice, and ſo renders him at leaſt undeſerving to the one. Rewards are given for forepaſt Merits, Penſions to retain in future: He therefore who receives a Penſion, obligeth himſelf tacitely to the Service of Two Maſters; and oftentimes the Se-

K. *Lewis* valued much the Peace with *England*; and the *Engliſh* Nobility very little the Glory of *England*.

Penſions from foreign Princes how far allowable.

(*b*) Taken from *Comines*.

(*c*) *Rotheram*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, Lord Chancellor, the Maſter of the Rolls, the Marqueſs *Dorſet*.

cond

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cond in his Thoughts is that Prince to whom he owes a natural Duty; An extraordinary Way of Benefit begetting an extraordinary Diligence. And hence proceeds that Maladie in the Body of a State, which inclines it so totally to one Side, that all Injuries how gross soever are connived at from one Neighbour, while from another the least Shadow of Offence begets mortal War. But if these Pensions be received with Approbation of the King, certainly as they are lawful, so likewise are they less dangerous; for then the State is armed against the Advice of such, whom they know to lean on one Side. The Crookedness of Counsel being easily discern'd, when not bolster'd up with Simulation of Integrity.

K. *Lewis's* Gold, what Effects it had upon the Courtiers.

And questionless, the Distribution of these Crowns, like a dangerous Poison dispersed into some principal Veins of the Body, infected the whole Court. And tho perhaps the secret Resolutions of the King and State were not betrayed to him, yet was his Intelligence larger than convenient for so cunning a Neighbour, who out of slight and trivial Occurrences, such as were but Chamber talk, could guess at the most reserv'd Counsels. Neither would those so apparent Affronts offered by him afterward, have been so patiently dissembled; (especialy the King knowing him a timerous Prince, and who trembled at the very Thought of a Return of the *English* into *France*) had not they whose Advice was most listened to, passionately excused him in every Charge the more zealous Statists laid to him.

King *Edward's* Return home and Reception.

But these Mischiefs the Year succeeding were guilty of; for the present, the King full of Joy and Treasure returned toward *Calis*; and indeed with more than ordinary Haste and Caution, for fear the Duke of *Burgundy* should attempt any Thing upon his Retreat. But with Safety he both came thither, and sailed to *Dover* (*d*), whence in much Pomp he directed his Journey to *London*. Upon *Black-Heath* the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in Scarlet, and Five hundred Commoners in Murrey received him; and thence with all Shew of Triumph conducted him through the City to *Westminster* (*e*). And perhaps he gave Order the Solemnity of his Return should be more glorious, to set off the Shortness of his Stay in *France*, and the small or no Honour purchased there. The Vulgar for the most Part valuing the Glory of Victories according to the Information of the Ballad, and the Glittering of the Pageants.

The *French* King, who ever affected the Substance, smiled at these huge Shadows, and never quarrell'd with King *Edward*, what pompous Titles soever he assumed in receiving the forementioned Sums of Money; willing that he should husband his Actions of least Worth to the greatest Advantage of Credit with his People: While he on the contrary, in all Businesses never heeded what Judgment Opinion gave; and so his Ends were effected, cared not by what sordid or humble Means; Whereupon, presently after the Departure of the *English*, notwithstanding the many Injuries received from the Duke of *Burgundy*, he came to Treaty, and suddenly to Agreement with him: In many Points unexpectedly yielding, only that he might revenge himself upon the Count St. *Paul*; for him he accounted the Conjurer, who by his dissembling Charms, had raised those so many and so tumultuous Spirits against the Crown of *France*: and till he were destroyed, King *Lewis* conceived it impossible to remain safe from civil or foreign War.

K. *Lewis* made a Peace with the Duke of *Burgundy*.

It was therefore agreed between these Two Princes, that what Places had been wrested away in the former Troubles, should be immediately restor'd; and which of the Two could first surprize the Count St. *Paul*, should within Eight Days put him to Death, or deliver him up to the Discretion of the other. By which Agreement the wretched Lord found how inevitable was his Ruin; and considering the Vanity of any Hope that might perswade him to defend himself against so potent Enemies, he entred into Discourse with his own Fears, to which he might make his Addresses with more Probability of Safety. And knowing the immoveable Resolutions of King *Lewis*, and how impossible it was to deceive a Prince so cunning in the Art; he resolved to make Tryal of the Duke; who disdainfully received the first Offers of his Service; but in the End, overcome by Importunity, he granted him safe Conduct: Relying on which, he posted to him, but soon found his Ruin by the want of that Faith, which himself had never observ'd.

The Agreement between K. *Lewis* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, to put St. *Paul* to Death.

Count St. *Paul* betrayed and put to Death.

For the Duke notwithstanding the safe Conduct, gave Command that he should be imprison'd, and not long after deliver'd him up to the *French* King, who caused Process to be made against him; certain Letters written to King *Edward*, and by him delivered to King *Lewis*, being the chief Articles of Accusation, by which he was condemn'd, and for which not long after he lost his Head. He embraced Death with much Resolution, only somewhat astonished to meet it upon a Scaffold; the manner, not the Thing it self, amazing him. But the Officiousness of the King in the Delivery of those Papers to the Condemnation of his Wife's Uncle, and a Confederate, was certainly treacherous and ignoble; and makes his Memory sound harsh in the Ear of any worthy Mind.

K. *Edward* blam'd for it.

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And indeed, he was on the sudden become so passionate a Doater on a reconciled Enemy (*f*), and so passionate an Enemy of his late Friends, that when he understood the Treaty of Peace at *Vervins* between the *French* King and the Duke, he sent over Sir *Thomas Montgomery*, with Instructions if possible to break it off; who urged, 'That the Duke should 'not be admitted to treat of himself, but only 'as mention'd in the King his Master's Peace: 'That if the Duke refused to treat in that 'manner, and the King any way suspected his 'own Strength, his Master would the next 'Summer cross the Seas, and join his Forces 'with him; conditionally, that half the Wages 'of his Army might be defrayed by the *French*, 'for whose Service the War must be undertaken; and that he might be allowed Fifty 'Thousand Crowns annually in respect his Loss 'would amount to the Value, by reason the 'English Wools at *Calis* could during that Time 'have no Vent into the *Netherlands*.' To such an over officious Friendship did his new Malice to *Burgundy*, and the Counsel of King *Lewis*'s great Pensioners incline him, that he voluntarily offered without Respect of Glory or Hope of Profit, to fight like a Journeyman for a Prince, whose Growth in Power could not be but most unsafe even to him, and dangerous to his Kingdom.

King *Edward's* Passion to the *French* King, but Zeal against a separate Peace with the Duke of *Burgundy*.

(*d*) Where he arrived in *September*.
(*e*) On the 28th of *September*.
(*f*) He ordered his Daughter, the Princess *Elizabeth* to be stiled *Dauphiness*.

This

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K. *Lewis's* Civility to King *Edward's* Embaſſy.

This Embaſſy King *Lewis* received with Appearance of much Content, congratulating the Felicity of his own Arts that had brought the King to ſo obſequious a Reſpect; but he no way deſired to ſee him any more in *France*, eſpecially not to pay for his Preſence, whoſe Abſence he had lately bought ſo dearly. He therefore return'd many Thanks for the offered Favour, but withal ſhewed, how much too late it came, in regard the Truce was already concluded between him and the Duke, from which, being now ſworn to it, he could recede neither in Honour nor Religion. But that the World might underſtand how ſcrupulous he had been in Preſervation of the King of *England*'s Reputation; the preſent Truce varied not in one Point from that ſworn at *Picquigny*, except only that the Duke was admitted to article for himſelf apart, which indeed was the main Thing the King endeavoured to have prevented; ſince by articling apart, the Duke ſhewed his Independance, and that the *Engliſh* by their Arms had no way advanc'd his Buſineſs.

K. *Lewis's* Arts to preſerve Friendſhip with King *Edward.*

But that this Anſwer might incur no Miſinterpretation, he liberally preſented the Ambaſſador, and ſent over with him the Two Hoſtages the Lord *Howard*, and Sir *John Cheiney*. For King *Lewis* continued ſtill in much Caution to offend the King, leaſt perhaps he and the Duke of *Burgundy*, though now aſunder, might like a Limb broken and ſet again, knit the faſter. He was therefore diligent to increaſe every Day new Diſcontents between them, and to preſerve the *Engliſh* in their Amity firm upon any Terms, knowing the Duke by no Policy ever to be reduc'd to a perfect Friendſhip. And ſo far had his Cunning and Penſions prevail'd, that nothing was more in the Vote of the *Engliſh*, than to preſerve King *Lewis* ſafe in his Eſtate at home, and noble in Reputation with us. But among all the Ties which kept the King ſureſt to him, the Hope of marrying the *Dauphin* with his Daughter, and this way at leaſt to ſettle the Crown of *France* in his Poſterity, moſt prevail'd. Of the Reality of which Article, the *French* permitted not the ſmalleſt Occaſion to be given for Suſpicion.

King *Edward's* Jealouſie of the Earl of *Richmond* revives.

This Intention of King *Edward* of entring into War with the Duke of *Burgundy*, being croſt, (the unquiet Nature of ſome Princes, ever affecting to beget Trouble to themſelves) that the King might feel no perfect Reſt, he receives the former Jealouſie concerning the Earl of *Richmond*. But why the reducing him into his Power, ſhould ſo much perplex the State, is beyond reach, unleſs it were a Divination of future Accidents, which inſtructed the King's Fears to expect Danger from him, who neither in point of Juſtice nor Strength was for the preſent conſiderable. For if we look upon his Faction at home, the Civil Wars had brought them ſo low, that no Perſon of Authority had any Relation to him, except the Lord *Stanley* (*g*), who being Father-in-law to him, might perhaps wiſh his Fortunes well, but bore a moſt faithful Mind to the King, in whoſe ſpecial Favour he continued to the laſt; and if we conſider him, as if his nearneſs in Blood to King *Lewis* might render him formidable from abroad, certainly there was no juſt Ground for Suſpicion, the *French* being ſo lately entred into a particular Amity with *England*, and never having afforded either Comfort or Countenance to the young Earl's Exile. Then for any Claim to the Crown, the King could not fear him, his Title being of ſo impure and baſe a Metal, it could no Way endure the Touch. His Mother by whom only he could pretend, Heir indeed of the Houſe of *Somerſet*, but not of *Lancaſter*, in regard the Stream of this Deſcent was poiſon'd in the very Spring: For *John* of *Gaunt* having entertain'd an Affection to *Katherine*, Daughter of Sir *Paine de Ruit*, during her Attendance on the Lady *Blanch* his firſt Wife: In the Life-time of his Second the Lady *Conſtance*, his Affection grew into a nearer Familiarity, and ſo happy was he, that his Familiarity proved not barren; his Miſtreſs (for to what a Servitude doth Luſt betray a Sinner?) making him Father of Three Sons and a Daughter, to whom he gave the Name of *Beaufort*, from a Caſtle he had in *France*, where they were born. The Duke zealous to reward any that had ſo well deſerv'd, married his Bedfellow to Sir *Hugh Swinford*, a *Lincolnſhire* Knight, and either thro' Impotency or Conſcience, afterward refrain'd her Company. Some Years paſt (ſhe having buried her Knight, and he his Dutcheſs) in Gratitude to her former Merits being now grown very old, he took her again to his Bed, with the lawful Ceremonies of the Church: And thus his ancient Concubine became his new Bride, having righted her Honour, to leave no Monument of their Sin to Poſterity, he laboured the Legitimation of the Children; and ſo far in the Time of *Richard* II prevail'd; that both the Sentence of the Church and Parliament pronounc'd them lawful, and enabled them to inherit the Lands of their Father, in Caſe his Iſſue by his former Wives ſhould fail. The Eldeſt Son of the Three, thus legitimated, was *John* created Earl of *Somerſet*, Father of *John*, Duke of *Somerſet*, whoſe ſole Daughter and Heir *Margaret*, marryed *Edmond* of *Haddam*, Earl of *Richmond*, whoſe Son *Henry* was now the Mark at which all the Arrows of the King's Suſpicion aim'd.

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The Earl of *Richmond's* Title to the Crown diſcuſſed.

His Title cenſur'd and determin'd.

By this Pedigree, to the Eye at firſt appears ſome Dawning of a Title; but certainly it is a falſe Light, ſuch as oftentimes deceives the credulous Traveller. For the Legitimation by the Church was to take away as much of Scandal as poſſible from the Children, and a Diſpenſation only for the Benefit of the Baſtards, without Prejudice to the Right of any other. For theſe Baſtards were not of the Common Nature, ſuch as an after-Marriage may make legitimate, being not Natural but Spurious, begot in Adultery on the one Side, and conſequently incapable of any Benefit by Diſpenſation. Add to this that not being of the whole Blood (according to the Common Law of *England*) the Houſe of *Somerſet* was farther off from inheriting any Title from King *Henry* VI. than the moſt remote of the Line of *York*. Laſtly, in the very Legitimation it ſelf, the Children were only made capable to inherit the Eſtate of their Father, the Crown being never mention'd: And for the Dutchy of *Lancaſter* they could not pretend, that being the Inheritance of the Lady *Blanch* his firſt Wife, from whom they no way deſcended (*h*); neither were the Princes of the Houſe of *Somerſet* ever numbred among the *Plantagenets*, or ever obtain'd ſo much as to be declared Heirs apparent to the Crown, if *Henry* VI. and his

Duke of *Somerſet* more formidable to the Crown than the Earl of *Richmond*.

(*g*) He married the Counteſs of *Richmond*, Widow to *Edmond Tudor*, Father to Earl *Henry*.

(*h*) The Words of the Act are *to ſucceed to enjoy all Dignities, Lands and Inheritances that might deſcend from the Duke their Father.* If the Crown is not mention'd, which would have been difficult to have been obtain'd, and might have put a Stop to the paſſing the Act of Legitimation, it ſeems to be implied.

Son

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Son Prince *Edward* ſhould extinguiſh without Iſſue; as *Mortimer* had got to be before in the Reign of *Richard* the Second, and *Delapoole* after, during the Uſurpation of *Richard* the Third. And if there were any Cauſe of Suſpicion from the Branches of that Family; then was the Duke of *Buckingham*, much more to be feared (*i*): Who was by his Mother Heir of *Edmond*, Duke of *Somerſet*, and himſelf a Prince, mighty in Deſcent other ways from the Crown, as being Heir likewiſe of *Thomas*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, younger Son to *Edward* the Third. Moreover in the Faction of a great Kindred, and Dependancy of a Multitude of Tenants, far more to be ſuſpected, than an exil'd Lord, who claiming by his Mother, could during her Life have no Colour of a Title.

Duke of *Brittain* ſolicited to deliver the Earl of *Richmond* to King *Edward*.

But the King found the Wound of this Jealouſie rankle in him, and nothing but *Richmond*'s Apprehenſion could heal it. He therefore moſt earneſtly ſolicited the Duke of *Brittain*, by his Embaſſadors, of which Dr. *Stillington* was one, to return him into *England*: Their Motives were, the much good Will the Duke owed their Maſter, who never would forſake his Protection, tho' ſeveral Ways and at ſeveral Times moſt importunately provok'd. That he had in anſwer to the *French* Requeſts to that purpoſe proteſted; That if the Duke were any ways endanger'd by them, he would perſonally croſs the Seas, and make the Quarrel the ſame, as if his own Kingdom were invaded. Then for the Innocency of the King's Intentions towards the Earl; they affirm'd that ſo far from Malice the Deſire to have him returned into *England* was, that it merely tended to his preſent Safety and after Honour. In regard his Majeſty would not only reſtore him to the Poſſeſſions of his Anceſtors, but endear him in a nearer Tie, even by the Marriage of one of his his own Daughters to him, and by this bleſſed Way abſolutely root up all the ancient Rancour between the Houſes of *York* and *Somerſet*. This was the Pretenſion, which tho' the King no way intended, yet the Almighty afterwards made good; to inſtruct after Times, that the Deep Myſteries of cunning Princes are meer Illuſions compared with true Wiſdom; and the Diſpoſition of Kingdoms is the Work of Heaven.

Earl of *Richmond* delivered to K. *Edward*'s Embaſſadors.

By this Diſſimulation and tender of a large Sum of Money (for the King had learnt how to traffick by Example of K. *Lewis*) the poor Earl of *Richmond* was deliver'd up to the Embaſſadors, and immediately by them convey'd to St. *Malo*'s, the next Haven Town, where inſtant Preparations were made for his Tranſportation into *England*. Here Fortune, or what is leſs uncertain, the Wind took Compaſſion on his Affliction (for the very Imagination of the Ruin he was betray'd to, had thrown him into a violent Feaver) and hindred the Embaſſadors from taking Ship. Where while they remain'd joyful in the Succeſs of their Undertaking, *Peter Landois* Treaſurer to the Duke, in Appearence of a ceremonious Viſit, but indeed to contrive the Earl's Eſcape, moſt officiouſly came to them. For no ſooner had the Duke given up this innocent Victim to be ſacrificed, but *John Chenlettes* and ſome of the Court, ſenſible of the Law of Nations and their Maſter's Reputation, to himſelf related the Injury and Diſhonour of this Action. And ſo far aggravated the perpetual Infamy that would cloud his Fame by ſelling his Gueſt to whom he had promiſed Safety and Protection; that the Duke repented the Delivery of him, and adviſed *Landois* by ſome Art to regain him.

P. Landois, Treaſurer of the Duke of *Brittain*, ſent by his Maſter to recover the Earl of *Richmond*, which he effected.

And indeed *Landois* undertook the Imployment readily, willing perhaps to gain the Honour of doing one good Deed among the Multitude of his Miſchiefs; and likewiſe to revenge himſelf upon the evil Memory of the Embaſſadors, who had forgot by their Money to make him an Inſtrument in effecting this Treaſon. This Villain (for he was fitteſt for the Buſineſs) ſo order'd the Matter, that while he entertain'd the Embaſſadors in a moſt ſerious Diſcourſe, the Earl was carried into Sanctuary; and no Notice given them till he was beyond their Reach. Which when they underſtoood, finding themſelves defrauded of ſo great a Bargain, and even of the Money laid out in the Purchaſe: Indignation tranſported them into bitter Language againſt *Landois*. But he excuſed himſelf of the Practice, and laid the whole Fault of the Misfortune upon their Negligence; deſiring that their Careleſneſs in loſing a Prey, might not be caſt as a Crime upon that Reſpect he had ſhewed them in his Viſit. And when the Embaſſadors importun'd him by his Authority to force the Earl from the Place; he pretended Religion to the Sanctuary, which if he ſhould out of Honour to the *Engliſh* but offer to violate; ſo great was the Veneration the People hold it *in*, that they would tumultuouſly riſe to prevent ſo bold a Sacriledge. He adviſed them therefore to give over this Game loſt, and paſt play; and prepare their Excuſe as cunning as poſſible to ſatisfie their King. And for his Part, to ſhow the Zeal he bore to the Affairs of *England*, he would take ſuch Order (and he knew it would ſtand with the Approbation of his Maſter) that the Sanctuary ſhould be ſeverely guarded; whence if the Earl endeavour'd an Eſcape it ſhould be into ſome Place of Safety, where he ſhould be ſtrictly impriſon'd, till the King of *England* were pleaſed otherwiſe to diſpoſe of him. With this plauſible Diſcourſe *Landois* left the Embaſſadors to ſail over, whom the Wind, now too late, ſerv'd to carry back. But the King, notwithſtanding the faireſt Colours they could lay upon the Buſineſs, and Promiſe on the Duke's Part to keep the Earl ſafe from Eſcape, caſt upon them a ſower Look. Misfortune to a Miniſter of State procuring for the moſt part as much Diſgrace, as if he had been Perfidious in the Practice.

Earl of *Richmond* kept in Sanctuary

Fruſtrated of his Hope to gain *Richmond* into his Power, but yet in part freed from all Danger threatned by him, the King to give a Luſtre to that Peace he had ſettled, began to addict himſelf to a profuſe Hoſpitality: A magnificent way of Greatneſs, in which the Monarchs of this Kingdom have in all Ages exceeded all the Princes of *Europe*. And upon all ſolemn Times, when Ceſſation from Labour licenſeth the Vulgar to admire the glorious Out-ſide of a State, he ſhow'd a particular Bravery to the Eye; by preſenting as well martial Exerciſes in Juſts,

K. *Edward* addicts himſelf to a magnificent way of living.

(*i*) To ſhew the Weakneſs of this Argument againſt the Earl of *Richmond*'s Title. Let us ſee what the Duke of *Buckingham* ſays of his own ſelf at his Conference with the Biſhop of *Ely*, printed in *Holinſhead*, pag. 746. My Mother being Eldeſt Daughter to Duke *Edmond*, I thought my ſelf indubitate Heir to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*; but accidentally travelling to *Worceſter* at the ſame Time that theſe Thoughts were in my Head, I met the Counteſs of *Richmond* the very Daughter and ſole Heir of *John*, Duke of *Somerſet*, my Grandfather's Elder Brother; ſo that ſhe and her Son the Earl of *Richmond* I knew were Bars to my Claim of the Sovereignty: And of the *Lancaſter* Line he ſays, *That his Grandfather Duke* Edmond *was with King* Henry *the Sixth in the Two and Three Degrees from* John, *Duke of* Lancaſter, *lawfully begotten.*

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Tiltings, Turnaments, Barriers and the like; as the ſofter Entertainments of Wit, full of an elegant Curioſity for that Time ſubject to too much Tumult and Noiſe to give Birth to the beſt Inventions. But of all Solemnities the Feaſt of St. *George*, Patron of the nobleſt Order of the World, was celebrated with moſt Splendor and Pomp. Of which our common Chronicles are ſo liberal in the Relation, that they ſpare my Pen the Labour.

King *Edward's* Indulgence of his Luſts.

Among theſe Delicacies of Peace, the King forgot not to pleaſe his Luſt (the Baſtard of an idle Security;) and indeed impoſſible almoſt it was, that his Appetite flatter'd daily with all the Curioſities of Luxury, ſhould contain it ſelf ſeverely within the Bounds of Modeſty. For as by his other Actions we may judge, how little trouble his Conſcience put him to; and therefore not eaſie to be frighted from Sin by Religion; ſo on the Part of his Body, they who familiarly knew him affirm, that never Man was framed by Nature more apt to the Exerciſe of Love, and whom amorous Courtſhip did leſs Miſ-become. But Almighty God took not his natural Proneneſs to Luſt, for an Excuſe; but ſeverely puniſh'd him in his Sons: Who were both diſpoſſeſſed of the Kingdom and their Lives by their unnatural Uncle: There being ſo much Appearance of Right in the Uſurper by their Father's Incontinency; that even an Act of Parliament was made to baſtardize them. And this ſad Judgment was provoked by the Diſorder of his Luſt; to which how can we wonder if ſo eaſily he inclin'd, ſince Majeſty ſeldom admits of any Inſtructions to a ſevere Correction of the Appetite?

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Ambition to extend their Dominions, hath been ever recorded the nobleſt Vertue in Princes: Who to leſſen a Neighbour-State too mighty in the Growth of Empire, or in hope to conquer ſome Territory, to which the Conveniency, not the Juſtice makes good the Title; without Scruple hazard large Armies of their People: And confidently boaſt the Victory, tho' the War were grounded upon Injuſtice. While K. *Edward* lived at Home glorious in his Quiet, this Doctrine was liſtened to by *Charles*, Duke of *Burgundy*, in following which he made ſo many injurious and unfortunate Attempts. For after his Peace concluded with *France*, he directed his whole Power to the Deſtruction of the Duke of *Lorrain*. A Prince who in Favour of K. *Lewis*, to whoſe Fortune he had devoted his Service, defied the Duke of *Burgundy*, when he lay at the Siege of *Nuz*. And tho' this Deſign againſt *Lorrain* might carry with it all Probability of Succeſs; conſidering the Narrowneſs of the Dutchy: Yet as it ought in Judgment to have been weighed with the Supports of *France* and other Confederates in *Germany*, it might bear a Face of much more Difficulty. For it had not only been a perpetual Diſhonour to K. *Lewis*, but even a Diſadvantage to his Affairs to permit a free Spoil of ſo near an adjoyning Country to the Duke of *Burgundy*; whom for the preſent a blind Revenge tranſported beyond Reaſon, and made him war with all Cruelty, not only againſt *Renatus*, the Duke of *Lorrain*, where the Victory might in ſome Meaſure recompence the Coſt; but againſt the *Switzers*, becauſe they had ſided with *Lorrain*, and made ſome Irruption into the Territories of the *Burgundian*.

Duke of *Burgundy's* Ambition to conquer his neighbouring Princes.

The *Switzers* deſcribed.

The *Switzers*, a poor People, unknown to the World, confin'd to a miſerable Life among their cold and barren Mountains; only proud in the Opinion they had of their Liberty, which was rather maintain'd by the Fort une of the Country, inacceſſible almoſt to an invading Army, than by the Valour of the People. Againſt theſe he led his Forces, rejecting all thoſe ſubmiſs and deprecatory Embaſſies ſent by them, and that free Acknowledgment of their Poverty, when they proteſted all the Wealth of their Country ſum'd up to the higheſt Value, would not be able to buy the Spurs and Bridle-bits in his Camp. Fortune in the beginning of this Enterprize flatter'd him to a Continuance of the War with proſperous Succeſs, intending by that glorious Bait only to allure him to Deſtruction. For ſoon the Chance of War turn'd, and in three Battles in one Year the unfortunate Duke was overthrown: in the laſt of which fought before *Nancy*, he was ſlain. A Prince who by his Alliance and continual Intercourſe of Buſineſs, had much Relation to the *Engliſh*: Whoſe Honour, and Recovery of whoſe large Territories in *France*, he certainly from his Heart deſired. And when he invited K. *Edward* into *France* to that Purpoſe, and there fail'd him of his promiſed Succours, it proceeded doubtleſs nor from any under-hand Practice or Remiſneſs in the Undertaking; but only by the Miſfortune of his Army, ſomewhat broken not long before at the Siege of *Nuz*. He was therefore a Friend to us, if an ambitious Man can be ſaid to be a Friend to any; or rather ſo great an Enemy to *Lewis* of *France* that he loved us only in Oppoſition; and deſir'd our Proſperity, becauſe it could not grow without Ruin to the *French*. How juſt a Governour he was in Peace appertains little to our Knowledge, and the World had little Leiſure to conſider; he was ſo everlaſtingly in Arms: In which as he ſhewed great Courage and Judgment, ſo likewiſe did he commit much Injuſtice. And he who will examine what Licenſe War gives to Injury, and how it impoſeth almoſt Neceſſity of doing Wrong; may in ſome ſort excuſe him. But his being ever in Quarrels, (into which he enter'd and continu'd, as his Paſſion, not his Reaſon directed him) argues his Spirit daring but turbulent, and his Valour raſh and inconſiderate, and takes away all Pardon from his ſo many Errors. The two great Blemiſhes upon his Memory, are his Cruelty at *Granſon* in *Lorrain*, where in cold Blood he cauſed all the Inhabitants to be kill'd, the Town being yielded to his Diſcretion: And his Perfidiouſneſs to the Count St. *Paul*, whom notwithſtanding a ſafe Conduct he deliver'd up to Execution into the Hands of K. *Lewis*. The good Men who aſcribe Puniſhment to the Juſtice of Heaven, obſerve that after theſe two Crimes his Fortune left him, and with Diſhonour Death overtook him, when he leaſt expected it. Having at that time in his Imaginations ſo many and ſo vaſt Deſigns, that ſcarce the Age and Fortune of Man had length and Power enough to accompliſh them all.

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Duke of *Burgundy* ſlain at *Nancy*

His Character.

Duke of *Burgundy's* Cruelty and Falſhood, and the Puniſhment of it.

The Death of this Prince, who had begot ſo much Buſineſs in his Life, diverſly affected all the neighbouring Countries. Generally according to the Cuſtom in private Familes, every State entertain'd it with ſuch a Paſſion, as the Advantage or Diſadvantage appear'd by it to themſelves. Some few out of Love to his Perſon, Hope of Marriage with his Daughter, or Compaſſion of humane Accidents, griev'd at the Report: But moſt expreſſed their Sorrow, for the Liberty King *Lewis* had attain'd by it, becauſe no Man living now had the Power and Will to oppoſe him, ſhould he attempt any Injury, and offer Violence to his weaker Neighbours. But King *Edward* was ſo infatuated

The Count of St. *Paul's* Death, and the Effects of it.

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by his Arts, that he never ſtartled at this great Accident, nor look'd how nearly it might concern his own Safety; ſo that notwithſtanding he were daily certified of new Undertakings by King *Lewis*, he reſted quiet, and gave free Reins to his injurious Ambition, who, as ſoon as he underſtood the Death of Duke *Charles*, and perceived how open his Countries lay to an Invader, he pretended the Dutchy of *Burgundy* for want of Heirs-male devolv'd back to the Crown of *France*, and by the Arms of the Duke of *Lorrain* without further Diſpute took it in: In the mean time himſelf ſeizing upon all *Picardie*, which for many Years had remain'd in Poſſeſſion of Dukes *Philip* and *Charles*. And that he might have yet more Occaſion of Quarrel with an unſettled Lady unable to withſtand his Oppoſition, he ſummon'd the Princeſs *Mary*, Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* to come in Perſon into *France* to do Homage for the County of *Flanders*, and her other Eſtates held in chief of that Crown.

K. *Lewis* ſeized upon the Dutchy of *Burgundy* at the Duke's Death.

But ſhe knowing how unſafe it was to yield her Perſon up to a Prince, who made his Advantage of every Opportunity, delay'd the Homage, and ſtood upon her Guard as ſtrongly as in ſo diſorder'd a Country was poſſible. For though ſhe were a Lady of many opulent and mighty Provinces, able if not to offend, yet to defend themſelves againſt the World; yet were the People ſtubborn and prone to Rebellion, and who by the Weakneſs of ſome of their Princes heretofore, had purchaſed to themſelves too large Immunities. And indeed ſcarce any Town, but had or pretended to have ſuch Prerogatives, as debaſed all Authority of Government, which upon every Change in State they reviv'd, and endeavour'd if poſſible to redeem themſelves from Subjection. And this Hope, more than ever now poſſeſſed them, conſidering the Unexperience both of the Youth and Sex of her that ruled; ſo that by Appearance of their churliſh Carriage to the Dutcheſs, and ſmall Preparations againſt King *Lewis*, who every Day ſurpriz'd ſome Place or other, they rather deſired to be expoſed a Prey to ſome inſolent and cruel Enemy, than endure the mild Government of their lawful Princeſs. She therefore ſent Ambaſſadors to implore Aid of King *Edward*, and declare to him the Urgency of her preſent Neceſſities. Who ſhewed, *That their Princeſs the greateſt Heireſs in the World, born to a large and rich Territory, was at preſent in a Condition beneath the pooreſt Subject that enjoyed but Liberty; being detain'd Captive by the Hands of ſuch as made Reſtraint far more unſuportable*, viz. *of her own inſolent Rebells. That her Deliverance concern'd the King of* England *in general as a Prince, and in particular as a Neighbour and an Ally. That her tumultuous Subjects, who had dared to attempt and act this Treaſon, took Courage from the* French *King's declar'd Enmity. An injurious Proceeding in a Prince againſt a Neighbour, which juſtly provokes all* Chriſtendom *to unite in her Defence, and puniſh ſo barbarous a Proceeding in him. That the ancient League obſerv'd with ſo much Religion between* England *and the* Low Countries, *particularly did require his Majeſty's preſent Aid; and a Conſideration of what might happen perhaps in his own Poſterity in the ſame Nature did invite him to do Favours, as his might challenge to receive them hereafter. That even in the politick Diſcretion of Government, it was conceiv'd, that nearly it concern'd the State of* England *to provide againſt ſo dangerous an Addition of Dominion to the* French, *conſidering King* Lewis *had already moſt injuriouſly wreſted away not only* Peronne, Mountdidier, Tournay, *and all the reſt of* Picardie *ſold heretofore to Duke* Philip, *but ſeiz'd even upon* Burgundy *the Inheritance of their Princeſs. And what expreſſeth the Inhumanity of the Tyrant, and the hated Malice of his Intentions, ſummons her at this preſent to do Homage perſonally for* Flanders *and her other Territories; which Summons if ſhe obeys, ſhe certainly betrays her ſelf to an everlaſting Captivity, or to a Neceſſity to ſurrender a large Part of her Inheritance for Redemption; and if ſhe refuſeth, ſhe endangers her whole Eſtate to the Surprize of a mercileſs Enemy, who never wanted the Pretence of Juſtice to juſtifie Spoil and Rapine.* They farther urg'd, *how their Princeſs was not only in her Perſon reſtrain'd by her own Subjects, but had not ſo much as any Appearance of an Army in the Field to oppoſe the Invader. The Soldier being abſolutely deſtroyed in the former unfortunate Battles fought by her Father in* Lorrain; *and the Faith of all the Commanders who remain'd, bought up by King* Lewis, *and turn'd wholly* French, *with Surrender of the Towns and Forts under their Government. And all Hope of any Levies at home vain and falſe, the Commons by Practice of the* French *King every where in Tumult, and the few who wiſh'd well to their Princeſs's Affairs, either not daring to declare themſelves, or ſuffering Death or Impriſonment for their Faith.* They concluded with Intreaty, *That the King would engage his Arms in ſo juſt a Quarrel; which, as it could not but be moſt honourable to his Name and no way unprofitable, ſo likewiſe would it caſt a perpetual Obligation upon their Princeſs, and devote her Power hereafter to his Service.*

Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* refuſes to do Homage to King *Lewis* for Fear of his Policy.

She deſires K. *Edward's* Aſſiſtance againſt K. *Lewis*, and her Ambaſſadors urg'd it by many Arguments.

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This Embaſſy carried with it every Way ſo much Juſtice, that it begot a general Approbation. For the Opinion was, that *England* never had ſo fair an Opportunity to win Honour to the Nation, relieve an oppreſſed Princeſs, check an inſolent and unfaithful Neighbour, and provide for its own Safety. So that in the Court no Perſon of Honour, not corrupted with the *French* Penſion, but paſſionately deſired the Undertaking; and thought it neceſſary in every Point to begin this defenſive War. But the King, who was in ſo deep a Lethargy that no Danger could wake him, nor Touch of Honour make him ſenſible, heard this with a fair Reſpect, and diſmiſſed the Ambaſſadors with ſome faint Comfort. And tho' he could not but perceive what a Cloud it would be upon his Reputation to permit ſo foul an Injury to the young Princeſs, and ſit ſtill; yet he reſolv'd to liſten to the ſafer Counſels of Peace, and believe (how improbable ſoever) the many Proteſtations of King *Lewis*.

The Embaſſy of the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* approv'd by the Nobles, but not by the King.

Who, as ſoon as he underſtood of theſe Addreſſes made to *England*, which at the very firſt he expected, diſpatch'd his Ambaſſadors to undo whatſoever had been wrought by the former Solicitation. And whereas the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* perſwaded King *Edward* to this War by the Arguments of Honour and a generous Pity. He diſſwaded it, *by menacing an abſolute Breach of the Peace ſworn at* Picquigny, *whereby the King ſhould be fruſtrated of his Tribute, and the ſo mighty Marriage of his Daughter.* He ſhewed farther, *how it was not only againſt the ſo near Amity begun and likely to continue between them and their Poſterity, but even againſt the Cuſtom of common Confederacies, to oppoſe a neighbouring Prince in League, when he only attempted the Recovery of his own Right. And if the Truth of his Actions were laid open to the World, it would appear, that the Re-aſſumption of thoſe Towns into the Power of* France, (*what Interpretation ſoever they might ſuffer among the ignorant or malicious,*)

K. *Lewis* ſends an Embaſſy to K. *Edward* to anſwer the Arguments of the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*.

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was but an Act of Juſtice; ſince thoſe many Places in Picardie *were no way of Right belonging to Duke* Charles, *but permitted him only to avoid the Continuance of War, which was notorious to any Man who would but call to Memory, how they were morgaged to Duke* Philip. *The abſolute Alienation of them from the Crown having never been either in the Will or Power of any* French *King. Then for the Dutchy of* Burgundy, *the original Grant and the common Practice in* France *would manifeſt, that it only was conferr'd upon the Heirs Male; which failing in the preſent Dutcheſs, implies a Return of it back to the Crown, whence it paſt at firſt by an inconſiderate Tranſaction. Laſtly, that his taking Arms was only to recover and juſtifie his Right, and reduce the Princeſs* Mary *to perform her Homage, which never was denied by any Earl of* Flanders. *And if there be any Infidelity or Tumult among her Subjects, ſhe ought either to blame the evil Diſpoſition of her People to Rebellion, or the Misfortune of her own Government.*

The *Engliſh* deſirous to relieve the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, cauſe a ſecond Embaſſy from *France.*

This was the Effect of King *Lewis* his Anſwer at firſt, which the King was joyful to have divulg'd, becauſe it gave his Slowneſs to Action, a ſpecious Shew of Juſtice and Diſcretion. But the Relief of the oppreſſed Lady grew ſo much into the Deſire of the Commonalty, and even the better Sort of People bended ſo much to Compaſſion, that the *French* began to ſuſpect the King might be induced to undertake her Protection. Whereupon new Ambaſſadors came with new Inſtructions ſomething more plauſible than the former, in which they were to keep the King upon any Terms at home. Theſe offer'd to his Majeſty a full Relation of King *Lewis* his Proceedings hitherto, with Promiſe, 'To refer it wholly to him, if 'any Violence had been by the Licence of War 'committed. That their Maſter's Aim was ſo 'far from Injury, that he would ſubmit to in-'different Judgment all the Paſſages in this 'Quarrel, and bind himſelf to any Reſtitu-'tion the King of *England* ſhould order. For 'all his Deſire by theſe Arms was only the Re-'duction of his own, and Maintenance of the 'Prerogatives of the Crown of *France*. And ever among theſe Excuſes he mingled ſome Diſcourſe concerning the *Dauphin*, his ſo forward Growth, and the great Expectation of him; ſomething too of the Lady *Elizabeth*, and the Joy all *France* conceiv'd of the future Marriage. Neither was the Ceremony of paying the Tribute ever ommitted at the Day, nor the great Lords forgotten to be preſented with Penſions, and ſomething too of Addition to increaſe their Diligence.

K. *Lewis* his Policy to keep K. *Edward* from aſſiſting the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy.*

By theſe Arts he won Time, a Merchandize he then traffick'd for, and the Purchaſe of which ſo nearly concern'd his preſent Deſign: For it was his, and certainly a politick Courſe, to ſend often, and ſtill ſeveral Ambaſſadors; who, if in their Overtures they were contradictory, laid the Fault on their Inſtructions, and deſired reſpite, till they had ſome farther Underſtanding of their Maſter's Intentions: And when any new Thing was propoſed, they embraced it, intreating only Time to inform the State of *France*. But when by frequent treating, the Buſineſs was come oftentimes to Neceſſity of abſolute Reſolution, then ſuddenly was the Ambaſſador recall'd, and ſome new Perſon ſent to ſupply his Place, wholly ignorant, or at leaſt pretending to be wholly ignorant of all former Paſſages.

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At the length when he ſaw there was an Impoſſibility farther to diſſemble, by pretending Reſtitution of whatſoever had been wreſted away from the Dutcheſs, he diſcover'd the Treachery of his former Carriage, and made Propoſitions advantageous to the King's Profit. Offering, 'If he would paſs the Seas with a full 'Army and join in the Quarrel, to defray half 'the Expence of the War, and never forſake 'the *Engliſh*, untill he had ſettled them in Poſ-'ſeſſion of *Flanders* and *Brabant*, ſo that the 'Spoil might be equally divided between the 'Two Kings. In this one Overture he expreſſed the Deceit of his former Purchaſe, to make which good he tender'd ſo great a Brokage.

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K. *Lewis* offers to give K. *Edward Flanders.*

But the King refuſed this Propoſition, not out of Conſcience unwilling to enter upon Eſtates to which he had no Title; nor Greatneſs of Spirit, diſdaining to make Advantage of the Misfortune of a Lady oppreſſed by an overpotent Neighbour, and forſaken by an ungrateful and diſobedient People, but only out of Conſideration of the Difficulty: Since the Towns were of Strength to make Reſiſtance againſt the moſt powerful Army, that every Fort would require much Time and Charge in the Gaining; and if gain'd would prove as coſtly and difficult to keep. The People, tho' naturally prone to Innovation, and upon the ſlighteſt Grounds ready to rebel, yet by no Art to be ſo tamed as to endure the Yoak of a Stranger. And if the Conqueſt was ſtill to be made good by Garriſons of *Engliſh*, (the Natives being both unruly and unfaithful) it would draw much Blood and Treaſure from *England*, and return neither Honour nor Profit. Nevertheleſs the King offer'd immediately to declare himſelf in common League againſt the Dutcheſs, and to lead over an Army Royal into her Territories, promiſſing to ſhare in all future Danger if he might be admitted to ſhare in what was already conquer'd. But that the *French* denied, as loath ever to quit Poſſeſſion, yet never ſo peremptorily refuſed any Propoſition, as to leave the *Engliſh*, perſwaded by Deſpair, to enter into new Counſels; even in their Denials leaving ſome Way open to Expectation.

K *Edward* offers to join with K *Lewis* againſt the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy.*

Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* to engage K. *Edward* to her Aſſiſtance, offers a Marriage with the Duke of *Clarence.*

During this Time ſpun out to the utmoſt length by theſe tedious Negotiations, the *French* effected their Ends, and almoſt undid the afflicted Princeſs. Who left no way untried that might lead her into a perfect Friendſhip with the *Engliſh*, and engage their Arms to her Defence. Among the reſt ſhe tried one which being ſingular in the Event deſerves a particular Obſervation. Either by her Commiſſion or Permiſſion, a Motion was made of a Marriage between her and *George*, Duke of *Clarence*, who had lately buried his Lady. By which very Overture ſhe doubted not but the King ambitious of ſo ample a Fortune for his Brother, would run into her Quarrel. But, as ſometimes Phyſick miſapplied, it wrought a contrary Effect, and with other Circumſtances procured his Ruin. For he having by the Levity of his Actions weaken'd his Reputation with the World in general, and particularly drawn a hatred from the Queen's Kindred upon him, the King and the Duke of *Glouceſter* likewiſe, having him either in Contempt or Jealouſie, ſtood in a manner alone. So that the very firſt Whiſpers of this Marriage were heard with Emulation by ſome, with Scorn by others, and with Diſlike by all. Which gave Occaſion that his Deſtruction was ſuddenly plotted, and almoſt as ſuddenly executed. For the King, altho' he ow'd his Reſtitution to the Crown when he was expell'd from *England*, to the Duke's Revolt from *Warwick*; yet he remembred more perfectly the Unnaturalneſs of his firſt Rebellion: And howſoever

Duke of *Clarence's* Death contrived upon the Motion.

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he ſhowed outwardly all the Arguments of a reconcil'd Brother, yet certainly the Memory of the Injury at firſt done remain'd deeply imprinted in his Mind. So that *Clarence* by his after-Service never regain'd that Place in the King's Heart, which his former Diſloyalty had forfeited. This he perceiv'd and repin'd againſt, and the King underſtanding that he reſented the Truth, hated him yet the more: And ſo far grew this Hatred, that no Diſcourſe was more harſh to the King's Ear than that of *Clarence*'s Marriage with the Heir of *Burgundy*; by which it was ſuſpected he being furniſhed with Power might hereafter prepare for Revenge. For according to the Diſpoſition of Man he ſaw all his Actions in a flattering Glaſs: Looking upon his Revolt from his Brother, as an Error of ſeduced Youth; and on his Return back, as on ſo great a Merit, that it lay ſcarce in the King's Power to recompence: The King enjoying by it all the Greatneſs he poſſeſſed.

Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Policy to haſten *Clarence*'s Fall.

Richard, Duke of *Glouceſter*, upon whoſe Nature and Friendſhip he built moſt, deceived him moſt. For *Glouceſter*, who ſtudied nothing but his own Purpoſes, and cared not by what Violence all Obſtacles of Nature and Friendſhip were remov'd, ſo the Way were plain'd to his Ambition; endeavour'd to add more Poiſon to their Diſcontent: Knowing that bad Intentions never receive Growth but from Miſchief. He therefore perſwaded him to be ſenſible of the King's Neglect, and boldly to expreſs his Reſentments: A ſilent Patience being in a Subject Loyalty, but in a King's Brother Cowardize. While on the other Side he whiſper'd in the King's Ear the Danger of *Clarence*'s Spirit apt to receive any Diſcontent, and wanting only Power to ſeek unlawful Remedies; and whatſoever Council came from him was receiv'd by the King with more Attention and Belief, in regard of his great Judgment and Profeſſions of Love to his Brother. And indeed *Glouceſter* much diſdain'd the Advancement of *Clarence* this Way, not that he had any particular Ground for Malice, but only that he hated any Man, and eſpecially a Brother, ſhould have the Start of him in Fortune.

The Queen and her Kindred's Malice againſt *Clarence*.

But the Queen and her Kindred ſhallower in their Spleen, ſpoke loud againſt him; while *Glouceſter* deep in Miſchief was not heard to murmur. For they ſuggeſted continually to the King with what Contempt they were treated by *Clarence*, how all their Honours were mention'd as Mockeries: As if the King wanted Power to confer his Favours according to the Diſcretion of his own Bounty. They urged the Memory of his Rebellion at his firſt Marriage with *Warwick*'s Daughter, and the much more Danger of his Intentions in affecting ſo much Greatneſs in the Second. And ſo far by Aggravations of every ſlight Error they wrought, that the King was willing to have his Brother ſuffer; but only wanted ſome Offence capital enough to make his Death appear an Act of Neceſſity and Juſtice, not of Plot and Malice.

The Cauſe of the Duke of *Clarence*'s Death.

It is generally receiv'd among the Vulgar, and wants not the Approbation of ſome Chronicles, that the chief Ground of the King's Aſſent to his Death was the Miſinterpretation of a Prophecy: Which foretold that one, the firſt Letter of whoſe Name was G. ſhould uſurp the Kingdom and diſpoſſeſs K. *Edward*'s Children. Of which there is much of Probability; however by his other Actions I ſhould not judge the King eaſie to believe in ſuch Vanities. For Credulity in that Nature, falls for the moſt part upon weak Minds, as thoſe of Women and Children; or upon the timerous, whoſe Apprehenſions are ſoften'd to receive every ſlight Impreſſion; or upon the Over-zealous, whom an evil regulated Piety bends to Superſtition. And with theſe three the King had no Participation in Humour. Yet this ſerv'd for the preſent, and carried with it a ſtrong Accuſation againſt the Duke for this Prophecy was alledged to be ſpoken by ſome of his Servants, who by Necromancy had underſtood this from the Devil: Which with other Circumſtances ſerv'd to haſten the King to this foul Miſchief.

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One Mr. *Burdet* a Dependant on the Duke of *Clarence* executed.

The Duke was in *Ireland*, the Country that gave him Birth, during the Time of theſe Contrivances, not ſuſpecting any Deſign againſt himſelf. Upon his Return to the Court he underſtood that *Thomas Burdet* (*k*) of *Arrow* in the County of *Warwick* Eſquire, who even was dependant upon him and ran his Fortune, had been in his Abſence apprehended, indited, arraign'd and executed (*l*) all in the Compaſs of two Days. The Crime upon which his Accuſation was principally grounded, were inconſiderate Words by which upon a Report, that the white Buck in which he much delighted was killed as the King was hunting in his Park, he wiſh'd the Head and Horns and all in the King's Belly, whereas indeed he wiſh'd it only in his Belly, who counſel'd the King to kill it. With this Accuſation were mingled many other of Poiſoning, Sorceries, and Inchantments: Crimes which every judicious Man eaſily perceiv'd, were only put in the Scale like Grains, to make his raſh Language full Weight, which otherwiſe would have been too light to deſerve the Sentence of Death. Theſe Proceedings *Clarence* reſented, as they were intended, and expoſtulated with the King about the Injuſtice done to his Servant, and Injury to himſelf. And according to the Cuſtom of Expoſtulations, his Words were bold and diſorderly, and having receiv'd an apparent Injury, built to much on the Right of his Cauſe, and provok'd the King too far into Indignation; ſo that ſoon after he was committed cloſe Priſoner to the Tower, where being by Act of Parliament attainted, he was ſecretly put to death. The Manner, as it is generally received, was by Thruſting his Head into a But of Malmeſey, by which he was ſtifled (*m*).

His Crime

Duke of *Clarence* impriſoned and put to Death.

In his Attainder, according to the Form, are Crimes enough to make his Death have Appearance of Juſtice, the Execution of which the King ſeem'd rather conſtrain'd to, than to have ſought. For there are reckon'd, how the Duke of *Clarence* to bring the preſent Government into Hatred with the People, and thereby the preſent State into Trouble; had not only in his Speeches frequently laid Injuſtice to the King's Charge in attainting *Thomas Burdet* falſly, convict of many notorious Treaſons, but ſuborn'd many of his Servant and divers others, corrupted with Money, to divulge the like ſeditious Diſcourſes; That he had ſpread Abroad impious Rumours that the King dealt by Necromancy, and upon Offence againſt ſuch of his Subjects, whom by Order of Law he could not

Duke of *Clarence*'s Attainder

(*k*) Son to Sir *Nicholas Burdet*, a famous Soldier in the *French* Wars, and great Butler of *Normandy*.

(*l*) At *Tyburn*.

(*m*) His Body was expoſed lying on his Bed, to amuſe the People, as if he dy'd of Melancholy; but the Attainder and the King's Temper rendred that Artifice ineffectual.

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deſtroy, he was accuſtom'd to take away by Poyſon; That he had not reſted there, but thereby to advance himſelf to the Kingdom, and for ever to diſable the King and his Poſterity from the Crown, had contrary to Truth, Nature and Religion, Viper-like deſtroying her who gave him Life, publiſh'd that the King was a Baſtard and no way capable to Reign; That to make this his ſo monſtrous Ambition more ſucceſsful and already to begin his Uſurpation he had cauſed many of the King's Subjects to be ſworn upon the moſt bleſſed Sacrament to be true to him and his Heirs, without any Exception of their Allegiance; after which ſo ſolemn Oaths, he diſcover'd to them his Reſolution to right himſelf and his Followers, who had both ſuffered by the King's violent wreſting away their Eſtates: And in particular to revenge himſelf upon the King, who (as he moſt impiouſly and falſely ſuggeſted) had by Art-Magick contrived to conſume him, as a Candle conſumeth in burning. And, what moſt expreſſed the Treaſon of his Deſigns, that he had got out an Exemplification under the great Seal of *Henry* VI. late King; wherein was ſhewed how by the Parliament it was enacted, that if the ſaid *Henry* and *Edward* his Son ſhould die without Iſſue-male, the Kingdom ſhould deſcend upon the Duke of *Clarence* and his Heirs; whereby clearly appear'd his Intention, immediately to poſſeſs himſelf of the Crown, with Deſtruction of King *Edward* and his Children by Pretence of a general Election of the Commonwealth. This was the Sum of his Attainder, which we may well believe had not ſo eaſily paſt but by the King's publick declaring himſelf, the ſecret working of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and the paſſionate Urging of the Queen's Kindred.

The Crimes alledged falſe.

But this Attainder had in it one Thing moſt Remarkable, that *Clarence* here falſly was accuſed, of laying Baſtardy to the King, to endeavour Poſſeſſion of the Crown: Which afterward was alledg'd indeed by *Richard*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, to the abſolute Diſinherit of the King's Sons. Whereby God's ſevere Judgment manifeſts, how unſafe it is in a Prince, by falſe Accuſations to condemn an innocent, or but to aggravate the Fault of one leſs Guilty, to the End that Cruelty may be reported an Act of Juſtice.

Duke of *Clarence*'s Death every where condem'd.

The Death of this Prince being ſudden and extraordinary, begot every where an extraordinary Cenſure; the unnatural ſeverity, taking away all Excuſe, even from their Diſcourſe, who moſt favour'd the King. At Home it was generally condemn'd, both in regard of the Manner, it being prodigious to be drown'd without Water, upon dry Ground, and the Quality of the Perſon: He being the Firſt Brother to a King in this Country, that ever was attainted. And what increaſed the Murmur, a Faction appear'd at Court triumphing in his Ruin, all the Accuſations were ſtrangely wreſted, and no matter of Fact, ſcarce an Intention prov'd againſt the State. Whereupon this Puniſhment was thought to have been inflicted upon him for no new Attempt: His firſt taking Part with *Warwick*, being his only Crime. For which War, tho' ſomewhat againſt Nature, he had many Examples in *France*, *Spain*, and other Parts of Chriſtendom: Whereas for the Death of a younger Brother, upon bare Suſpicion, the King could borrow no Precedent nearer then the *Turkiſh* Government. But *Clarence* imagin'd the Prerogative of his Birth a ſufficient Defence againſt Danger, and omitted to fortifie himſelf with Faction; which laid him open to every Aſſault of Envy. And becauſe he had heretofore been in Oppoſition againſt the King, the Liberty in cenſuring any Defect in Government was interpreted a Deſire to be in Arms again. Every Word of Diſtaſt being held Criminal in him, from whom the King was alienated by his own Diſpoſition, open Invectives of the Queen's Kindred, and ſecret Trains of the Duke of *Glouceſter*; who now began to look high over all Reſpects of Nature and Religion. He was certainly ambitious beyond Proportion, which made him ſo attentive to any new Counſels, and of an eaſie Nature, which render'd him apt by Practice to be wrought to Miſchief. He was a good Maſter, but an uncertain Friend; which delivers him to us to have been, according to the Nature of weak Men, ſooner perſwaded by an obſequious Flattery, than a free Advice. We cannot judge him of any evil Nature, only buſie and Inconſtant, thinking it a Circumſtance of Greatneſs to be ſtill in Action. He was too open-breaſted for the Court, where Suſpicion looks thro' a Man, and diſcovers his Reſolutions tho' in the Dark, and lock'd up in Secrecy. But what was his Ruin, he was, whether the Houſe of *York* or *Lancaſter* prevail'd, ſtill ſecond to the Crown: So that his Eye by looking too ſtedfaſtly on the Beauty of it became unlawfully enamour'd with it; and that being obſerv'd by the King's Jealouſie, he ſuffer'd as if he actually had ſinned. He left two Children by the Earl of *Warwick*'s Daughter, *Edward*, who inherited his Grandfather's Honour, and was beheaded in the Reign of *Henry* the Seventh, and *Margaret* afterwards by *Henry* the Eighth created Counteſs of *Salisbury*, who was marry'd to *Richard Pool* of the *Welſh* Family of the *Pools*.

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His Character.

While this Miſchief was ſecretly in contriving againſt *Clarence*, in the Court appear'd no Face, but that of Jollity and Magnificence. For at that Time was *Edward* eldeſt Son to the King (during *Chriſtmas*, to mingle the Solemnity with Liberty) inaugurated Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Cheſter*; and his younger Brother *Richard*, created Duke of *York*; The Fate of their *Honour* and their Ruin, being ſtill the ſame. At this Creation according to the Ceremony, many young Lords and Gentlemen of principal Name were made Knights of the *Bath*, among whom *Brian* Cheif-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, and *Littleton*, that learned Father of the Laws, are regiſtred.

K. *Edward* createsbis eldeſt Son Prince of *Wales* and Duke of *York*.

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Knights of the *Bathmade*

King *Edward*'s Profuſeneſs put him upon Severity tohisSubjects.

But the publick Glory of theſe extraordinary Pomps, and the Wantonneſs of his private Pleaſures could not be maintain'd with the ordinary Revenue. Therefore to make good the Expence of his own Errors, the King began to look narrowly into thoſe of his Subjects; that by this Art, in a manner, he might Sin upon free Coſt. And as it hath been a certain Obſervation, that the moſt delicate and voluptuous Princes have ever been the heavieſt Oppreſſors of the People; Riot being a far more laviſh Spender of the common Treaſure, than War or Magnificence; ſo thoſe Parts of the King's Life, which were wanton'd away with variety of Delights, are noted to have been ſevereſt. But perhaps the Subjects repents not the free Gifts of the Kingdom's Subſtance, when he ſees the Return of it in Triumph; but repines if the leaſt Part of his Contribution be the Reward of Paraſites, or Perſons to whom Fortune, not Merit gives a Growth. And Hiſtorians likewiſe have more Leiſure to examine the Crimes of Princes in the Silence of Peace, than in the Noiſe of War: Or elſe Princes want

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Opportunity to incloſe their Thoughts to the Study of private Gain, when the Soldier in a Manner lays the Wealth of the Kingdom open, and makes a Common of every Man's particular Treaſure. For now the King began to cauſe the Pœnal Laws to be put in Execution, and wanting higher Aims, to look downward into every ſordid Way of enriching himſelf; ſo that a general Fear poſſeſſed the People, that his after-Government would be both ſharp and heavy, conſidering the firſt Part of it was not without a foul Blemiſh in that Kind. For in the Seventh Year of his Reign, he proceeded againſt many of the wealthieſt Citizens with ſo much Severity, that it was reputed Tyranny. The chief of them were Sir *Thomas Cook*, Sir *John Plumer*, Knights, *Humphrey Hewward* and other Aldermen. And their Crime was, their having given Aſſiſtance to King *Henry*: Which, conſidering the Circumſtance of Things could hardly bear any capital Accuſation had it been clearly proved: But againſt theſe Men there was no Teſtimony but what was forc'd with Torture; and even that Teſtimony, not high enough to bring them to the Bar; yet the King commanded them to be arraign'd of High Treaſon at *Guild-Hall*; and withal expreſſed an earneſt Deſire, that upon any Terms they might be found guilty. Their Wealth being the principal Witneſs that gave Evidence againſt their Lives: But the Jury well directed by Sir *John Marckham*, Knight, chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, acquitted them of their Treaſon: Which, nevertheleſs releaſed them not, their Eſtates however were found guilty, and the greateſt Part eſcheated to the King. With the Offenders the Judge was condemn'd, and becauſe he preferr'd his Integrity before a ſevere Command, made Forfeiture of his Dignity.

K. *Edward's* Severity to Sir *Tho. Cook*, Judge *Marckham* and others.

Judge *Markham's* Juſtice.

The Memory of theſe Carriages heretofore, in a Buſineſs that concern'd the Life of a Man reputed innocent, drew the World into much Fear that he would now decline to Rigour. Neither was the King totally excuſed, although this cruel Avarice was laid to the Queen, who, having a numerous Iſſue and Kindred, by Favour raiſed up to the higheſt Titles, was almoſt neceſſitated for Supportance of their Honours, to wrack the Kingdom. And happily the univerſal Malice that waited on her and hers, ſerv'd well for the King; they being as a Screen between him and the unwholeſome Air of Envy, which otherwiſe might have endanger'd his Reputation with the People.

The Queen blam'd for the King's Severity.

From this rugged Way of Governing, he was ſoon diverted by Neceſſity to look abroad, and perhaps by the Gentleneſs of his Nature, or Repentance of his former Severity. For the Face of the World adjoyning began on the ſudden to change, and while the Kings of *England* and *France* were dividing the Territories of the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, a Third ſtep'd in, and got Poſſeſſion of her and her rich Country, *Maximilian*, Archduke of *Auſtria*, Son to the Emperor *Frederick* III. entertain'd heretofore politickly by Duke *Charles*, was now ſeriouſly invited to this Marriage. For the Lady diſpairing to receive Succours from the *Engliſh*, to the Affection of whom ſhe was perhaps inclined by the Neighbourhood of the Country, and Perſwaſion of the Dutcheſs *Dowager*, whom deſervedly ſhe much honour'd, condeſcended in the end to the Deſire of her Subjects, who ever laboured to marry her to ſome Prince of *Germany*, in regard of the Nearneſs in Language, and Concordance in Diſpoſitions. And although the hereditary Countries of this Prince lying far remote, were unlike to be any Support to her weakned State; yet conſidering him as Son to the Emperor, and in all Probability like to ſucceed (for in an elective Kingdom ſcarce ever is the Heir put by, if equally deſerving) he might appear neceſſary to her preſent Affairs. For he was young, of a noble Spirit, ſtrong and healthful in Conſtitution, bold in any Attempt of Honour, and what won upon the Affections of the *Low-Country* Men, extraordinary affable and courteous. I know both his Actions and the Hiſtories of that Time deliver him to us of no deep Judgment, and ſo negligent, that he ever left Things imperfect, oftentimes in main Buſineſs betrayed by his Credulity. But this I impute to him as an Error of the Climate under which he was born, and a certain generous Honeſty, which is above Suſpicion. The Motion of this Marriage was embraced with much Joy, to the Accompliſhment of which he inſtantly prepared. Neither could King *Lewis* with all his Engines batter the Reſolution of the Emperor, who, tho' a moſt paſſionate Lover of Peace, (which oftentimes he bought with Loſs) ran the Hazard of a War from *France*, rather than let his Son loſe the Advantage of ſo great a Country. And ſuddenly ſent him to the Dutcheſs, attended by many great Commanders, who among a People ſo oppreſſed with Arms, would be the beſt Witneſſes of a Marriage. His Preſence, altho' it did not abſolutely turn the Stream of Fortune, yet gave a Stay to the *French* Conqueſts: And after he appear'd in the Quarrel, Victory doubtfully inclin'd, ſometimes flattering *Maximilian*, at other Times King *Lewis*. *Maximilian* by his brave Valour, overtaking *Lewis*, who had the Start in Experience and Policy: So that frequent Truces were concluded between them, and unfaithfully obſerv'd; the firſt Opportunity of Advantage renewing the War.

Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* married to *Maximilian* the Emperor *Frederick* his Son.

A. D. 1479. Reg. 19.

K. *Lewis* endeavours to hinder the Marriage, but could not.

Lewis handled theſe Buſineſſes apart, never admitting King *Edward*, tho' he ever officiouſly labour'd to intereſs himſelf in them, into any Part of the War or Peace. For, as he knew the Strength of his Underſtanding ſuch, that he in Treaty could loſe nothing by the Arch-Duke; ſo he well conſider'd, that the ſafeſt Way to preſerve the *Engliſh* in Amity, was to keep them at home. Whereupon, he frequently entertain'd the King with Embaſſies full of Courteſie; ſuch as might appear rather the Arguments of a ſincere Friendſhip than the forc'd Expreſſions of Ceremony; and ever communicated with him his private Counſels, requiring his faithful Advice; when indeed he reſerv'd his Reſolutions of any high Nature wholly to himſelf, and always in the Conduct of Affairs, tho' he would liſten to the Opinion of King *Edward*, he ſtill obeyed his own. But this, with his other Arts continu'd his Reputation good with the *Engliſh*, and purchaſed that Quiet, he ſuſpected might by our Arms be interrupted.

K. *Edward* not concern'd in the *Burgundian* War.

And what render'd his Security the more, Troubles began between us and *Scotland*; which we may well believe he underhand increaſed. The Occaſion of them was, the evil Inclination and ungovern'd Spirit of *James* III. who diſdaining to liſten to the temperate Counſels of ſober Men, obeyed only his own Judgment, which his Paſſion threw headlong into raſh Attempts. The Freedom of Advice by the Lords of that Country uſed toward their Princes, render'd the Speaker hateful; and frequently was rewarded with Impriſonment or Exile, if not with Death. Among the Multitude of them caſt

K. *Edward* inſtigated to a War with *Scotland* by the Duke of *Albany*, who was baniſhed by the King of *Scots*.

A. D. 1479. Reg. 19. caſt out of Favour by him, *Alexander*, Duke of *Albany*, the King of *Scotland*'s Brother, baniſh'd into *France*, reſented the Injury, and endeavour'd Revenge. So that as he paſt thro' *England* towards his Exile, being admitted to the King, by all Arguments he incenſed him to a War, which could not but prove moſt ſucceſsful, the Hatred of the Commons conſider'd, againſt ſo violent an Oppreſſor. And he proteſted, *That he knew the King fallen into ſo low Eſteem even with thoſe he cheriſh'd, and into ſuch Hatred with all Mankind, that if aſſaulted by the* Engliſh, *he would be conſtrain'd by Submiſſion of his Crown to intreat for Safety.*

War with *Scotland* determined, and the Duke of *Glouceſter* ſent General.

This Importunity of the Duke of *Albany* ſoon prevail'd with the King; who by many Injuries had been exaſperated, and had only waited Opportunity to make War upon *Scotland*. For the Borders on the *Engliſh* Side had been often infeſted, and upon Complaint no Redreſs, nor Reparation of Damage made. Moreover, the King having heretofore condeſcended, upon a Motion from King *James*, *That his Second Daughter the Lady* Cicily, *ſhould marry* James, *Prince of* Scotland, and upon the Agreement paid in a large Part of the Portion, had receiv'd no Satisfaction to his Expectation; the Articles of Marriage neither being performed, nor yet the Money lent upon the Bonds of the Provoſt and Merchants of *Edenburgh*, according to Covenants repayed. He was therefore the ſooner won to undertake the Buſineſs, which he committed to the Order of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who now had no Competitor in Greatneſs both of Judgment and Power: No Prince of the Houſe of *York* remaining, but ſuch whom the Want of Years, or Love of Eaſe indiſpoſed to Action. For the King willing to decline Labour, waved the Expedition; and *Glouceſter* ambitious to gain Opinion, eſpecially with the Soldier, moſt forwardly undertook it. The King deſired to live to the beſt Advantage of his Pleaſure; *Glouceſter* of his Honour. And indeed, *Glouceſter* began now like a cunning Phyſician, to examine the State of the King's Body; which, tho' he found ſtrong and healthful, and by the ordinary reckoning of Men likely to continue many Years, yet withal he obſerv'd evil Symptoms of Death in him, being overgrown with Fat, and both in his Diet and Luſt ſubject to Diſorder: Diſorder a greater Enemy to Mankind, and which hath deſtroyed more than Age, the Sword, or Peſtilence. This *Glouceſter* perceiv'd, and hence drew Poiſon, which ſwell'd his Ambition higher.

A. D. 1480. Reg. 20. He therefore with much Alacrity prepared for the War, and with the Title of Lieutenant General, ſoon after ſet forward toward *Scotland*. The Army conſiſted of 22500, all commanded by Men of great Authority and Experience. Of the Nobility in his Retinue went *Henry*, Earl of *Northumberland*; *Thomas*, Lord *Stanley*, Lord Steward of the King's Houſe; the Lords *Lovell*, *Graiſtock*, *Fitzhugh*, *Nevill*, and *Scroope* of *Bolton*: Of Knights, Sir *Edward Woodvile*, Brother to the Queen; Sir *William Par*, Sir *John Elrington*, Treaſurer of the King's Houſe; Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *John Middleton*, Sir *John Dichfield* and others. The particular Names of whom I mention, only to ſhew how great a Shadow *Glouceſter* began to caſt toward the Sunſet, both of the King's Glory and Life. The Vanguard was led by the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Rereward by the Lord *Stanley*, the main Battle by the Duke himſelf; in whoſe Company was the Duke of *Albany*; *Glouceſter* willing perhaps to have him ſtill in Sight, leaſt if apart, with Sale of the Army, he might purchaſe his own Peace.

Duke of *Glouceſter* marches againſt *Scotland* with an Army.

A. D. 1480.

Their firſt Attempt was upon *Berwick* (ſurrendred heretofore by Queen *Margaret* to gain a Sanctuary for King *Henry*, when he was expell'd *England*) into which, partly by Terror of their Forces, partly by the Suddenneſs of their Approach, they enter'd without Oppoſition. The Town was ſoon at their Diſcretion; but the Caſtle, the ſtrongeſt Fort then in the North, by the Earl *Bothwel*, was made good againſt all Battery. *Glouceſter* foreſeeing by the Strength both of the Place, and the Commanders Reſolution, that this Siege would ſpend much Time, committed the Charge to the Lord *Stanley*, Sir *John Elrington*, and Sir *William Par*, with 4000 Soldiers; while he with the Body of the Army march'd higher into *Scotland*, perſwaded, as indeed it happened, that they might force the King of *Scotland* either to an inglorious Flight, or elſe for Safety to lock himſelf up in ſome ſtrong Hold. By which they might ſo impriſon him, that his Releaſe ſhould not be without a full Diſcharge for all Injuries both againſt *England* and the Duke of *Albany*. And according to Expectation it happen'd, the King upon the firſt Rumour of an Enemy, incloſing himſelf in the Caſtle of *Edenburgh*. For in his Government having not ſtudied the Safety of his People (which is the ſupream Law given to Kings) he found himſelf now forſaken by them, ſo far, that in Oppoſition to the *Engliſh*, againſt whom the *Scots* ever ſhewed a fair Reſolution, no Army now took the Field, the Country lying open to the Mercy of the Invader.

Reg. 20. *Berwick* gain'd by th- *Engliſh*.

King of *Scots* forſaken for his Tyranny.

Glouceſter therefore, burning many Towns by the Way to ſtrike a Terror in the Inhabitants, march'd directly to *Edenborough*; into which he entred, receiving ſuch Preſents as the Citizens offer'd to him; for at the Intreaty of the Duke of *Albany*, he ſpared the Town from Spoil. His Entry was only a Spectacle of Glory, the People applauding the Mercy of an Enemy, who preſented them with a Triumph, not a Battle; and welcom'd him as a Prince, who took Arms not for Prey or Malice, but for the Safety of a neighbouring Kingdom, diſorder'd and laid waſte more by the Licenſe of a Tyrant in Peace, than it could have been by the Hand of War. The Lords of *Scotland* conſidering the Danger of their State, and deſirous to prevent Ruin, ſent from *Hadington* to the Duke of *Glouceſter* to intreat a Suſpence of Arms, and to deſire a firm Peace in future. They there offer'd, if the Occaſion of beginning this War, were as it was pretended; to give the *Engliſh* full Satisfaction: So that he could have no Colour of continuing in Hoſtility, but only a Deſire to execute his Indignation upon a Country, already ſufficiently deſtroy'd. For concerning the Marriage, they were prepared when it ſhould pleaſe the King of *England* to accompliſh it; and for any other Injury offer'd to the *Engliſh*, they were ready to make Reſtitution. The Duke of *Glouceſter* return'd in Anſwer, *That his coming thither was to right the Honour of his Country, often violated by the* Scots, *and reſtore the Duke of* Albany *unjuſtly commanded to Exile, to his native Soil and the Dignity of his Birth. As for the Marriage of the Prince of* Scotland *with the Daughter of* England, *he knew not how his Brother's Reſolution ſtood at the preſent: Whereupon he required Repayment of the Money lent to their King upon the firſt Agreement; and withal a delivery of the Caſtle of* Berwick *up into his Hands; without which he proteſted to come to no Accord.*

Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Mercy to the *Scots*.

A Peace concluded with *Scotland*.

A. D. 1480. Reg. 20.

Accord. But the *Scottiſh* Lords laboured by all Means to have avoided the Surrender of a Place ſo important, by pretending how anciently it ever appertain'd to their Crown, by parting with which now they ſhould appear at too dear and baſe a Price, to have purchaſed Peace. No Argument could prevail againſt *Glouceſter*'s Reſolution; whereupon they yielded *Berwick*, with Covenant too by no Art hereafter to labour the Reduction of it. They likewiſe appointed a Day for Reſtitution of all thoſe Monies lent by King *Edward*, and promiſed upon a full Diſcuſſion, to make Satisfaction for all Damages done the *Engliſh* by any Inroad of the *Scottiſh* Borderers. And for the Duke of *Albany*'s Proviſion, whoſe Safety in this Expedition was principally pretended; (*n*) a general Pardon for him and his Followers was granted, together with an Abolition of all Diſcontents: Whereby he was reinveſted in all his former Dignities and Places; and by conſent of the Nobility of *Scotland* proclaim'd Lieutenant of the Kingdom.

Duke of *Albany* reſtored.

Duke of *Glouceſter* engages the Duke of *Albany* to his Friendſhip.

With this Lord the Duke of *Glouceſter* endeavour'd to make a moſt entire Friendſhip, and by all Induſtry imploy'd for his Advancement in Authority, ſtudied how to make him firm to his Purpoſes, if Occaſion ſhould hereafter preſent it ſelf to require his Aid: And queſtionleſs, howſoever the Fortunes of theſe two Dukes accorded not in every Point, yet there was in their Ambitions ſome kind of Sympathy. Both being Brothers to Kings, and both the Kings by the Inſolency or Licenciouſneſs of their Actions become obnoxious to a publick Scandal. But *Albany* had the Advantage in a more deſerv'd and univerſal Hatred to the King his Brother, whereby he might not improbably expect to be King in Fact, however his Brother were in Title. And *Glouceſter* had the Start in that the King's Brother's Eaſe apparently tended to the ſhortning of his Life; and then he, remaining the only Prince of the Blood fit to govern, was not unlikely to govern as King both in Fact and Title. To the Advancement of ſuch a Deſign, a perfect Amity with *Scotland*, *Glouceſter* could not but imagine moſt neceſſary.

Duke of *Glouceſter* returns to *London*, and with great Applauſe is receiv'd.

Having therefore ſettled Buſineſſes there with all increaſe of Glory to the *Engliſh* Name, (and by Conſequence to his own) he return'd to *Berwick*; which according to the former Agreement had been yielded to the Lord *Stanley*. Thence in all Solemnity of Greatneſs he came towards *London*, to yield an Account of his proſperous Enterprize. By the Way he permitted the Honour of this Action to be divulged with the greateſt Applauſe, thereby to inſinuate his Reputation into the Opinion of the Commons; and to ſhow how much more nobly he in this Expedition againſt *Scotland* had managed the Peace for the Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation, than his Brother had in his Undertaking againſt *France*. Conſidering that in Lieu of a little Money, which King *Edward* got from King *Lewis*, he had taken the only Place of Strength whereby the *Scots* might with Safety to themſelves have endanger'd us, and brought them to what Conditions he pleaſed, forcing the King to immure himſelf, while the *Engliſh* at Liberty ſpoil'd the Country, and poſſeſſed themſelves of his capital Town of *Edenborough*. And farther by *Glouceſter*'s Flatterers it was urged, that if their General had but had Commiſſion ample enough, he would not have return'd without Reduction of the Kingdom of *Scotland* to the Crown of *England*. Obedience to a ſuperior Command fixing ſo ſudden a Period to his Actions. And certainly in this Expedition the Duke of *Glouceſter* laid the Foundation of all his after-Atchievements: For here having by a free Spoil of every Town, except only *Edenborough*, purchaſed the Affection of the common Soldiers, whoſe Aim in War is Gain and Licenſe; and by ſober Order and great Courage, together with a brave Zeal ever to bring Honour to his Side, won Eſtimation from the Nobler Sort; he began to imagine himſelf reputed generally only unhappy in wanting a good Title to the Kingdom. The Difference between him and his Brother, was, that the one poſſeſſed, the other deſerv'd the Crown. And his Thoughts farther flatter'd him, that it could not prove hereafter Difficult, upon any handſome Occaſion to perſwade the People, who already thought him Worthy, alſo to think it fit to make him King.

Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Ambition.

But theſe his black Intentions came not yet to Light; and indeed they were ſo monſtrous, that they would not only have manifeſted the Uglineſs of their Shape had they now appear'd; but like imperfect and deform'd Births, been buried, as ſoon as produced. Cunningly therefore by Pretences of a moſt ſerious Love to his Brother, and publickly aſcribing the whole Glory of the Action to his Direction, he declin'd Suſpicion. Being welcom'd by the King with all the Demonſtrations of Joy, who congratulated his own Felicity in having with ſo little Charge and no Loſs, tamed all the Inſolency of the *Scots*, and reduced *Berwick*. He therefore to ſhow how much he approv'd the Conditions of the Peace, went ſolemnly in Proceſſion from St. *Stephen*'s Chappel, accompany'd with the Queen and a mighty Retinue of the greateſt Lords, into *Weſtminſter-Hall*; where in Preſence of the Earl of *Angus*, the Lord *Grey*, and Sir *James Liddall*, Embaſſadors extraordinary from *Scotland*, the Peace was ratified.

Duke of *Glouceſter*'s pretended Affection to the King.

King *Edward*'s obliging Carriage to his Subjects in the End of his Reign.

During the War with *Scotland*, and after the Concluſion of this Peace, the King diſcover'd to the People his natural Diſpoſition. Which being bountiful and Courteous, far from the proud State then in Practice with the Tyrants of the Eaſt; begot a general Affection, and made the Subject, comparing their Felicity with the Miſery of their Fathers, to bleſs the preſent Government. The Adminiſtration likewiſe of the Laws being orderly, without Violence or Partiality, cauſed all the former Injuſtice to be caſt either upon the Licenſe of War, or the Predominancy of ſome Faction; and the King abſolutely acquitted in Mens Opinion. And even from Luſt, which was reputed his Boſom-ſin, towards the latter end of his Life, he was ſomewhat clear: Either Conſcience reforming him, or by continual Satiety grown to a Loathing of it: For the Abſtinence could not be imputed to Age, he at his Death not exceeding Two and Forty. But what endear'd him ſo much to the Affection of the People, and eſpecially to the Citizens of *London*, was his being rich by his Tribute from *France*, and therefore not likely to lie heavy on them; as likewiſe the ſo fam'd Bounty of his Hoſpitality; Two thouſand Perſons being daily ſerv'd in his Court at *Eltham*, where moſt ſolemnly he celebrated the Feaſt of the Nativity. And to recompence the great Love which in both Fortunes the *Londoners* had ſhow'd him, to his laſt Hour he uſed towards them a particular Kind-

King *Edward*'s magnificent Court.

A. D. 1481.

(*n*) The Duke of *Albany* deſerted the *Scots*, and was choſen to be their Governour, *Hol.*

Reg. 21.

neſs

A. D. 1481. *Reg.* 21.

ness: Even ſo much, that he invited the Lord Mayor (*o*) and Aldermen, and ſome of the principal Citizens to the Forreſt of *Waltham*, to give them a Friendly not a pompous Entertainment. Where in a pleaſant Lodge they were feaſted, the King himſelf ſeeing their Dinner ſerv'd in: and by thus ſtooping down to a loving Familiarity, ſunk deep into their Hearts: Ordinary ſlight Courteſies, order'd thus to the beſt Advantage, taking more often even with ſound Judgments than churliſh Benefits. And that the Sex he always affected might not be unremembred, he cauſed great plenty of Veniſon to be ſent to the Lady Mayoreſs and the Aldermen's Wives.

The Queen's Pride and Indiſcretion.

Thus was the Outward Face of the Court full of the Beauty of Delight and Majeſty; while the Inward was all rotten with Diſcord and Envy. For the Queen by how much ſhe conſider'd her ſelf more unworthy the Fortune ſhe enjoy'd, by ſo much ſhe endeavour'd in the exteriour height of Carriage to raiſe her ſelf; fooliſhly imagining Pride could ſet off the Humility of her Birth. She was likewiſe (according to the Nature of Women) Factious; as if her Greatneſs could not appear clear enough without Oppoſition. And thoſe ſhe oppoſed were the chieſeſt both in Blood and Power; the Weaker ſhe diſdaining to wraſtle with, and they fearful to conteſt with her. But what ſubjected her to an univerſal Malice, was the Rapine, which the neceſſary Proviſion of her Kindred engaged her to. For they being many and great in Title could not be ſupplied according to their Ambition, but by ſo common an Injury as made her Name odious through the Kingdom. Moreover the Lords of her Blood, by reaſon of their Nearneſs to the King's Children being inſolent, and in regard of their Youth, indiſcreet; frequently ran into thoſe Errors which betray'd them to the publick Scorn or Hatred. Againſt the Queen (for through her Kindred they aim'd at her) the Duke of *Glouceſter*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Haſtings*, and others of the moſt ancient Nobility oppoſed themſelves. And to render both her and hers odious, *Glouceſter* laid the Death of the Duke of *Clarence* (which Fratricide himſelf moſt barbarouſly contriv'd) altogether upon their Malice; pretending a more than ordinary Caution for his own Safety, leaſt his Perſon might by the ſame Practices be brought in Danger. By which Calumny he both clear'd his own Reputation, and clouded the Fame of a Faction he endeavour'd ſo much to ruin. For this Side had much the Start in Opinion and Policy, over the other, who were Young, and unexperienced; and the Preſident of whoſe Council was a Woman.

The Queen's Enemies.

King *Edward's* Grief for the Quarrels among his Kindred.

To compoſe theſe Quarrels it begot the King much Trouble: Neither could he without extream Anxiety hear the continual Complaints of Perſons ſo conſiderable both in Power in the Kingdom, and Kindred to his Children, not knowing to how dangerous a Height this Diſcord in time might grow. But to increaſe his Diſcontent every Day his Jealouſie increaſed concerning King *Lewis's* Faith, who now began to unmask his Intention, and ſhow how much he had deluded the *Engliſh*. For having ever ſince *Maximilian's* Marriage with *Mary*, Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, been upon unkind Terms with him; ſometimes at open War, other times in an unfaithful Truce, he was now growing to an abſolute Peace. And the Conditions were whiſper'd contrary to the Treaty at *Picquigny*, which made the King ſuſpicious they two might enter into ſome League prejudicial to the Honour of the *Engliſh*. For *Maximilian* having kept *Lewis* all the Life-time of his Lady, from any further incroach upon her Territories, and by his Fortune gotten into Opinion with the *French*, grew to be much deſired in the neareſt Friendſhip by them: And he having buried his Dutcheſs (who owed her Death to her Modeſty, in reſpect that having broke her Thigh by a Fall from a Horſe, ſhe denied to expoſe it to the Sight of Chirurgeons) was willing to ſtand upon good Terms with *France*. Knowing how ſlender and how unfaithful an Obedience thoſe Countries would yield to a Prince, who was to rule by Courteſie; ſince to their natural Lords, they had ever ſhewed themſelves Inſolent and Rebellious. Theſe Conſiderations prepared both Sides to Peace, and the Concluſion of it to beget a more perfect Amity was that the Lady *Margaret*, a Child of two Years Old, Daughter to *Maximilian* and the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, ſhould be affianced to the *Dauphin*, then upon the Age of Twelve. So that King *Lewis* in the Marriage of his Son, was ever moſt Diſproportionable; the Daughter of *England* as much too old, as this Lady too young; but indeed his End was the ſame with *Charles*, Duke of *Burgundy* and many other worldly Fathers, to match his Son for the beſt Advantage of his Profit and Convenience.

A. D. 1482. *Reg.* 22.

K. *Lewis* makes a Peace with *Maximilian*, D. of *Burgundy*.

Dauphin is affianced to his Daughter.

To confirm the uncertain Rumours of this Perjury in King *Lewis*, the Lord *Howard* return'd out of *France*, and made Relation, how he ſaw the Lady *Margaret* brought with all Pomp and Ceremony to *Ambois* and there married to *Charles* the *Dauphin*: And to heap yet more Injuries, not long after the Tribute hitherto ſo careſully paid was denied. The *French* now diſcloſing the innate Malice they bore the *Engliſh*, and with how little Scruple they could diſpence with the moſt ſolemn Oath, when no apparent Danger threatned the Crime: For though the *Dauphin* when he had attain'd to the Age of Conſent, might have broke off this Marriage; and it could have been only term'd an Act of Diſcourteſie; yet King *Lewis* who had ſworn to this Article with ſo much Ceremony, cannot be excuſed from a moſt foul Impiety.

K. *Lewis* breaks his Faith to King *Edward*.

Denies the Tribute.

But what Reaſon of State prevail'd with him, who heretofore awed by his Fears had condeſcended in a manner to compound for his Kingdom, thus now to ſlight the *Engliſh*, is not delivered in Hiſtory. And it may appear Difficult to imagine, conſidering King *Edward* was now; if poſſibly, more abſolute in his command at Home, his People better diſciplin'd, and no Appearance of an Enemy from Abroad. Add to that, his Coffers full, increaſt every Year by the Tribute from *France*, and his Reputation high by the Victory lately purchaſed againſt the *Scots*; a Nation though inferiour to the *French* in the Riches and Extent of Territory, yet in martial Courage equal; and in warring with whom, we have found more Sweat and Danger than with *France*. It is therefore hard to know the Cauſe of King *Lewis's* Proceedings in this injurious Way, if we look on our ſelves only as at Home: But if we conſider the State of Buſineſſes Abroad, we may eaſily diſcern his Policy. For now had the

The Cauſes of *Lewis's* Deceit.

(*o*) Sir *Robert Chawry*, he did it ſays *Holinſhead*, to encourage the Lord Mayor who being a great Merchant paid the King vaſt Sums for Cuſtoms, and had beſides entertain'd him very Magnificently before.

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French Arts or the Change of Time quite diſſolved all our Confederacies, and left us to maintain with our own Arms our own Quarrel. St. *Paul* was annihilated, in whoſe Death expired all the Diſcontents of the factious Nobility in *France*.

Duke of *Brittain* mad.

The Duke of *Brittain* by an extream Melancholy (which ſcarce was reputed leſs than Madneſs) was become unfit for Government, much leſs for any great Attempt: And being overcharged by the Practices and Arms of the *French*, in a manner made Reſignation of his Dutchy to the Diſpoſition of ſome Officers eaſie to be corrupted. And *Burgundy* (which in the Victories of *Henry* the Fifth, had ſo much advanced the *Engliſh* Enterprizes) was by the laſt League with *Maximilian* wholly at the Devotion of the *French*. So that all they who heretofore had brought us over, were now either reduced to be unprofitable for our Aid; or elſe become Enemies, ſhould we renew our ancient Quarrel. Moreover the long Eaſe the King of *England* had lived in, and the Pleaſures with which he appeared altogether faſcinated, render'd him to the World nothing Formidable. And King *Lewis* having with ſo little Difficulty hitherto deluded him, and retain'd him in a kind of ſervile Amity, while he threw Injuries thick upon him; was now heighten'd to a Preſumption, that the *Engliſh* would either connive at this Affront, or that by ſome new Cunning they might be appeaſed, were the Indignity never ſo much reſented. And if the worſt ſhould happen, the *French* nothing fear'd the Enmity: Conſidering that King *Edward* alone would be unable to prevail againſt them ſeconded by the Forces of *Maximilian*, whom his Daughter now intereſſed in the War.

Theſe Conſiderations of Security to do Wrong according to the Nature of Wicked Princes, made King *Lewis* ſo boldly attempt it: And what was ſtrange in a Man ſo cunning, he left himſelf no Excuſe for the Fact, either in the Way of Honour or Conſcience: And ſcarce in human Policy. Unleſs his Expectation reach'd beyond common Reaſon, in thought that Prince *Philip*, Son to *Maximilian*, and the Dutcheſs (for ſhe was Mother only to a Son and a Daughter) might chance to die, and thus by the Lady *Margaret* all thoſe large Countries devolve into the Power of *France*. But how ſlight ſoever King *Lewis*'s Opinion was of the *Engliſh*, this Breach of Faith was no ſooner related to King *Edward*, but he reſolv'd ſeverely to take Revenge.

K. *Edward* much incenſed at K. *Lewis*'s Falſhood to him, and reſolves to revenge it upon him.

And calling together all the Council and Nobility, who for the Suddenneſs could be ſummon'd, he to this Purpoſe made a Declaration of his Wrongs, and Intentions how to right himſelf.

King *Edward*'s Speech to his Council complaining of King *Lewis*'s Deceit, and Reſolution to Correct it.

My Lords,

K. *Lewis*'s Perjury.

THE *Injuries I have received are divulged every where, and the Eye of the World is fix'd upon me, to obſerve with what Countenance I ſuffer. And I muſt confeſs they are of ſo ſtrange a Nature, that I remain rather amazed than enraged: Had I dealt with any Prince not civilized by Laws, or inured to Commerce; I had yet the Religion of ſo many Oaths, and the Reaſon of every Politick Circumſtance ſo clear, that I could no Way have ſuſpected this foul and fooliſh Breach of Faith, But in a Chriſtian King (and who pretends to be moſt Chriſtian) I have met with ſo horrid a Perjury, and ſo diſgraceful to our Nation; that as all Mankind muſt abhor him as barbarous, ſo in my own Particular I muſt neglect the principal Office of a Prince, if I omit to chaſtiſe him. Moſt of you (my Lords) are Witneſſes to the Solemnity of his Vows, when humbly he declined Ruin to his Kingdom: And I to avoid ſo great a Maſſacre as the War would have endanger'd, condeſcended to end all Controverſies by a Peace. My Clemency is now become my Scorn; and I reap Indignities where I ſow'd Favours. For this ungrateful Man: Prince I muſt not term him, who hath by Purjury forfeited that ſacred Title, and in Contempt of all Law both Human and Divine, denies not only the Marriage of the* Dauphin *to our Daughter, which would have prov'd ſo great an Honour to his Blood, and Security to his Kingdom; but even the annual Tribute of Fifty Thouſand Crowns; a ſlender Rent for ſo large a Country, as by our Permiſſion he hath hitherto enjoy'd.*

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This Contumely I am reſolv'd to puniſh; and I cannot doubt Succeſs; Almighty God ſtrengthens ſtill his Arm, who undertakes a War for Juſtice. In our Expeditions heretofore againſt the French, *what Proſperity waited upon the* Engliſh *Arms, is to the World divulged; and yet Ambition then appeared the chief Counſellor to War. Now beſide all that Right, which lid over* Edward *the Third our glorious Anceſtor, and* Henry *the Fifth our Predeceſſor, we ſeem to have a Deputation from Heaven, to execute the Office of the ſupream Judge in chaſtiſing the Impious.*

King *Edward*'s Reſolution to make War with *France*.

When we were laſt in France, *an innate Fear in this falſe Man forced him down to a ſordid Purchaſe of Security: How low will a wicked Conſcience, (which even makes the Valiant, cowardly to tremble) bend him now? Now, when an implacable Reſolution for Revenge ſets a far ſharper Edge upon our Swords: Now when he hath no Hypocriſie left undiſcovered, nor Subterfuge for his former Perjury, nor Art to gain Belief to new Diſſimulation: Now, when our Ears ſhall be deaf to all Submiſſion, and when our Conſcience is ſo well reſolv'd for the Neceſſity of this War, that Mercy will be thought a vicious Lenity, and the moſt ſavage Cruelty but an Act of Juſtice.*

K. *Edward* threatens a mercileſs Severity.

I need not repeat how much Age hath infirmed him (and indeed I think it was his Dotage committed this ſo fooliſh Crime): Nor yet how hated he is rendred Abroad by his unfaithful Dealings, and at Home by his ſevere Government. The Commonalty ſunk down by his heavy Impoſitions; the Nobility by his proud Neglect, exaſperated to deſire any Innovation. But we want not theſe Advantages; in the Juſtice of our Cauſe, and Valour of our People we have enough.

Lewis hated by his Subjects.

It is confeſſed our Confederacies are quite diſſolved: And I rejoice in that alone we ſhall undertake this great Buſineſs: For Experience in our laſt Attempt ſhow'd, that Princes of ſeveral Nations (however they pretend the ſame) have ſtill ſeveral Aims: And oftentimes a Confederate is a greater Enemy to the Proſperity of a War, than the Enemy himſelf: Envy begetting more Difficulty in a Camp, than any Oppoſition from the adverſe Army. Our Brother of Burgundy *and Uncle of St.* Paul *are both dead. How little their Amity advanced us, nay how a juſt Jealouſie of their ſecret Practices hindered our Deſign then on* France, *you all may well remember. And how in our Return towards* England, *we had more Fear to have been aſſaulted by their traiterous Weapons, than by any Arms from the Enemy. But we will ſpare their Memory; they labour'd their own Safety, not our Glory. This I am ſecure, that as by Death they are render'd unprofitable to us, ſo likewiſe not dangerous. And as for* Brittain, *if his Weakneſs diſable him to our Aid,*

Confederacies miſchievous.

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Aid, I am confident it will continue him a Neutral. Neither is it to be forgot, how ſecurely now we may leave England *rather than heretofore: Conſidering our ſo entire Friendſhip with the* Scots; *whoſe Hoſtility was always ſharp upon us at Home when we attempted Victory Abroad.*

But I detain you, by my Speech, to long from Action. I ſee the Clouds of due Revenge gather'd in your Brow, and the Lightning of Fury break from your Eyes: Which bodes Thunder againſt our Enemy. Let us therefore loſe no Time, but ſuddenly and ſeverely ſcurge this perjured Coward to a too late Repentance, and regain Honour to our Nation, and his Kingdom to our Crown.

War with *France* deſired and reſolv'd on

The Lords reſented the Affront with Indignation as high as the King's, and deſired that inſtant Preparations might be made for the War. But above all, the Duke of *Glouceſter* appear'd zealous in the Quarrel; expreſſing aloud his Deſire, *That all his Eſtate might be ſpent, and all his Veins emptied in Revenge of this Injury.* All the Court was preſently for the Deſign, and the whole Kingdom with a fierce Appetite deſired to arm: So that no Language was heard but Martial; and all the Gallantry was in new Armour, or other Conveniences for Service. The King moſt paſſionately purſued his Determination, and that very Spring reſolv'd to begin the War. But he was diverted on the ſudden from calling King *Lewis* to a Reckoning for this Crime; and ſummon'd by Death to give a ſtrict Account for all his own. Death arreſted him, and in the Space of not many Hours, inſtructed him in more than all the Oratory from Pulpits had done for Forty Years.

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K. *Edward* ſuddenly ſeized with a mortal Sickneſs.

For as ſoon as he found himſelf mortally ſick, he began to conſider the Vanity of all his Victories, which with the Expence of ſo much Blood he had purchaſed, and at the Heart repented his too hard Bargin. He looked back upon the Beauty of his ſenſual Pleaſures, and now diſcern'd it was only fair in the outſide, inwardly rotten and deform'd. He caſt up the Accounts of his Tribute both at home and abroad, and all thoſe Treaſures gather'd either by Proſcription of his Enemies, or exacting from his Subjects, and found himſelf a Banckrupt. For till now, he wanted Leiſure to ſearch into that which moſt concern'd him; and being delighted too much in the Pomp and Pleaſure of the Inn where he was not to ſtay, forgot he had a Journey, and unawares was overtaken by Night, an endleſs Night which no Day ſucceeds.

His Behaviour in his Sickneſs and his laſt Advice.

Perceiving his Doom inevitable, and no Hope of the leaſt Reprive, he began to order Buſineſs as fully as the Shortneſs of the Time would licence. The great Affair of his Soul, and indeed the only that is neceſſary, he committed to the Mercy of his Redeemer; and by the Sacraments then in uſe with the Church of *England*, and real Contrition, he labour'd for a full Expiation of the Crimes and Errors of his Life. And as his Death is deſcrib'd to us by an excellent Author who liv'd near his Time; Almighty God ſeems to have ſtruck Water even from the Rock (as he *Moſes*'s Wand by did for the *Iſraelites*) in touching this Prince to the Heart, and forcing a moſt religious Repentance, from a Soul obdurate in Sin, as we may conjecture by his Life.

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The Revenge of the Injury he receiv'd from K. *Lewis*, he referr'd to the Judgment of Heaven, whoſe Work it is to puniſh Perjury. And *Lewis* ſuffered for it according to his Demerit: For that Son, in marrying whom he ſo buſied his Imaginations, and ſlighted all Faith and Religion, liv'd but a ſhort Space, and died iſſueleſs. Not one Branch remaining of that great Tree, whoſe Root was in Perjury and Diſſimulation.

The ill Succeſs of perjurious Actions in *Lewis* of *France*.

K. *Edward* adviſes the Lords to Unity.

The Protection of the King and Kingdom he left to the Lords neareſt in Kindred to his Children, adviſing them, *To Amity and Concord; by which the Nation would flouriſh in Greatneſs abroad and Safety at Home; the young King be ſecured from Flattery, and inſtructed in the beſt Diſcipline for Government; and they themſelves live in much Honour and Felicity, if united to advance the Commonwealth, and oppoſe all foreign Danger: Whereas Diſcord would beget Civil War, and that endanger Ruin* So that this Chriſtian King like Chriſt himſelf, when he departed bequeath'd Peace to the World. And had this Doctrine been as zealouſly followed as it was utter'd, the ſucceeding Time had not been guilty of ſo many ſad Confuſions. But for the preſent a perfect Reconciliation appear'd, both Sides lovingly embracing, and proteſting all Amity for the future. So that with Comfort he forſook the World, and may well be ſaid to have deſerv'd a general Applauſe in this laſt Scene of his Life.

His Sorrow for the War he got the Crown by.

Among his Words of farewel at his Death, it is worthy Obſervation; *That he ſolemnly proteſted his Repentance, for Obtaining the Crown with ſo much Blood, as the Neceſſity of the Quarrel ſpilt.* Which certainly ſhews a moſt ſingular Piety, conſidering the indubitable Juſtice of his Title; and withal teacheth Princes a new Leſſon, That the Power of Sway, which great Men ſo ſuperſtitiouſly adore, is but the Idol of Folly and Ambition; whoſe Oracles delude the Living, but on our Death-beds we diſcern the Truth, and hate the Irreligion of our former Error.

The Cauſes of K. *Edward*'s Death are variouſly reported, as firſt by Poiſon.

Concerning the Occaſion of his Death, there is much Variety of Opinion; for by ſeveral Authors, it is ſeverally imputed to Poiſon, grief, and Surfeit. They who aſcribe it to Poiſon, are the paſſionate Enemies of *Richard*, Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Memory; who permit not Nature at that Time to have been obnoxious to Decay, but make the Death of every Prince an Act of Violence or Practice. And in regard this cruel Lord was guilty of much Blood, without any other Argument, condemn him for thoſe Crimes, from which he was however actually moſt innocent. The *French* affirm it to have proceeded from Grief conceiv'd upon Repudiation of his Daughter, and Detention of the Tribute. But they looking on our Affairs afar off, miſtake the Shadow for the Subſtance, deſiring perhaps that King *Lewis* ſhould kill a King of *England* by a new Weapon: And certainly *Lewis* did perſwade himſelf, that King *Edward* was ſlain this Way; and congratulated his Wit much in the Accident. But this carries not the leaſt Appearance of Probability (*p*). Great Sorrows kill for the moſt part ſuddenly, elſe by a languiſhing Decay of Nature; whereas King *Edward* died not preſently

Second, Grief.

(*p*) *Philip de Comines* writes *Tout Soudainment il eſt mort & Comme par Melancholie du Marriage de Noſtre Roy, qui regne a Preſent, avec Madame Marqueſſe d' Auſtriche, & tantoſt apres qu il en eut des Nouvelles ill prit La Maladie.* &c. He died on a ſudden, as one would think out of Melancholly for our King now reigning, his Marriage with the Princeſs *Margaret* of *Auſtria*; for as ſoon as he heard the News he fell ſick &c.

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upon the Report, nor yet grew Melancholly from this Injury, but a brave Anger fierce to ſeek Revenge. Moreover Grief hath then been obſerv'd moſt powerful over Life, when the Diſconſolate hath no Ear to which he may expreſs himſelf, and no Hope left for Remedy: Whereas King *Edward* breath'd forth Paſſions to his Council, and found in them a Sympathy both in the Sorrow and the Rage: And as for Revenge, certainly the State of *England* was never better prepar'd to exact it; the King being a valiant and fortunate Leader, the People inured heretofore to the Exerciſe of Arms, and never ſo forward to any Quarrel, as againſt the *French*, from whom they ever reaped Victory and Treaſure: And concerning Money, the Strength of an Army, the Exchequer was full enough, without any burdenſome Impoſition to begin the War.

Thirdly, A Surfeit the true Cauſe of his Death, and the Time of it.

It was therefore queſtionleſs a Surfeit brought this great Prince ſo ſuddenly to his end. For who obſerves well the Scope of his Pleaſure, finds it to have been placed much in Wantonneſs and Riot, the Two mighty Deſtroyers of Nature: And commonly by thoſe Exceſſes with which we ſolace Life, we ruin it. He died upon the Ninth of *April* 1483. (*q*) at his Palace of *Weſtminſter*, and was interr'd at *Windſor*. *Sixtus* the Fourth being Pope, *Frederick* the Third Emperor, *Fredinand* and *Iſabella* King and Queen of *Arragon* and *Caſtile*, *John* the Second, King of *Portugal*, *James* the Third, of *Scotland*, and *Lewis* Eleventh of *France*. Between whom and King *Edward*, as there was much Intercourſe in Buſineſs, ſo was there great Concurrence in Fortune. Both began and ended their Reigns in the ſame Years: Both were held in Jealouſie by the precedent Kings, *Edward* by King *Henry*, *Lewis* by his Father *Charles* the Seventh; both had Titles diſputable to the Crown. The Houſe of *Lancaſter* uſurping againſt *Edward*; the Houſe of *England* claiming againſt *Lewis*. Both were perplex'd with Civil War, and both ſucceſsful. *Lewis* infeſted by an inſolent Nobility; *Edward* by a Saint-like Competitor. *Lewis* victorious by Art, *Edward* by Courage. Both were rebell'd againſt by their own Brothers; *Lewis*, by *Charles*, Duke of *Berry*, *Edward*, by *George*, Duke of *Clarence*: And both took a ſevere Revenge, *Lewis* freeing himſelf from ſo boſom an *Enemy*, by poiſoning *Charles*; *Edward* by drowning *Clarence*. Both ended this Life with Appearance of much Zeal; *Edward* religiouſly, *Lewis* ſomething ſuperſtitiouſly. Both left their Sons, yet Children to inherit, who died Iſſueleſs, and left their Crown to their greateſt Enemies; *Edward* the Fifth to his Uncle *Richard*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, *Charles*, the Eighth, to his Kinſman *Lewis*, Duke of *Orleans*.

K. *Edward's* Parallel with K. *Lewis*.

But who looks upon the Lives of theſe Two Princes on the other Side, may, as in a Table which preſents ſeveral Faces, perceive as great Diſparity. But I am only to give you the Picture of King *Edward* without Flattery or Detraction; which is rare in Hiſtory, conſidering Authors faſhion for the moſt part *Ideas* in their Minds, and according to them, not to the Truth of Action form a Prince; which tho' happily it win Applauſe to the Writer, is a high Abuſe to the Reader.

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But this King was, if we compare his with the Lives of Princes in general, worthy to be number'd among the beſt. And whom, though not an extraordinary Vertue, yet, a ſingular Fortune made conſpicuous. He was born at *Roan* in *Normandy*, his Father at that Time Regent in *France*. The ſo fatal Diviſion between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter* with him in a Manner having both its Birth and Growth; for as he, ſo the Faction of his Family gathered Strength. His Education was, according to the beſt Proviſion for his Honour and Safety, in Arms: A ſtrict and religious Diſcipline, in all Probability likely to have ſoftned him too much to Mercy, and a Love of Quiet.

K. *Edward's* Character. His Birth. Educations.

He had a great Extent of Wit, which certainly he owed to Nature: That Age bettering Men little by Learning, which howſoever he had wanted Leiſure to have receiv'd; the Trumpet ſounding ſtill too loud in his Ear, to have admitted the ſober Counſels of Philoſophy. And his Wit lay not in the Slights of Cunning and Deceit; but in a ſharp Apprehenſion, yet not too much whetted by Suſpicion.

Wit and Parts.

In Counſel he was judicious, with little Difficulty diſpatching much: His Underſtanding open to clear Doubts, not dark and cloudy and apt to create new. His Wiſdom look'd ever directly upon Truth, which appears by the Management of his Affairs both in Peace and War: In neither of which (as far as concern'd the politick Part) he committed any main Error. 'Tis true, he was over-reach'd in Peace by King *Lewis*, abuſed concerning the Marriage of his Daughter; in War by the Earl of *Warwick*, when upon Confidence of a final Agreement he was ſurpriz'd: But both theſe Misfortunes I impute to want of Faith in his Enemies, not of Judgment in him. Though to ſpeak impartially, his too great Preſumption on the Oath of a diſſembling Prince; and want of Circumſpection, a Reconciliation being but in Treaty, cannot ſcape without Reprehenſion.

His Judgment.

His Nature certainly was both noble and honeſt, which if rectified by the ſtrait Rule of Vertue, had render'd him fit for Example, whereas he is only now for Obſervation. For Proſperity raiſed him but to a Complacency in his Fortune, not to a Diſdain of others Loſſes, or a Pride of his own Acquiſitions. And when he had moſt Security in his Kingdom, and conſequently moſt Allurements to Tyranny, then ſhewed he himſelf moſt familiar and indulgent. An admirable Temper in a Prince, who ſo well knew his own Strength, and whom the Love of Riot neceſſitated to a Love of Treaſure, which commonly is ſupplied by Oppreſſion of the Subject.

His excellent Diſpoſition.

The heavy Fine laid upon Sir *Thomas Cook*, and his Diſplacing the Chief Juſtice *Markham*, blemiſheth him with Violence and Avarice. But that Severity, and the other, when he began to look into the Pœnal Laws, were but ſhort Tempeſts, or rather ſmall Overcaſtings, during the glorious Calm of his Government. And whatſoever Injury the Subject endured, was not imputed to the King, but to *Tiptoft*, Earl of *Worceſter*, and ſome under-Informers; or elſe to the Queen and her neceſſitous Kin-

The Severity of his Reign not imputed to K. *Edward*.

(*q*) He reigned Twenty Three Years and One Month, and lived about Forty One Years.

dred.

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dred. The World either judicially or elſe favourably diverting all Envy from his Memory.

His Courage and Conduct in War.

Great Judgment in leading his Armies, and Courage in fighting perſonally, ſpeaks him both a daring Soldier, and an expert Commander. And the many Battles he fought, in all which he triumph'd, make him as much to be admired for his military Diſcipline, as his happy Succeſs. Fortune not deſerving to have all his mighty Victories aſcribed to her Gift; Valour and good Conduct ſhare at the leaſt with her in the Fate of War. But as in Arms he appears moſt glorious to Poſterity, ſo likewiſe moſt unhappy: For all thoſe bloody Conqueſts he obtain'd, were againſt his own Nation; and the greateſt Adverſaries he overcame, were near in Conſanguinity to him; ſo that he may more properly be ſaid to have let himſelf Blood, than his Enemies; or rather for Preſervation of his own Body, to have cut off his principal and moſt neceſſary Limbs. For beſide thoſe many Princes of the Houſe of *Somerſet*, *Buckingham*, *Exceſter*, *Oxford*, *Devonſhire*, *Northumberland*, *Weſtmerland*, *Shrewsbury*, and finally the Tree it ſelf, and the only Branch, *Henry* the Sixth and his Son Prince *Edward*; He ſlew even the Earl of *Warwick* and the Marqueſs *Mountague*; Two Brothers, who having loſt their Father in his Quarrel, hazarded their Lives and thoſe mighty Poſſeſſions and Honours which peaceably they might have enjoyed, only to advance his Title. But this was rather his Fate than his Fault; and into this Sea of Blood he ſailed not voluntarily, but violently driven by the Tempeſts of his Fortune. And for the Cruelty laid to him in the Death of the Duke of *Clarence*, he was certainly wrought to it by the Practice, and the Miſinformation of an envious Faction in Court; the Horror of which Fatricide poſſeſſed him to the laſt Hour of his Life; frequently complaining againſt the unhappy Severity of his Juſtice, and againſt the hard Nature of his Counſellors, who would not interpoſe one Word to him for Mercy, whereby ſo black a Deed might have been prevented. But howſoever we may waſh away much of this Blood from his Memory, yet there continue many foul Stains upon it; ſince publick Miſchiefs ſeldom happen, but that the Prince, tho' not actually inocent, is in ſome Degree guilty.

The Cruelty to his Brother, the Duke of *Clarence*, a Trouble to him.

The *Turk*'s Succeſs in *Europe*, his Grief.

As theſe ſo many Confuſions at Home were the Misfortune of his Time, ſo was Abroad that ſo ſcandalous Loſs of the Eaſtern Empire to the *Turk*. For though King *Edward* were not the Occaſion of ſo great Ruin to the Chriſtian Commonwealth, and this happen'd before he attain'd the Sovereignty, his Father being Head of the Faction; yet the civil Wars of *England* raiſed about the Quarrel which he was ſoon after to maintain, and the univerſal Diviſion among the Princes of the Weſt, gave Courage to the Infidels; and denied Succours to the miſerable Emperour oppreſſed by an over-potent Enemy. Whereby a City was prophaned, in which the Chriſtian-Faith had flouriſh'd without Interruption for a Thouſand Years. But as the Sea is ſaid to gain in another, if it loſeth in this Place: So about this Time Religion, by the ſingular Piety and Valour of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, won Ground upon the *Moors* in *Spain*, whence not long after they were totally and (I hope) for ever expell'd.

His Care of Juſtice.

But when the War licenſed the King to attend his Government, we find the Adminiſtration of Laws juſt and equal; and many new Statutes enacted, wholeſome againſt Diſeaſes crept into the State; ſo that he appear'd diligent both to heal up any Wound, which the Tumults of his Reign had given the Commonwealth, and provident for the Health of future Ages. And certainly no Prince could Husband the Benefits of Peace better for the outward Magnificence; For his Glory was much in Hoſpitality, and a pompous Celebration of the principal Feaſts of our Redemption. In which Way of Bravery ſettling much of his Happineſs; he had been doubtleſs the moſt Fortunate of any King of the *Norman* Line, had he not fail'd in the Expectation of his Daughter's Marriage.

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His Buildings.

His Buildings were few, but ſumptuous for that Time, or more properly but Reparations: Which are yet to be ſeen at the *Tower* of *London*, his Houſe of *Eltham*, the Caſtles of *Nottingham* and *Dover*: But above all at *Windſor*, where he built the new Chappel (finiſh'd after by Sir *Riginald Bray* a Knight of the Order) and indowed the College with mighty Revenues; which he gave not, but transferred thither; taking from *King's-College* in *Cambridge*, and *Eaton-College* a thouſand Pound by the Year to inrich this at *Windſor*.

His Children, and the Fate of his Sons *Edward* and *Richard*.

But our Buildings like our Children are obnoxious to Death; and Time ſcorns their Folly, who place a Perpetuity in either. And indeed the ſafer kind of Fate happen'd to King *Edward* in both theſe Felicities: His Poſterity like his Edifices, loſt in other Names. For his Two Sons, before they had ſurvived their Father, the ceremonious Time of Mourning, were themſelves inhumanely murder'd, and as obſcurely buried. His Eldeſt Daughter the Lady *Elizabeth*, was married to the Earl of *Richmond*, known by the Name of *Henry* the Seventh; whoſe Heir in a ſtrait Line not liable to any Doubt or Queſtion, is his moſt ſacred Majeſty, now glorious in Government of this Realm. The Younger Daughters were beſtowed, one in a Monaſtery, others upon inferior Lords. *Cicily* married *John*, Viſcount *Wells*: *Anne*, *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*: *Bridget* was a profeſſed Nun at *Dartford*: *Mary* was contracted to the King of *Denmark*, but died before Conſummation of Marriage: *Margaret* died an Infant: *Katherine*, married *William Courtney*, Earl of *Devonſhire*. But of none of theſe younger Princeſſes at this Day remains any Thing but their Memory: All dying iſſueleſs but the Lady *Katherine*, whoſe Poſterity failed likewiſe in the Third Deſcent. *Henry* her Son, Marqueſs of *Exeter* ſuffered by Attainder in the Reign of his Couſin German, *Henry* the Eighth, being not long before deſigned Heir Apparent to the Crown (an Honour fatal in *England*:) and his Son *Edward* untimely came to his Death at *Padua* in *Italy*, in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, by whoſe Favour he had regain'd his Father's Honours and Poſſeſſions.

His illegitimate Offſpring.

So that all the clear Stream from the Spring of *York* flows in the Houſe of *Scotland*: The troubled and impure runs in many Veins of the *Engliſh* Gentry. For by the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy*, he had an illegitimate Son, named *Arthur*, who by his Wife's Right was Viſcount *Liſle*, and dying without Iſſue-male, left to his Three Daughters and their Poſterity ſome Tincture of the Blood Royal.

His Luſts.

This Diſeaſe of his Blood was the Crime which procured both to his Government and Memory

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Memory many hard Cenſures. For tho' ſome excuſe his Luſt, as a Sin, tho' black to the Eye of Heaven, yet no way generally injurious; in regard the Incontinency of one Man could not be ſo diffuſive as to wrong a Multitude: Nevertheleſs, who obſerves the Revolutions of Kingdoms, ſhall find no one Iniquity in Princes ſo puniſh'd. The Diſhonour of one Lady abuſed extending to the Diſgrace of ſeveral Families, and mighty Factions knitting together for Revenge: In the whole Stock of Injuries none being ſo cruel to human Nature, and which with leſs Patience can be diſſembled.

His Perjury.

His frequent Perjury, (a Sin, which ſtrikes like a Sword with two Edges, both againſt divine and humane Faith) was the Crime which render'd him moſt odious to the Society of Man. For impiouſly he appeared in this to brave Heaven, ſlighting all ſolemn Covenants made with God; and fooliſhly preferring before a holy Promiſe, a little Profit, or the Satisfaction of his Revenge. Which Crime, however for the preſent it might ſtand him in ſome Benefit, yet certainly it might have involv'd him in much Loſs in all after-Enterprizes, which depended upon his Faith. The Death of *Wells* and *Dimmock*, of *Fauconbridge*, of *Somerſet*, Lord *Prior* of St *John's* and others, were the Wounds Perjury gave his Soul, the Scars of which remain yet foul upon his Fame. But perhaps he thought no Faith was to be held with an Enemy, or promiſed not with Intention of Performance: An impious Equivocation; but then in Practice with his Neighbour Princes both of *France* and *Burgundy*: So that the Cuſtom may in ſome Sort ſeem to priviledge the Fault.

His Careleſneſs and Corfidence.

In his Youth he was ſo uncircumſpect, and even when he had the ſtrongeſt Arguments for Jealouſie, ſo over confident, that it engaged him to extream Difficulties, and endanger'd abſolute Ruin. But his Fortune, almoſt miraculouſly, made up all thoſe Breaches, which had been by his Careleſneſs and Preſumption laid open; and delighting ſomething wantonly to boaſt her Power and Favour to him, raiſed him then higheſt, when all the World, and almoſt his own Hopes forſook him. For preſently upon the Slaughter of his Father at the Battle of *Wakefield*, and the Overthrow of his great Supporter the Earl of *Warwick* at that of St. *Albans*: She inthron'd him in the Kingdom, making the Queen and all the Favourers of *Lancaſter*, when doubly victorious, retire as overcome; and the univerſal Acclamations of the People ſet the regal Diadem upon his Head; whoſe Father's Head at that Time, like a Traytor's was fixed upon the Walls of *York*, ſcorn'd with a Paper Crown. And afterward when from a mighty Prince he was become a miſerable Exile, forced by the Treaſon of his chiefeſt Counſellors and Powers of his greateſt Enemy to fly into *Burgundy*, where he likewiſe met with but a diſſembled Amity: She reſtored him to what at firſt ſhe gave: And whereas his Forces were ſo weak upon his Return into *England*, that deſpairing of more, he humbly only deſired to be inveſted in his Father's Dutchy, and vowed never to attempt the Crown: She violently forc'd it on him, proteſting, by the Mouths of the Nobility who reſorted to him at *Nottingham*) not to afford him Safety if he refuſed the Soveraingty; by which amorous Way of threatning, ſhe in a manner wooed him to accept, what he durſt not then hope to recover. And had the Appetite of Glory more prevail'd with him, than the Sence of Pleaſure, as far as we may conjecture of his Fortune, he might have extended his Victories over the World, which are now ſtraitned within the narrow Limits of our Iſland.

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His Fortune.

The End of the Reign of King EDWARD *the Fourth,*

THE

THE Remarkable OCCURRENCES IN THE *Reign of* EDWARD *the Fourth.*

IN the beginning of this Government it rain'd Blood in *Bedfordſhire*, the red Drops appearing on ſome Linnen that was hung out to be dry'd. *Hol.*

Tho' it may ſeem below the Dignity of Hiſtory to take Notice of Faſhions in dreſs, yet we do not think any Thing that may entertain the Curious too trivial to be inſerted in this Place.

In the Seventh Year of the King's Reign, the People had an extravagant Way of adorning their Feet, which was thought of ſuch ill Conſequence, that a Proclamation was put forth againſt it. They wore the *Beaks* or *Pikes* of their Shooes ſo long, that it incumber'd them in their Walking, and they were forced to tie them up to their Knees; the fine Gentlemen did it with Chains of Silver, or Silver-gilt; and thoſe who could not afford to be at the Charge of them, with Silk Laces: Which ridiculous Faſhion had been in Vogue ever ſince the Year 1382, above Fourſcore Years, and now 'twas prohibited on the Forfeiture of twenty Shillings, and the Pain of Curſing by the Clergy.

This Year the King concluded a League with *Henry* K. of *Caſtile*, and *John*, K. of *Arragon*; at the Concluſion of which he allow'd that certain *Cotſwold* Sheep ſhould be tranſported into *Spain*, where the Breed ſo increaſed, and the Wool was ſo much finer than that of *England*, that King *Edward*'s Complacency for the Kings of *Spain* has been very detrimental to his own Country.

In the Eleventh Year of his Reign, *Anno* 1471, *William Caxton* a Mercer of *London*, a Lover of Letters, and a good Hiſtorian for thoſe Times, Author of the Chronicle, call'd *Fructus Temporum*, brought the Art of Printing into *England*, and practiſed it firſt in *Weſtminſter-Abby*.

In his Seventeenth Year there was ſo dreadful a Plague, that Hiſtorians relate more People were deſtroy'd by it, than by Fifteen Years War before.

In his Nineteenth Year, *Robert Bifield*, Eſq; one of the Sheriffs of *London*, was fined Fifty Pound by the Court of Aldermen, for affronting the Lord Mayor, which it ſeems was only in kneeling too near him at Prayers in *Paul*'s Church.

In the following Year two notorious Thieves were preſſed to Death for robbing St. *Martin's Le Grand* Church in *London*, and three others of the Gang hang'd and burnt.

In the Reigns of this King's Predeceſſors, Glory inſpired the Engliſh *Nobility with Valour, and produced many Heroes: Ambition, Envy and Revenge did the ſame now. Faction made the Barons of* England *Enemies to one another, and Hatred and Envy animated them to ſuch daring Actions in deſtroying each other, that one would think their Courage was as Invincible as their Hate.* Of theſe the moſt Famous on the Part of King *Henry* were,

Henry and *Edmund Beaufort*, Dukes of *Somerſet*; *Henry Piercy*, Earl of *Northumberland*; *Thomas Courtney*, Earl of *Devonſhire*; *James Butler*, Earl of *Wiltſhire* and *Ormond*; *John*, Earl of *Oxford*, his Son the Lord *Aubrey Vere*, and the Brave and Loyal Lord *John*, Earl of *Oxford* his other Son and Succeſſor; the Lord *Hungerford*, the Lord *Roſs*, the Lord *Molins*; *John Holland*, Duke of *Exeter*; the Lord *Clifford*; *Ralph Nevil*, Earl of *Weſtmoreland*; the Lord *Wells*; the Lord *Bardolf*; the Lord *Fitz Walter*; Sir *Ralph Piercy*; Sir *John Nevill*; Sir *Henry Nevill*, Son to the Lord *Latimer*; Sir *Ralph Grey*, and Sir *Robert Wells*, Son to the Lord *Wells*. Theſe all died for the Cauſe of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, except the Earls of *Wiltſhire* and *Oxford*.

On *King* EDWARD's *Part the moſt Eminent were,*

John Tiptoft, Earl of *Worceſter*; the Earl of *Rivers*, and his Son Sir *Anthony Woodville*; *William*, Earl of *Kent*; the Lord *Cobham*; *Henry*, Lord *Bourchier*; the Lord *Audley*; the Lord *Clinton*; *William*, Lord *Haſtings*, his Chamberlain and Favourite; the Lord *Scroop*; Sir *Walter Blunt*; *William*, Lord *Herbert*; Sir *Richard Herbert*; Sir *Thomas Burroughs*; Sir *John Howard*; the Lord *Say*; and Sir *Richard Walgrove*. The greater Part of theſe loſt their Lives in the Quarrel of the Houſe of *York*.

The following Lords were ſometimes on the One Side, and ſometimes on the Other; but at laſt they all dy'd in Defence of the Claim of the White Roſe, as the Lancaſtrians *were term'd, and the* Yorkiſts *the Red.*

The firſt of theſe and of all the *Engliſh* Hero's was *Richard Nevill*, Earl of *Warwick*, ſurnam'd the *King-Maker*. He was a chief Inſtrument in depoſing King *Henry* and crowning King *Edward*: In expelling King *Edward* and reſtoring King *Henry*; of the ſame Principles were his Brother *John*, Marquis *Mountacute*; *John*, Lord *Wenlock*; *Thomas Nevill*, call'd the Baſtard of *Falconbridge*; and Sir *William Terrell*, equally Famous for their Courage and Inconſtancy.

Nicholas Kenton of *Suffolk*, Provincial of the *Carmelites* in *England*.

Henry Parker, a *Carmelite* Fryer of *Lancaſter*, who preach'd againſt the Pride of the Prelates, for which he was impriſon'd with one *Thomas Holden*.

John Gunthorpe, Dean of *Wells*, and Keeper of the Privy-Seal. He travell'd into *Italy*, where he ſtudied Rhetorick under *Guarinus* of *Ferrara*.

Dr. *William Ivy*, Prebend of *Pauls*.

Thomas Wilton, Dean of *Pauls*.

Juliana Bemes, a Lady who wrote ſeveral Treatiſes of Hawking and Hunting, the Laws of Arms and Heraldry.

John Stamberie, a Weſt-Country-man, Biſhop of *Hereford*.

John Slueleie, Provincial of the *Auguſtine* Fryers.

Sir *John Forteſcue*, Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, wrote ſeveral Treatiſes of Law and Politicks.

Fryer *Rochus*, born in *London*, but ſtudied in *Paris*. He was a Poet.

John Phreas ſtudied under *Guarinus* of *Ferrara*, became very Eloquent, and was an eminent Phyſician and Lawyer.

Walter Hunt, a *Carmelite* Fryer, one of the *Engliſh* Deputies at the Council of *Ferrara*, where he diſputed with the *Greeks* in Defence of the Diſcipline and Ceremonies of the *Roman* Church.

Thomas Wigenhall, a Monk of *Durham*.

Dr. *John Hambois*, a Doctor of Muſick.

John Tiptoft, Earl of *Worceſter*, wrote divers Treatiſes on various Subjects; He was beheaded in the Year 1471, by Order of the Earl of *Warwick* for ſiding with this King.

John Milverton, a *Carmelite* Fryer of *Briſtol*, Provincial of his Order thro' *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*. He defended ſome of his Fryers who were perſecuted for writing againſt endowing the Church with Temporal Poſſeſſions; for which, being an unpardonable Crime, he was cited to *Rome*, impriſon'd in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, and had not his Liberty till three Years after, when he was deliver'd by Sentence of the Cardinals appointed to be his Judges.

David Morgan a *Welſh* Man, Treaſurer of the Church of *Landaff*, wrote a Diſcription of *Wales* and of its Antiquities.

John Shirwood, Biſhop of *Durham*.

Thomas Kent, an excellent Philoſopher.

Robert Huggen, a pretended Prophet of *Norfolk*.

Dr. *John Maxfield*, a learned Phyſician.

William Green, a *Carmelite* Fryer.

Thomas Norton of *Briſtol*, a Chymiſt.

Dr. *Rich. Porland*, a *Franciſcan* Fryer of *Norfolk*.

Dr. *Thomas Milling*, Biſhop of *Hereford*.

Mr. *Scogan*, a Student of *Oxford*, a celebrated Wit according to thoſe Times: He was ſent for to Court, and diverted the King, Queen and Courtiers with his Frolicks and Jeſts.

Thoſe that follow were Hiſtorians.

Nicholas Mountacute, A. M. of *Eaton* School.

Roger Albanus, a *Carmelite* of *London*.

William Caxton, a Mercer of *London*, whom we have elſewhere mention'd: he wrote a Hiry ſtil'd *Fructus Temporum*, an Appendix to *Treviſa*, and tranſlated ſeveral Books into *Engliſh*.

John Harding, Eſq; wrote a Chronicle in *Engliſh* Verſe: Wherein he collected all the Homages paid by the *Scots* Kings to the Kings of *England*, proving the Superiority of the Crown of *England* over that of *Scotland*.

John Rouſe of *Warwickſhire*, a Canon of *Oſnay*, who dy'd *Anno* 1491.

THE

E. Lutterell delin.
P. Vanderbanck Sculp.
KING EDWARD THE V.th

THE LIFE and REIGN OF K. EDWARD V. AND RICHARD III.

By Sir *THO. MOOR.*

An. Reg. I. 1483.

BY the Death of King *Edward* IV, the firſt Prince of the *York* Line, the Inheritance of the Crown deſcended by the Right of Succeſſion to his Eldeſt Son *Edward*, then Prince of *Wales*, who from that Day (viz. *April* 9. 1483.) was ſtil'd King of *England*, and proclaim'd ſuch by the Name of *Edward* V. being then about 13 Years of Age. (*a*) In his Father's Sickneſs, which was ſomething long, and tho' lingring was judg'd mortal, Neceſſities of State, and the Peace of the Nation had oblig'd that King to ſeparate his Nobles and Kindred from him; which gave them an Opportunity of forming new Contrivances and Schemes among themſelves to be put in Execution after his Death; which, notwithſtanding the King's Foreſight and Endeavours to prevent, prov'd fatal to his Son. The Prince of *Wales* himſelf was ſent down to *Ludlow* in *Shropſhire*, that by his Preſence he might Compoſe the Diſorders of the *Welſh*; who, tho' not in actual Rebellion, yet were grown ſo Unruly, and Diſobedient to their Governours and Superiors, that the Magiſtrates with all their Power, were not Able to ſuppreſs the Diſſentions and Diſorders, Robberies and Wrongs committed by them. The Wiſdom of this Action appear'd in the preſent Effect it had upon them: for the *Welſh*, who have always been very Affectionate to thoſe Princes, who have born the Title of their Principality, as being Memorials of their Ancient Liberty and Dominion, ſhewed a wonderful Reſpect to him; and tho' but a Child, were more Obedient to him, than ever they were known to their Ancient Magiſtrates. The Queen, who had a mighty Sway over the King's Affections, and never more than at this time, had ſo framed Matters, that for the Security of her Son, the Prince, as well as for their Honour and Intereſt, all her own Kindred and Relations were placed in the greateſt Offices about him; by which Contrivance ſhe thought to ſecure his Right and their Power, againſt all her and their Enemies: for the Queen's Brother *Anthony Woodvile* Lord *Rivers*, a Wiſe and Valiant Man, was appointed his Governour; and *Richard* Lord *Grey*, the Queen's Son by her former Husband, with others of her Friends and Kin, had other Offices about him; and that *London* the Regal Seat might be kept to her Son's Intereſts, in his Abſence, *Thomas Grey* her Eldeſt Son, being created Marqueſs *Dorſet*, was made Governour of the *Tower*, and not only the Arms of that Magazine, but the King's Treaſure put into his Hands. Theſe things the Ancient Nobility of the Nation, of whom *Henry Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, and *William* Lord *Haſtings*, Chamberlain to King *Edward*, were the Chief, bore with much Indignation, as knowing, that if the Queen, and her Kindred were ſo inſolent and imperious when they had a King over them, who, tho' too willing to yield to their Humours and Deſires for the Queen's Sake, yet kept them within ſome Bounds of Modeſty and Subjection, they would grow moſt intolerable when they had a Young Prince under their Command, and might abuſe his Power as they pleas'd, to fulfil their Wills, and ſo they ſhould be in greater Danger and Contempt under the New King, than they had been under the Old; tho' even by him few of them were truſted, or regarded. Theſe Preſages of Unhappy Times, made them entertain the Thoughts and Reſolutions of getting the Prince into their Power, if the King ſhould Die, and to put him under the Government of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who might juſtly Claim that Place, as the next Prince of the Blood, and their Uncle by Father's Side, and would certainly put

1483.

His Succeſſion, and Age.

State of Affairs at his Father's Death.

The Ancient Nobility's reſentments of her Actions.

The Queen's Contrivance for her Security and Succeſſion.

(*a*) This Unfortunate Prince was Born in *Sept.* 1470. His Mother, Queen *Elizabeth*, was Delivered of him in Sanctuary; whither ſhe was eſcap'd from the Earl of *Warwick*, who had driven her Husband King *Edward* out of *England*. The Abbot and Prior of *Weſtminſter* were his Godfathers, the Lady *Scroop* his Godmother, and the whole Ceremony of his Chriſtning as mean as a Poor *Man's Child*.

1483. the Affairs of the Nation into the Right Current, by Honouring and Entrusting the Ancient Nobility more. But whether they had Communicated their Designs to the Duke of *Glouceſter* or no, is uncertain, becauſe he was then at *York*, being lately return'd from his Expedition to the Borders of *Scotland*, whither he had been ſent by his Brother to repreſs the ſudden Invaſions of thoſe People, who, upon the Breach with *Lewis* XI. the *French* King, were grown very troubleſom Neighbours to the *Engliſh*. This Duke remaing here unimploy'd, began to caſt his Thoughts upon the Succeſſion to the Crown, and to conſider, how many things made for his Title, tho' his Brother's Children ſtood between it and him, in the Eye of the World: which yet ought to be no Hindrance to his Claim, if Juſtice and Right were on his Side. And firſt, He call'd to Mind, that in the Attainder of his Brother *George* Duke of *Clarence*, it was alledg'd againſt him, "That to advance himſelf to the "Kingdom, and for ever to diſable the King, "and his Poſterity from inheriting the Crown, "he had contrary to Truth, Nature, and Religion, Viper-like deſtroying her who gave him "Life, publiſh'd, that King *Edward* was a Baſtard, and ſo no Way capable to Reign; and "that he himſelf therefore was true Heir of "the Kingdom, and the Royalty and Crown "belong'd to him and his Heirs. As alſo that "there was a Report grounded upon vehement "Preſumptions, that the Duke of *Clarence* himſelf was a Baſtard. Which Malicious Calumnies, tho' he did not believe, and was more loath to Alledge againſt his Mother as true, yet he thought they might be thus far ſerviceable to him, that ſince both his Brothers were now Dead, or Dying, he was the Only Legitimate Iſſue of *Richard* Duke of *York*; and ſo unqueſtionably the Right Heir to the Crown, if the Iſſue of his Brothers were either thereby, or any other Ways made incapable of it. And as to the Children of the Duke of *Clarence*, they were render'd uncapable of the Crown by the Attainder of their Father, and need not that Baſtardy be pleaded againſt them. The only Bar of his Title was then the Children of his Brother King *Edward*, by the Lady *Elizabeth Grey*; the Marriage with whom having at firſt begotten a great Conteſt, and being violently Oppoſed by his Mother the Dutcheſs of *York* upon this Ground, becauſe he was before married to the Lady *Eleanour Butler*, Widow of *Thomas* Lord *Butler*, Baron of *Sudeſley*, and Daughter of *John* Lord *Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*; he reſolv'd to ſearch narrowly into the Truth of it, not only to Vindicate his own Right, but to keep the Royal Line from the foul Blot of an Illegitimate Succeſſion. This Inquiry he made by Men both Diligent and Faithful, by whoſe labour he got the Depoſitions of ſeveral Perſons concerning it; and among others. (as *Philip de Comines* relates) the Teſtimony of Dr. *Thomas Stillington*, Biſhop of *Bath*, to this Effect, according to the Words of the Author; "Le "Eveſque de Bath (lequel avoit eſte Counſeiller "du Roy Edward) diſoit, que le dit Roy avoit "promis Foy de Marriage à une Dame de Angleterre, & que il avoit nomme Dame Eleanor "Talbot, & que le Roy avoit fait la Promiſe "entre les Mains du dict Eveſque, & dit auſſi "c'eſt Eveſque, qu'avoit apres Eſpouſe, & n'y "avoit, que luy, & ceux deux. Which is thus Engliſh'd: The Biſhop of *Bath*, a Privy Councellor of King *Edward*, ſaid, That the ſaid King had Plighted his Faith to Marry a Lady of *England*, whom the Biſhop named the Lady *Eleanour Talbot*, and that this Contract was made between the Hands of the ſaid Biſhop, who ſaid that afterwards he Married them, no Perſons being preſent but they two, and he the King charging him ſtrictly not to reveal it. Theſe Proofs the Duke caused to be drawn up into an Authentick Form, and conſulted the moſt Eminent Doctors and Proctors of the Civil Law, who unanimouſly gave their Judgments, that King *Edward's* Children were Baſtards, the King having another Wife before their Mother; and conſequently that *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter* was the only undoubted Heir to the Lord *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *York*, who was adjudged to be the true Heir to the Crown of this Realm by Authority of Parliament. And thus the Duke of *Glouceſter* having cleared up his Title to the Crown kept it ſecret, till he ſhould have a fair Opportunity after his Brother's Death to vindicate his own Right, with as little Diſturbance to the Peace of the Nation, and Diſhonour to his Nephews, as was poſſible; tho' it is probable, that one *Potter* of *Redcroſs-ſtreet* without *Cripple-gate*, a Servant of the Duke's, who was Privy to the Buſineſs, unwarily diſcover'd it, by telling one *Miſtlebronke*, who brought him the News of King *Edward's* Death; *Then*, ſays he, *will my Maſter the Duke of* Glouceſter *be King*: which Words tho' ſtartling to him, yet the Grounds of them not being known, made little Noiſe, till the Duke of *Glouceſter* was on the Throne.

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D. of *Glouceſter's* Title to the Crown after K. *Edward's* Death.

Anno 17. *Edw.* 4.

In vitâ Lud. XI. c. 112. and 122.

The Civilians conſulted about King *Edward's* Iſſue.

Theſe Foundations of Diſcord being laid, tho' privately, in the Life of the Father, receiv'd a Perfection immediately after his Death, and began with the Reign of the Son; tho' to ſatisfie the King on his Death-Bed the two Parties had ſhaken hands as Friends, and promis'd to forget all former Injuries. For the Queen, as if ſhe had been conſcious that her Pride had been too great to be forgiven, preſently after her Husband's Death, writes down to her Brother the Earl of *Rivers* to raiſe ſuch a Body of Men, as might be ſufficient to defend him againſt the Lords, and bring her Son up to *London* to be crown'd, that it might not be in the Power of her Enemies to keep him from the actual Poſſeſſion of the Throne; which Order the ſaid Earl as carefully obey'd. On the Other-ſide, the Duke of *Buckingham*, as Zealous to carry on the Deſign of himſelf and his Party, to take the King out of the hands of his Mother's Kindred, ſent a Truſty Servant of his, named *Purſival*, to the City of *York*, to propound their Deſign to the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and to offer him, if need requir'd, a Thouſand ſtout Fellows to aſſiſt him in the Effecting of it. The Duke of *Glouceſter* looking upon this Tender, as the firſt Step to his greater Deſign, willingly comply'd with the Propoſal, and ſending the Meſſenger back with many Thanks to his Maſter, and other private Inſtructions, contrived a Meeting ſoon after about *Northampton*; where the two Dukes, with all the Lords and Gentlemen their Friends, and 900 Men in their Retinue, came at the time agreed on. Here they entred into a Conſultation immediately upon their Arrival, and the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who was the Chief Man in the Action, communicated the Neceſſity and Reaſonableneſs of the Undertaking, to all the Lords and Gentlemen aſſembled, in words to this Effect: "That "it was neither reaſonable, nor tolerable, to "leave the Young King their Maſter in the "Hands and Cuſtody of his Mother's Kindred; "who to engroſs all Honour to themſelves, would "exclude, the Reſt of the Nobility from their "Attendance on him, tho' all of them were as "ready and willing to perform all the Services

The Actions of different Parties.

The Lords conſpire to take the King: And *Glouceſter's* Speech to encourage them to it.

"of

1483. " of a good Subject to him, as themſelves, and " many of them a far more honourable Part of " his Kindred, than thoſe of his Mother's Side, " whoſe Blood, (ſaving that it was the King's " Pleaſure to have it ſo) was very unfit to be " match'd with his. But granting it allowable " for the King to do as he pleaſed; yet that " all the Ancient Nobility ſhould be remov'd " from the King's Preſence, and only the leaſt " Noble left about him, is neither honourable " to his Majeſty, nor to Us, and muſt in the " iſſue be both dangerous to the Nation in ge- " neral, and unſafe to his Majeſty; for will not " this Strangeneſs make the King's moſt Potent " Friends either turn his utter Enemies, or be- " come very indifferent to his Service, when " they ſee their Inferiors both in Birth and " Power in greateſt Authority and Credit with " him, and themſelves likely to live in Diſ- " grace for ever, becauſe the King, being in his " Youth framed to theLove and Liking of them, " and to a Diſtaſte of others, will very hardly " in his Riper Years alter his Affections. They " could not but remember, that the late King " *Edward* himſelf, altho' he was a Man of Age " and Diſcretion, yet was often ſo over-ruled " by his Wife and her Friends, that he did ma- " ny things inconſiſtent with his own Honour, " our Safety, and the Nation's Welfare, merely " to advance them and eſtabliſh their Power. " And if the Friendſhip of ſome Perſons had " not prevail'd more with the King, ſometimes, " than the Suits of his Kindred, they had be- " fore this brought ſome of us to Ruin, as they " did ſome of as great Degree as any of us. " And tho' indeed thoſe Dangers are now paſt, " yet as great are growing, if we ſuffer the " Young King, ſtill to remain in their Hands, " who, we ſee, value not the Deſtruction of any " that ſtand in the Way of their Deſigns, or " the Road to their Greatneſs. Will they not en- " groſs all Honours,and Places of Truſt to them- " ſelves,and whenever they have occaſion,abuſe " his Name and Authority to any of our De- " ſtructions? Can we imagin, that their old " Reſentments are ſo quite bury'd, that they will " not remember to revenge them upon the leaſt " Diſguſt, and, now their Pride is arm'd with " Authority, become implacable to moſt of us, " to whom they have ever had malice enough " to ruin us, and wanted nothing but what they " have now, Authority to vent it upon us? " That theſe things conſider'd, it was their " greateſt Wiſdom to take the Young King out " of their Enemies Hands, and not ſuffer things " to continue in the Poſture they are now in " any longer: for tho' indeed there appears an " outward Friendſhip for the Preſent, which " was and is the Effect more of the King's de- " ſire than their own; yet we ſhall find, that " their old Enmity will revive with their Power, " and their long accuſtom'd Malice will be " ſtrengthen'd with their Authority, in which " if we endure them once to be ſettled, it will " not be in all our Powers to oppoſe them " effectually; and therefore now's the Time to " prevent all Miſchiefs by taking away theCauſe " of them. Theſe Words and Perſwaſions mo- ved all preſent to engage heartily in the Buſi- neſs; and the Duke of *Buckingham* and Lord *Haſtings*, who were Men both of great Power and Intereſt, ſhew'd ſuch a Forwardneſs in the Attempt, that all the reſt were encourag'd by their Example to be Aſſiſtants and Followers of them; and many, which were not preſent, were drawn in by the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Letters to promiſe their help in the ſame Affair, if there were further Occaſion.

Queen's Kindred accuſed.

While the Lords were thus conſulting, and contriving to get the King into their Hands, without the Knowledge or Privity of the Queen and her Friends, the Duke of *Glouceſter* receiv'd the News, that the Lord *Rivers* had gather'd a ſtrong Body of armed Men, and with them was ready to bring up the King to *London* to his Coronation; which unexpected report ſurprized them much, becauſe it broke all their Meaſures at once, it being impoſſible for them, tho' they had a good Number of Attendants, to effect their Deſign, if he were brought to *London* under a ſtrong Guard; eſpecially conſidering, that as on the one hand the Earl of *Rivers* was a Valiant and Experienc'd Soldier, ſo if they ſhould gain the King by Force, beſides the danger of the King's Perſon, it would look like an Open Rebellion: Whereupon the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and his Friends, rather choſe to overturn Force by Policy, and to that end privately order'd ſome of his Friends, who were about the Queen, to repreſent to her, " That as it was no ways ne- " ceſſary to bring the King to *London* with an " Army of Attendants, as tho' he were to paſs " thro' an Enemy's and not his own Country, " ſo it would be dangerous to the King's Per- " ſon and Government; for whereas now all " the Lords ſeem'd to be perfect Friends, and " to ſtudy nothing but the Honour of the King, " and the Triumph of his Coronation, if they " ſee the Lords about his Royal Perſon, whom " ſo lately they thought their Enemies, to gather " great Numbers of Men armed about them in " the King's Name, they will immediately ſu- " ſpect and fear, that thoſe Men are intended " not ſo much for the King's Safety as their " Deſtruction, and ſo they would take them- " ſelves obliged for their own Defence to raiſe " an equal Force, and fill the Nation with Up- " roar and Confuſion, to the Danger of the " King and Breach of the Peace; and therefore " ſuch Methods of Action ought carefully to be " avoided, eſpecially ſince her Son was a Child, " and in the Beginning of his Reign. Theſe Reaſons ſeem'd plauſible to the Queen, who was not ſuſpicious of the Evil deſigned, and very willing to ſubmit to any thing for the Good of her Son, and his quiet Settlement on the Throne; and therefore without delay wrote Letters to her Brother the Lord *Rivers*, ordering him to diſmiſs all her Son's extraordinary Attendants and Guards, and haſten to *London* with only his own Houſhold Servants and uſual Retinue. The Duke of *Glouceſter* alſo, much about the ſame time, ſent Letters to the Lord *Rivers*, with full Aſſurances of Duty and Subjection to the King his Nephew, and Love and Friendſhip to himſelf; ſo that he ſeeing all things Calm and Peaceable, concurred readily with the Queen's Deſires, and leaving his armed Men behind him, came up with no greater Number of Followers, than was neceſſary to ſhew the King's Honour and Greatneſs. In their Way about *Northampton*, the Dukes of *Glouceſter* and *Buckingham*, with their Retinues, had layn ſome Days, and hearing of the King's Arrival met him at *Northampton*; but becauſe that Town was not big enough to hold both their Companies, they adviſed, that the King ſhould go forward to *Stony-Stratford* to lodge there, and they would ſtay at *Northampton*, inviting the Lord *Rivers* to lodge with them, that they might enjoy his Company that Evening. The Lord *Rivers*, hoping to improve his Friendſhip with them by Compliance, diſmiſſed his Company, and took his Lodgings with the Dukes, who feaſted him that Night with all Demonſtrations of Joy, and Signs of Friend-

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The Duke of *Glouceſter* diſ- ſwades the Q. from bringing the King to *London* with a Guard.

Queen ſubmits to his Ad- vice.

1483. ſhip, till they parted with him to his Lodgings. But as ſoon as he was gone, the two Dukes with a Select number of their Friends enter'd into a Conſultation, and ſpent the greateſt part of the Night in it: what their Reſolutions were, the next Day's Actions ſhew. In the Morning they got up very early, and by private Orders had all their Servants ready to Attend them, before the Lord *Rivers* or his Servants were ſtirring. The Keys of the Inn, wherein they all were, they took into their own Cuſtody; and pretending that they themſelves would be the firſt in the Morning, who ſhould be at *Stony-Stratford* to Attend the King, they ſent a certain Number of their Retinue to Line the Way, and ſuffer none to enter that Town- till they ſhould arrive to wait on his Majeſty; for the Dukes were reſolv'd (as it was given out) to be the firſt that Morning who ſhould go to the King from *Northampton*. All this was done without Lord *Rivers* Knowledge or Advice, who therefore when he came to hear it, was very much ſurpriz'd at the thing, and ſo much the more, becauſe neither himſelf, nor Servants were permitted to go out of the Inn. His Thoughts were in a great hurry, and what the Reaſon ſhould be, he could not conjecture. He eaſily ſaw thro' their weak Pretences, and began to fear, that his laſt Night's Cheer might prove a bait to Falſhood and Treachery: Ply he could not if he were Guilty, but not being conſcious of any Wrong done them, which might provoke them to Revenge, he reſolv'd to go to the Dukes, and demand of them the Reaſon and Cauſe of this Action, which he accordingly did: But inſtead of giving him an Anſwer, they quarrell'd with him, and told him with great Paſſion, "That "he was one of them, who had labour'd all he "could to alienate the King's Mind from them. "and ſtir up a Diſſenſion between the King and "his Nobles, that he might bring them and "their Families to Confuſion: but now they "would take Care that it ſhould not lye in his "Power. The Lord *Rivers* was an Eloquent and well-ſpoken Man, and began to make his Defence calmly and coolly; but they would hear no Excuſes, nor ſuffer him to make Anſwer, and committing him to the Cuſtody of ſome of their Servants, till they ſhould give further Orders concerning him, they mounted their Horſes, and rode in haſte to the King at *Stony-Stratford*. When they were come into the Royal Preſence, (the King being ready to Mount to leave Room for their Companies) they alighted from their Horſes with all their Attendants, and ſaluted the King upon their Knees, who received them freely and favourably, not miſtruſting in the leaſt what had been done. They pretended that they came only to wait on his Majeſty in his Journy, and to that end the Duke of *Buckingham* call'd aloud to the Gentlemen and Yeomen to keep their Places, and march forward. But before the King was out of the Town they pick'd a Quarrel with the Lord *Richard Gray*, the Queen's Son and the King's half Brother, charging him in the King's Preſence, "That he and the Marqueſs "*Dorſet*, with his Uncle the Lord *Rivers*, had "conſpir'd together to rule the King and Realm "while the King was in his Minority; and to "that end had ſtirr'd up Diviſions among the "Nobles, that by ſubduing ſome of them, they "might deſtroy the reſt: And for the more "effectual Accompliſhment of this their De-"ſign, the Lord Marqueſs had entred into the "Tower of *London*, and had taken from thence "all the King's Treaſure, and ſent ſeveral Ships "to Sea with it, that none might be able to "oppoſe him. The King, who not only was Young, and unexperienc'd in State-Affairs, but having been abſent ſometime, was ignorant of ſuch Matters of Fact as his Brother was charged with, yet gave a very Judicious Anſwer to the Accuſation, That he could not tell what his Brother the Marqueſs had done; but in good faith, he ſaid, he dare well Anſwer for his Uncle *Rivers*, and his Brother *Richard*, that they were both Innocent of any ſuch Matter, having been continually with him. The Duke of *Buckingham* reply'd, That they had kept the knowledge of their Actions from his good Grace, and forthwith they Arreſted the ſaid Lord *Grey*, with Sir *Thomas Vaughan* and Sir *Richard Howſe* in the King's Preſence; and then inſtead of going forward, return'd back again with the King to *Northampton*; where they diſplaced all ſuch Perſons, who had any Offices about the King, as they could not confide in, and entred into ſerious Conſultation about their farther Proceedings. The King was much troubled at theſe Dealings, and wept becauſe he had not Power to defend Himſelf or his Friends, but the Lords had now obtain'd their Deſigns, and valu'd not who took, what they did, well or ill: yet they gave the King all the reſpect of good Subjects; and promis'd the Queen's Kindred that all ſhould be well; but when they left *Northampton*, they ſent them to divers Priſons in the North for a time, and at length, tho' they pretended they ſhould have a fair Tryal to anſwer to ſeveral Miſdemeanours which they had to lay to their Charge, they were all brought to *Pomfract* Caſtle in order to their Execution. 1483

The Dukes of *Glouceſter* and *Buckingham* arreſt the Earl of *Rivers*, and Lord *Grey*, and get the King into their Power.

The Duke of *Gloucester* and *Buckingham* quarrel with the Ld. *Grey*, and arreſt him.

Theſe Actions of the Lords being done under a ſhew of Friendſhip, and carrying in them ſomething of Violence and Treachery, begat a great Amazement in all Places where they were known, and few Men conſtrued them, as the Lords wiſh'd, but look'd upon them as the Prologues to the King's Deſtruction. The Queen, who was particularly certify'd of the ſame Night, that the Dukes of *Glouceſter* and *Buckingham*, and others of their Party, whom ſhe look'd upon as her implacable Enemies, had taken her Son the King, and impriſon'd her Brother *Rivers*, and Son *Richard Grey*, with other of her Friends, in Places Remote and Unknown, fell into a bitter Paſſion of Grief, and bewailed the Deſtruction of her Child, and other Friends, Curſing the Hour in which ſhe credulouſly harken'd to the Perſwaſions of her falſe Friends, and by ordering her Son's Guards to be diſmiſs'd, had expos'd him and her Kindred to the Malice and baſe Deſigns of her Enemies. But ſince to indulge herſelf in her juſt Grief, and neglect a Proviſion for her own, and thoſe Childrens Safety which ſhe had with her, would make her Caſe worſe than it was at preſent; therefore ſhe reſolv'd to lay aſide her Sorrow for the preſent, and get herſelf, the Duke of *York* her 2d Son, and her five Daughters, with what Goods were Neceſſary for her Uſe into the Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*; and thereupon at Midnight order'd her Servants, and what help could be had, to remove them with all ſpeed thither; where being receiv'd into the Abbot's Lodgings, ſhe and her Children and all her Company were immediately Regiſtred for Sanctuary Perſons, and ſo look'd upon themſelves, as in an inviolable Fortreſs againſt their Enemies Power or Malice. The Lord *Haſtings*, who was Chamberlain, was at the ſame time at Court, and tho' a Conſpirator with the Lords, yet made a quite different Interpretation of the Lords Actions; becauſe he being truly Loyal, and heartily deſiring the Welfare of

The Q. and her Children fly to Sanctuary at *W. ſtminſter*.

Lord *Haſting's* Loyalty.

the

1483. the King, believed, that they had no further Intent, then to take him out of the Government of the Queen's Kindred, whoſe Inſolencies were intolerable, and from whom he himſelf in the late Reign was often in danger of his Life: He was therefore much pleas'd to ſee the Queen and her Friends in ſuch a Fright, and not doubting but the Nation would be much better govern'd than before, and the King much happier in the Hands of the Ancient Nobility, rejoyced to ſee the Downfall of the Queen, and her Relations, whoſe Pride they had felt long enough in the late King's Reign; but that he might give the Nobility about the Court a true Information of the Lords Action, he diſpatch'd a Meſſenger the ſame night to Dr. *Rotherham* (*a*) Archbiſhop of *York*, and then Lord Chancellor, who liv'd in *York-Place* by *Weſtminſter*, to aſſure him, "That the Lords Intentions were honou-
"rable, and for the Nations Welfare: and tho'
"the Impriſonment of the Queen's Kindred, and
"the Queen's Fears, who was flying in great
"haſte and confuſion into Sanctuary, had no
"good Aſpect; yet he ſhould find that all things
"would in the end prove well. The Archbiſhop, who was awaked out of his firſt Sleep by his Servants, and ſomething amazed at the ſuddenneſs of the News, reply'd, Say'ſt thou, that all ſhall be well? I can't ſee what good can be expected from ſuch Demeanour. Pray tell him, That be it as well as it will, it will never be ſo well as we have ſeen it: and ſo he ſent the Meſſenger back again to his Maſter. But the Archbiſhop was in too great a Diſturbance to return to his Reſt; and therefore immediately roſe, and calling up all his Servants, went with them arm'd to the Queen at her Palace, and carried the Great Seal along with him. He found all things there in a Tumult, the Servants removing Trunks and Houſholdſtuff to carry them into the Sanctuary: The Queen he ſaw ſitting upon the Floor on Matts, lamenting her own and her Childrens Miſeries and Misfortunes. The Archbiſhop, who was no ways engaged in the Conſpiracy againſt her, much compaſſionated her Caſe and Grief; and endeavouring to comfort her, told her the Meſſage which he had received from the Lord *Haſtings* not an Hour before, by which he was aſſured, that Matters were nothing ſo bad as ſhe imagin'd, that the King was in ſafe Hands, and doubted not but all would be well. The Queen, who had an invincible Odium to *Haſtings*, as ſoon as ſhe heard his Name, reply'd,
"That nothing was to be believ'd that came
"from him, being one of them that ſought
"the Deſtruction of herſelf and her Blood. The Archbiſhop ſeeing her not thus to be comforted, aſſur'd her for himſelf, That he would be Conſtant to her; and if the Lords ſhould deal ill with the Prince, and crown any other Perſon King beſides her Son, he would on the Morrow crown his Brother the Duke of *York*, whom ſhe had then in Sanctuary with her *And; that, Madam,* (ſays he) *you may be certain of my Integrity, Lo! here I leave with you the Grate Seal of* England, *the Badge of Regal Power, without which nothing of Moment in State Affairs can be done. His Father your Husband gave it me, and I here return it to you to keep it for his Children, and ſecure their Right; and if I could give you any greater Teſtimony of my Loyalty, I would do it:* and ſo he departed to his own Houſe in the dawning of the Morning, not conſidering what he had done in reſigning the Seal. The next day the City of *London* was in an Uproar, and divers Lords and Gentlemen took Arms, and aſſembled great Companies of Citizens and others for their own Defence, till they ſhould ſee what the Lords intended; for the general Report was, that what was done to the Lord *Rivers*, and the others with him, was but a Blind to the People: the real Deſign of the Nobility was to keep the King from his Coronation, and deprive him of his Right; and this they were the more confirm'd in, becauſe great Numbers of the Duke of *Glouceſter's* Servants and Friends were about the City and on the *Thames*, who examin'd all that paſſed, and kept any Perſons from taking Sanctuary. In theſe Tumults Archbiſhop *Rotherham*, fearing leaſt there ſhould be a juſt Occaſion to ſhew his Authority, and troubled that he had deliver'd up the Great Seal to the Queen, to whom it did not belong, without the King's Order, ſent privately for the Seal again and obtain'd it. In the mean time, the Lord Chamberlain *Haſtings*, whoſe Loyalty was not queſtion'd, and who was ſuppos'd not to be ignorant of the Lords Intentions, went into the City to appeaſe the Tumults, and calling the Lords and Gentlemen together who headed the Commonalty, told them, That tho' the Suddenneſs of the Lords Actions was ſurprizing, becauſe the Reaſons were not generally known; yet he could aſſure them, that the Duke of *Glouceſter* was true and faithful to his Prince, of which he had given many undeniable Proofs in his Brother's Reign, and would continue the ſame to his Son: That the Lords *Rivers* and *Grey*, and the Knights apprehended with them, were impriſon'd for certain Conſpiracies plotted againſt the Life of the Dukes of *Glouceſter* and *Buckingham*, as would appear evidently at their Trials, which was deſign'd ſhortly to be had before all the Lords of his Majeſty's Council: That their taking Arms in ſuch a Riotous and Seditious manner would prove of very dangerous Conſequence to themſelves, if they did not ſpeedily lay them down, as they had without juſt Reaſon or Cauſe taken them up; and therefore he adviſed them to depart to their Dwellings, and not pretend to Judge or Cenſure the Actions of their Superiors, who meant nothing but the Common good, till they knew the Truth of their Deſigns, leaſt they themſelves ſhould be the only Damages to the Publick, and hinder the King's Coronation, which the Lords were coming up to *London* to effect with all convenient ſpeed. With theſe words the Chamberlain ſo pacify'd the Diſcontents of the Citizens, that all things were for the preſent at quiet.

By this time the Lords, who ſeem'd as Zealous for the King's Coronation as his Uncle had been, and behaved themſelves with ſuch wonderful Reverence and Reſpect to the King, even from the time that he came into their Hands, that he ſuſpected no ill Deſigns in them, were upon their march to *London*, which caus'd the People to be the more Eaſie, ſince they thought that now they ſhould ſoon diſcern their Intentions. By the Way as they paſs'd, the Duke of *Glouceſter* aſſum'd nothing upon the Account of his Birth or Greatneſs, but demean'd himſelf as a Dutiful Subject; and that he might give a Demonſtration to the People of the treacherous and cruel Deſigns of the Lord *Rivers*, and the Queen's Friends, againſt himſelf and the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Duke's Servants ſhew'd the Barrels of Harneſs which they had privily convey'd in their Carriages to Murther them;

1483.

Archbiſhop *Rotherham* ſends for the Seal again.

Lord *Haſtings* appeaſes the Tumults.

The King brought to *London*.

Archbiſhop *Rotherham* comforts the Queen.

He leaves the Great Seal with the Queen.

(*a*) His Name was *Thomas Scot*, he was call'd *Rotherham* from the Place of his Birth in *Yorkſhire*.

and

1483. and tho' indeed ſome laugh'd at the Weakneſs of the Suggeſtion, becauſe if they really intended to have ſo uſed them, their Harneſs had better been on their Backs than in Barrels; yet they pretended they were ſeized before the Plot was come fully to Execution, and ſo aggravated Matters, that the common People believ'd the truth of it, and cry'd out, *That it would be a great Charity to the Nation to hang them.* When the King and Dukes drew near the City of *London*, *Edmund Shaw* Goldſmith, then Mayor, and *William White* and *John Matthews* Sheriffs, with all their Brethren the Aldermen in Scarlet, and 500 Commoners on Horſeback in Purple-colour'd Gowns met them at *Harnſey-Park*, and with great Honour and Reverence conducted him thro' their City to the Biſhop of *London*'s Palace, near St. *Paul*'s Church, on the 4th of May.

The King met by the Mayor, &c

In this Solemn Cavalcade the Behaviour of the Duke of *Glouceſter* to the King was very remarkable, for he rode bare-headed before him, and often with a loud Voice ſaid to the People, *Behold your Prince and Soveraign*; giving them on all Occaſions ſuch an Example of Reverence and Duty as might teach them how to honour and reſpect their Prince; by which Actions he ſo won upon all the Spectators, that they look'd on the late Miſrepreſentations of him as the Effects of his Enemies Malice, and he was on all hands accounted the Beſt, as he was the firſt Subject in the Kingdom. At the Biſhop's Palace he did the King Homage, and invited all the Nobility to do the ſame; by which he put his Loyalty out of diſpute with the Nobles, as he had done before with the Commons. Within a few days after, a Great Council of the Nobility met to ſettle the Government, and chooſe a Protector according to the uſual Cuſtom in the Minority of their Kings, and the Duke of *Glouceſter* was without the leaſt Contradiction appointed to Manage that Honourable Station, not only as the King's Uncle, and the next Prince of the Blood, and a Perſon fit for that Truſt, as of eminent Judgment and Courage; but as one that was moſt Loyal and Loving to the King, and likely to prove the moſt Faithful in that Station. By this Council was the Archbiſhop of *York* much blamed for delivering the Great Seal to the Queen, and being deprived of his Councellorſhip, the Seal was given in the beginning of *June* to Dr. *John Ruſſel* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, a Wiſe and good Man, and of very great Experience in State-Affairs. Several other Inferior Officers of the Court were diſplaced, and others more fit put in their Room. The Lord Chamberlain *Haſtings* was continu'd in his Office, with ſome others whom the Protector and Council had no great Objections againſt; and ſo the Council being diſſolved, the Protector betook himſelf to his Double Care: 1. Of the King to Content and Pleaſe him, as well as Educate him and Crown him. 2. Of the State and People, to rule ſo well as might be for the King's Honour and general Good and Welfare of the Nation.

Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Loyalty ſhewed.

The D. of *Glouceſter* choſen Protector.

King *Edward*, who was now under the ſole Care and Government of his Uncle *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter*, made Protector by the Nobility, and general Approbation of the People, being diſpleaſed at the Violent Actions of the Lords towards his Mother's Relations, whom not only continual Converſe, but Nature had endear'd to him, and ſeeing his Mother and Brother in Sanctuary, as if ſhe had fear'd the ſame hard Uſage, if not worſe, was not contented with the preſent Diſpoſition of Affairs; and tho' he being Young could not help what was done, yet he could not willingly ſubmit to it. The Protector, who was a very Sagacious Perſon, and ſhew'd all Readineſs to ſatisfie the King's Will, and diſcharge his Station well, ſoon diſcern'd the Cauſes of the King's Uneaſineſs, and conſidering how much the Reaſons of the King's Grief reflected upon his Reputation, as well as hinder'd his Deſigns in bringing the King to his Coronation, (for why ſhould the Queen with her Children continue in Sanctuary, unleſs it were that ſhe was Jealous of ſome Wrong and Injury from him, who having the Supream Power now in his hands could only hurt her? And what a lame Ceremony would the Coronation be, if the Queen and the King's only Brother bore not a Part in it, but inſtead of that were deterred from it) he reſolv'd to remove theſe Rubs in the way of his Government and Deſigns; and to that end calling a Council, he deliver'd himſelf to this Purpoſe: (a) "Let me periſh for "ever if it be not my greateſt, my continual "Care to promote the Happineſs and Welfare "of the King my Nephew, and all my Brother's Family; being ſenſible, that not only "the Nation's, but my own Ruin is the unavoidable Conſequence of their Misfortunes: and "therefore ſince it hath pleaſed you, who are "the Nobles of the Land, and to whom it belongs chiefly to Provide for the good Government of it in the Minority of the King, to "confer that weighty Employment of Ruling "all upon my ſelf, as I ſhall always look upon "my ſelf only as the King's and your Deputy, "ſo I ſhall, in all difficult Matters of State, look "upon you as my Helpers and Aſſiſtants, and "not dare to move one Step without your "Council and Advice, that ſo I may have your "Approbation in all I do, that it is for the "Good of the King and Welfare of all. In the "Management of the Station you have placed "me in, I do find, that the Queen's Continuance "in the Sanctuary with her Children, is ſuch an "invincible Impediment in the Execution of my "Place, that I cannot but propound the manifeſt Inconveniencies of it; and ſo much the "rather, becauſe I expected, that ſo good a Settlement as your Lordſhips had made in the laſt Council would have remov'd her Womaniſh Fears, and ſhe would have return'd to "Court to the Contentment of his Majeſty and "us all: but ſince ſhe perſiſts in her Miſchievous "Purpoſes, it is evident, that if Fear drove her "into the Sanctuary, 'tis nothing but Malice "that keeps her there; for ſhe, who is no impolitick Woman, ſees ſeveral unavoidable "Miſchiefs redounding to the Publik, and to "his Majeſty by this her Action, which had ſhe "not ſome ill Deſigns ſhe would carefully avoid. "And firſt, what greater Affront can be offer'd "to you of his Majeſty's Council, than for the "Queen and Children to remain in Sanctuary? "Will not the People upon ſo unexpected a "Reſolution make theſe Inferences from it, that "doubtleſs they are in very great Danger, and "that you who are in Power are her implacable Enemies, ſince neither her Son's Authority, "nor her own and Children's Greatneſs, are ſufficient to Secure them, but they are forc'd "to ſeek Protection from the Church, which is "the Aſylum of the greateſt Criminals? And

1483.

His Arguments to take him from Sanctuary for that end uſed in Council.

The Protector deſires the Duke of *York* to be brought to the King.

(a) This Speech did not begin with a Curſe, according to the Copy in *Holinſhead*, nor is it entirely the ſame as in *Holinſhead*, Pag. 717.

"what

1483. "what an intolerable Injury is this to you? But "if you ſhall think fit to paſs this Wrong over, "yet his Majeſty's Diſcontents are not to be "over-look'd, who wanting the Company of his "Brother, with whom chiefly he uſes to Re-"create himſelf, leads a melancholy and diſ-"contented Life, which doubtleſs if not timely "prevented may endanger his Health; for the "good State of the Body does not long laſt uſu-"ally, when the Mind is diſturb'd. Sorrow of "Mind drieth up the Bones, eſpecially in Youth, "and want of moderate Recreation and ſuitable "Company begets a Dulneſs and Penſiveneſs, "which brings Diſeaſes and Diſtempers on the "Body, which proves fatal. Wherefore ſince "even Kings themſelves muſt have ſome Com-"pany, and they are too great for their Sub-"jects generally, it ſeems Neceſſary that his "Brother, who comes neareſt an Equality with "him, ſhould be ſent for to him, that he may "refreſh himſelf with him. And thus we may "hope that the King will not only be ſatisfy'd "and pleas'd, but we ſhall be freed from the ill "Opinion which certainly all foreign Princes "have of us; for as long as he continues in "Sanctuary, they will either cenſure us as "cruel or tyrannical, or deride us as impo-"tent or weak. But beſides, the Coronation "of the King being the main thing now in Agi-"tation, how can we proceed in it with any heart "or earneſtneſs, while the Queen and Duke of "*York* are in Sanctuary? What ſort of Men ſhall "we be thought, who at the ſame time we "crown one Brother, ſo terrifie the other, that "he is forc'd to abide at the Altar of the ſame "Church for his Safety. Who can with Satis-"faction officiate at this great Ceremony, while "the Duke of *York*, whoſe Place is next to the "King, is abſent from it. It is therefore my "Opinion, theſe Reaſons and Conſiderations be-"ing well weighed, that ſome Honourable and "Truſty Perſon, who cannot be doubted to "tender the King's Wealth, and Reputation of "the Council, and is in Credit with the Queen, "be ſent to her to demand the Releaſe of the "Duke of *York*: And for this Office, I think "no Perſon better qualify'd than the moſt Re-"verend Father my Lord Cardinal, (*a*) the "Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who may be the "moſt prevailing Mediator in this Matter, if "he pleaſes to take the Trouble upon him, "which of his great Goodneſs, I do believe he will "not refuſe for the King's Sake and ours, and "the Wealth of the Young Duke himſelf, the "King's moſt honourable Brother, and for the "Comfort of my Soveraign Lord himſelf, my "moſt Deareſt Nephew, conſidering that it will "be a certain means to ſtop the Mouths of our "Enemies abroad, and prevent the Ill-conſtru-"ctions of cenſorious Perſons at home, and a-"void the ill Conſequences which ariſe from it, "both to his Majeſty, and the whole Realm. "And tho' the Cardinal may go no further "in treating with the Queen, than to preſwade "her by the beſt Arguments of Reaſon and "Neceſſity to yield to our Deſires, which his "Wiſdom knows beſt how to Uſe and Apply; "yet if ſhe prove ſo obſtinate and wilful, and "will yield to no Advice and Counſel which he "can give; then 'tis my Opinion that we fetch "the Duke of *York* out of that Priſon by force, "and bring him into the King's Company and "Preſence; in which we will take ſuch Care of 1483. "him, and give him ſuch honourable Treatment, "that all the World ſhall perceive, to our Ho-"nour and her Reproach, that it was nothing "but her Frowardneſs and groundleſs Suſpicion, "that firſt carried, and then kept him there. "This is my Judgment in this Affair; but if any "of you, my Lords, are of contrary Sentiments, "and find me miſtaken, I never was, nor by "God's Grace ever ſhall be ſo wedded to my "own Opinion, but I ſhall be ready to change "it upon better Reaſons and Grounds.

The Council aſſents to his Propoſal, but the Archbiſhop objects againſt taking the Duke from Sanctuary by force.

When the Protector had thus deliver'd his Mind to the Council, they all approv'd of his Motion, as a thing good and reaſonable in it ſelf, and honourable both to the King, and the Duke his Brother, agreeing with him, that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was the fitteſt Perſon, in all reſpects, to be a Mediator between the Queen and them; not doubting, but by his Candour and Wiſdom this Buſineſs might eaſily be effected, and the Queen without more a-doe perſwaded to deliver him. Nor did the Archbiſhop at all refuſe the Office, which much became his Station, being to Compoſe a growing Difference among Perſons of the Greateſt Quality: but he with the Lords Spiritual preſent told the Council with Submiſſion, (*b*) That as "he conſented to the Motion that the Duke of "*York* ſhould be brought to the King's Preſence "out of the Sanctuary by Perſwaſions, and would "himſelf do his Beſt to effect it, ſince they had "pleas'd to impoſe that task upon him; yet he "could not by any means conſent to that Pro-"poſition, That if the Queen refus'd to deliver "him, he ſhould be taken out of Sanctuary by "force; becauſe it would be a thing not only "Ungrateful to the whole Nation, but highly "diſpleaſing to Almighty God to have the Pri-"vilege of Sanctuary broken, in that Church, "which, being at firſt conſecrated by S. *Peter*, "who came down above 500 Years ago in "Perſon accompany'd with many Angels by "Night to do it, has ſince been adorn'd with "the Privilege of a Sanctuary by many Popes "and Kings; and therefore as no Biſhop ever "dare attempt the Conſecration of that Church, "ſo no Prince has ever yet been ſo fierce and "indevout as to violate the Privilege of it: "And God forbid, that any Man whatſoever "ſhall at this time, or hereafter, upon any world-"ly Advantages or Reaſons, attempt to infringe "the Immunities of that moſt Holy Place, that "hath been the Defence and Safety of ſo many "Good-mens Lives. However, he ſaid, he hop'd "they ſhould not be driven to uſe ſuch Extre-"mities, and doubted not, when the Queen, "who was a Perſon of known Judgment and Un-"derſtanding, once heard their Reaſons, ſhe "would for her Son's ſake, the King, readily "yield to their Deſires; and if it otherwiſe "ſhould happen, he would ſo perform his Part, "that they ſhould be convinc'd, that there want-"ed no good Will, or Endeavour in himſelf, but "the Queen Dread, and Womaniſh fear was "the only Cauſe of it. The Duke of *Buckingham*, The Duke of *Buckingham's* Reply to the Archbiſhop. who impatiently heard the Archbiſhop's Objection againſt taking the Duke out of Sanctuary by force, immediately reſumes the Diſcourſe, and in a Paſſion replies with an Oath; "Womaniſh "Fear, ſay you my Lord? Nay, Womaniſh Fro-"wardneſs; for I dare take it upon my Soul,

(*a*) Cardinal *Thomas Bourchier* deſcended of the Noble Family of the *Bourchiers* Earls of *Eſſex*.

(*b*) In Sir *Thomas Moor*'s Hiſtory as Printed in *Holinſhead*, p. 717. 'tis as that the Archbiſhop of *York* made this Speech; and for a Proof of St. *Peter*'s deſcending from Heaven to Conſecrate the Church of *Weſtminſter*, the good Prelate affirm'd St. *Peter*'s Cope was ſtill to be ſeen in the Abbey.

"that

1483. " that ſhe knows ſhe has no juſt Occaſion to fear
" any Danger to her Son or her ſelf. But as to
" herſelf, here is no Man that will contend with
" Women, and I would to God ſome of her Kin-
" dred were ſo too, and then ſhould the Con-
" teſt be ſoon at an end with them. Yet I dare
" be bold to ſay, that none of her Kindred are
" the Leſs belov'd for the Relation they have
" to her, but becauſe of their own Demerits,
" and for joyning with her in her Malicious De-
" ſigns. However let it be granted, that we
" love neither her nor her Kindred; yet there
" can be no juſt Ground to infer from thence
" that we hate the King's Brother, who tho'
" her Son, yet is alſo a-kin to us; and if ſhe
" deſir'd his Honour, as we do, and had not more
" regard to her own Will, than her Son's Wel-
" fare, ſhe would not be ſo obſtinate, but would
" be as unwilling to keep him from the King's
" Preſence, as any of us are. Some of whom
" at leaſt ſhe muſt acknowledge to have as much
" Wit as her ſelf, and can't doubt of their Fi-
" delity and Love to the Duke, who they would
" be as loath ſhould come to any harm as ſhe
" her ſelf can be, and yet they would have him
" from her to continue with the King, if ſhe
" will tarry there; but if ſhe pleaſes to come
" out her ſelf with him, and her other Children,
" and take up her Habitation in ſuch a Place
" where they may be with Honour to her ſelf
" and them, every Man of us ſhall be better con-
" tent than if ſhe ſends him alone. Now if upon
" theſe Grounds ſhe refuſes to deliver him, de-
" nying to follow the Wiſdom of them, of whoſe
" ripe Judgment and Fidelity ſhe hath had good
" Experience, it is eaſie to diſcern that it is
" her Frowardneſs, and not her Fear, that is the
" Cauſe of it. But we will ſuppoſe that her
" Diſtruſts are invincible, thro' the greatneſs of
" her Fears, (as what can hinder her from fear-
" ing her own Shadow, if ſhe will ſo much in-
" dulge her Paſſions) we have the greater rea-
" ſon to take heed, how we leave the Duke in
" her Hands: for if ſhe cauſeleſly fear his hurt
" out of Sanctuary, ſhe may alſo fear that he
" may be fetch'd from thence; (for 'tis eaſie for
" her to imagin, that if we be reſolv'd to have
" him from her, we will not value the Sacred-
" neſs of the Place ſhe is in; as indeed I think
" Good Men without Sin might ſomewhat leſs
" regard them than they do) and ſo for grea-
" ter Security convey him out of the Realm,
" which if ſhe ſhould be ſo lucky as to effect,
" (and without any great Difficulty it may be
" done) all the World will ſcorn and deride
" us, ſaying, That we are a wiſe ſort of Coun-
" ſellors about the King, to ſuffer his Brother
" to be caſt away under our Noſes. And there-
" fore I aſſure you, for my part, I am for fetch-
" ing him away againſt her Will, rather than by
" humouring her Fears and Peeviſhneſs, give
" her an Opportunity of conveying him away.
The Uſe and Abuſe of Sanctuaries. " And yet I ſhall be bold to aſſert, that I do
" not break any Privilege of Sanctuary, but
" rather rectify one of the Abuſes of it: for
" tho' indeed Sanctuaries, as they were appoint-
" ed and uſed under the *Jewiſh* Law, were, and
" ſtill may be of very good Uſe in ſeveral Caſes,
" as to be a Refuge for ſuch Men as the Chance
" of Sea, or their evil Debtors have brought to
" Poverty, to protect them from the Cruelty of
" their Creditors; and becauſe the Title to the
" Crown of theſe Realms had often come in
" Queſtion, in which Conteſts each Side counts
" the other Traitors, and the Conquering Side,
" tho' ſometimes the worſt Rebels, treats the
" adverſe Party as ſuch, it is Neceſſary there
" ſhould be a Refuge in this Caſe to the Unfor-
" tunate: but as for Thieves and Murderers,
" whereof theſe Places are full, and who ſel-
" dom leave their Trade when they have once
" begun, it is an horrid Shame that any San-
" ctuary ſhould ſave them; and eſpecially wil-
" ful Murderers, whom God himſelf commands
" to be taken from the Altar, and put to Death.
" Yet if we look into our Sanctuaries, as now
" they are managed, how few are there whom
" Neceſſity of their own Defence, or their Mis-
" fortunes have driven to take Shelter there?
" But on the other ſide, what numbers are there
" in them of Thieves, Murderers, and malicious
" and heinous Traitors, and eſpecially in the
" two chief Ones in this City, the one at the
" Elbow, and the other in the very Midſt of it?
" Inſomuch that if the Good they do were bal-
" lanc'd with the Evil, we ſhall find 'twere bet-
" ter for us to be without them, unleſs ſuch as
" are in Power would effectually correct their
" Abuſes, and amend them. And indeed, 'tis
" a groſs Shame not to be endur'd, to ſee St. *Pe-*
" *ter* made a Patron of Thieves, Prodigals, Knaves
" and Whores! Surely neither God, nor that
" Apoſtle can approve of theſe Abuſes; and
" therefore they may be reformed with thanks
" of Both. Let Sanctuaries then continue in God's
" Name in their full force, as far as Religion
" and Reaſon will permit, and I am ſure no
" lawful Privilege granted to them can hinder
" us from fetching the Duke of *York* from thence,
" where he neither is, nor can be a Sanctuary-
" Perſon. A Sanctuary ſerveth to defend the
" Body of Man, who is in danger from not on-
" ly ſome great, but unlawful hurt? and what
" Danger is that Duke in? Is not the King his
" Brother, and all we his Special Friends? As
" he has never done any Man an Injury, ſo
" no Man deſigns him any Wrong, and then
" what Grounds can there be for him to be
" left in Sanctuary? Beſides, Men come not to
" a Sanctuary, as to Baptiſm by Godfathers, but
" they muſt ask it themſelves if they will have
" it; for none but ſuch as can alledge there juſt
" Fears and Dangers ought to be admitted thi-
" ther. And how can the Duke of *York* be juſt-
" ly entertain'd or kept there, who cannot thro'
" his Infancy require it; and if he were ſenſible
" of the Place he is in, would rather deſire
" to be releaſed from it: So that I think
" with the Clergy's Leave, 'tis no Breach of
" Privilege, if he and many others be taken by
" Force out of it. And to convince them of it
" more fully, let me ask them a few Queſtions.
" If a Man go into Sanctuary with another Man's
" Goods, may not the King, leaving his Body
" at Liberty, take them out of Sanctuary, and
" reſtore them to the right Owner? can either
" Pope or King privilege a Man from paying
" Debts that is able to pay them? Several of
the Clergy preſent agreed, that by the Laws of God and the Church, a Sanctuary-Man may be deliver'd up to pay his Debts, or reſtore ſtoln Goods, his Liberty being allow'd him to get his Living by his Labour. Then the Duke ſaid, " There's the ſame Reaſon to do it, if a
" Man's Wife ran from him to Sanctuary, or a
" Child take Sanctuary becauſe he will not go to
" School, and many like Caſes. And therefore I
" conclude, that ſince he can be no Sanctuary-
" Man who hath no Diſcretion to deſire it, (for
" I never yet heard of Sanctuary-Children) nor
" Malice to deſerve it, whoſe Life and Liberty
" can in no wiſe be in Danger, he that taketh ſuch
" an one out of Sanctuary to do him good, breaks
" no Privilege of that Holy Place.

1483.

When

1483. When the Duke had finish'd this long Discourse, it was generally Agreed by all the Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, (*a*) That if the Queen would not Deliver up the Duke by Perswasions, he should be forced from her by the King's Authority: But it being judg'd convenient that all fair Means should be first try'd, the Cardinal, with several Lords to accompany him, was sent into the Sanctuary to the Queen; the Protector, and the rest of the Council going into the *Star-Chamber* at *Westminster* to expect the Event. When the Cardinal was come into the Queen's Presence, after all Dutiful Salutations, he Deliver'd to her the Cause of his Coming, Saying, "That he was with those other Lords, "sent by the Protector, and the Privy Council "to her Majesty, to let her know, how much "her Detaining of the Duke of *York* in that "Place was Scandalous to the Publick, and dis-"lik'd by the King his Brother; it being an "Action that must needs produce ill Effects: "That the King himself was much grieved at "it, and the Council offended, because it look'd "as if one Brother was in Danger from the "other, and could not be Preserved by the o-"ther's Life: That it would be a very great "Comfort to his Majesty to have his Natural "Brother in Company with him; nor would it "be of Less Advantage to the Young Duke "himself, because it would Confirm and Streng-"then their Loves to be brought up together, "as well at their Books, as Sports: That in the "King's Court the Duke could only Live an-"swerable to his State and Condition: That it "would much Please the Protector and Council "to send him to the King's Presence, and in "Effect might prove of no Small Advantage "to her Friends, that were in Prison. Upon "which Accounts, as he was sent by his Majesty "and Council to demand the Duke of her, to be "brought to his Brother; so he could not but "earnestly entreat her to comply with a thing "so very Reasonable, and every way Convenient.

The Archbishop sent to the Queen, and his Speech to her.

The Queen's Reply.

The Queen, who was of a sharp Wit and graceful Speech, answer'd the Cardinal; and said, "My Lord, I cannot deny, but it is very con-"venient that my Son, the Duke, should be in the "Company of his Brother the King as well for "Society, as Love's-sake; but since they are "both so Young, as that it is the most suita-"ble for them to be under the Government of "their Mother; It is better for the King to be "with me here, than that I should send the "Duke to him: Tho' was it really otherwise, "that Duty obliged the Duke to go to him, "yet Necessity in this Case creates a Dispensa-"tion, because he hath been of late so sorely "afflicted with Diseases, and being not perfect-"ly recover'd is in so great a Danger of a Re-"lapse (which generally Physicians say is more "fatal than the first Sickness) that I dare trust "no Earthly Person as yet with the Care of "him: For tho' I doubt not, but that he might "have such about him as would do their Best "to Preserve his Health, yet since I have or-"dered him all along, and am his Mother, it "must be allow'd by all Men, that as I am the "most Able, so I shall be the most Affectionately "Careful and Tender of him. And for these "Reasons, I hope both the King and his Coun-"cil will dispense with his Absence a-while, "till he is perfectly Recovered, and in Health; "and before that, I can't endure to hear of "Parting with him.

1483. The Cardinal's Answer.

"The Cardinal hearing this Reply, answer'd; "No Man, Good Madam, doth deny but that "your Majesty is the fittest Person to take Care "of all your Children, and I am sure the Coun-"cil will be very Glad to hear that it is your "Pleasure so to do; yea, they would beg it of "you, Provided you would be contented to do "it in such a Place as is consistent with their, "and your own Honour; Whereas, if you re-"solve to tarry in this Place, then they judge "it more convenient, that the Duke should be "with the King at Liberty, to the Comfort and "Satisfaction of them both, tho' with some "small Danger to his Health; than to remain "in Sanctuary, to the Dishonour of the King, "Duke himself, and the whole Council: for "it is not always so Necessary that the Child "should be with the Mother, but there may be "Reasons sometimes of taking him from her, "and that for the Best, as your Majesty knows "there was, when your Eldest Son, then Prince "of *Wales*, and now King, was sent to keep his "Court at *Ludlow* for his own Honour and the "Good Order of the Country, of which your "Majesty was so well convinced, that you seem'd "Contented with it.

The Queen's Return.

The Queen grew a little Warm, and smartly retorted, "Not so very well Contented neither "at that Separation; tho' the Case is much dif-"ferent now: For the Prince was in good "Health, the Duke is now Sick; for tho' the "height of the Distemper is past, yet he is "Weak, and not so fully recovered, but that "without great Care he may fall into a Relapse; "in which Condition, while he remains, I won-"der that the Protector and Council should be "so Earnest to have him from me, since if the "Child should grow Sick again and Miscarry, "they would incur the Censures of some Ill-"dealings with him. And whereas you say that "it is Dishonourable to my Child, and to them, "that he remain in this Place, I think the Con-"trary; for certainly 'tis most for their Ho-"nour to let him Abide, where no Man can "doubt but he will remain Safest, and that is "here so long as I continue here: and I do not "intend to leave this Place and endanger my "Life with my Friends, who, I would to God "were rather in Safety here with me, than I "were in Hazard with them. Why, Madam, (saith the Lord *Howard*) "Do you know any "Reason, that they are in Danger? No truly, (said she roundly) "Nor why they should be in "Prison neither, as they now be: but I have "great Cause to fear, least those, who have not "scrupled to put them in Prison without Cause, "will as little value to Destroy them without "Law or Right. Upon these Words, the Car-dinal wink'd upon the Lord to put an End to that Discourse; and then added himself, "That he "did not doubt, but that those Lords, who be-"ing of her Kindred remained under Arrest, "would upon a due Examination of Matters, "discharge themselves well enough of any Ac-"cusation alledged against them: And as to her "own Royal Person, there neither was, nor "could be any kind of Danger. How shall I be "certain of that (said the Queen)? Is it, that I am "Innocent? It doth not appear that they are "Guilty. Is it, that I am better beloved of their "Enemies? No; but rather, they are hated "for my Sake. Is it, that I am so nearly rela-"ted to the King? They are not much further "off: and therefore since it seems to me, that as

Lord *Howard's* Answer.

Queen's Reply.

Cardinal's Answer.

The Queen's Reply.

(*a*) Several of the Bishops were against fetching him out by Force.

1483. " I am in the ſame Cauſe, ſo I am in like Danger; " I do not intend to depart out of this Place " And as for my Son, the Duke of *York*, I pro- " poſe to keep him with me till I ſee how Buſi- " neſſeſs will go; for the more greedy and ear- " neſt ſome Men are to have him into their " Hands without any ſubſtantial Cauſe, the more " Fearful and Scrupulous am I to deliver him

The Cardinal's Anſwer.

" And the more Suſpicious you are, Madam, (anſwer'd the Cardinal) " the more Jealous are " others of you, leaſt under a cauſeleſs Pretence " of Danger, you ſhould convey him out of the " Nation; and ſo if they permit him to remain " with you now, it ſhall not be in their Power " to have him for the Future. Wherefore it is " the Opinion of many of the Council, that " there is a Neceſſity of taking the Duke of *York* " immediately into their Care and Government, " and ſince he can enjoy no Privilege by Sanctu- " ary, who has neither Will to Require it, nor " Malice or Offence to need it, they judge it no " Breach of Sanctuary, if you finally refuſe to " deliver him by fair means, to fetch him out " of it: And I aſſure you, Madam, that the " Protector, who bears a moſt tender Love to " his Nephews; and the Council, who have an " equal Care and Reſpect for your Children, will " certainly ſet him at Liberty, unleſs you reſign " him to us, leaſt you ſhould ſend him away.

Queen's Reply.

Ay, (ſays the Queen) " hath the Protector his Uncle " ſuch a Love for him, that he fears nothing " more than that he ſhould Eſcape his Hands? " I unfeignedly declare, that it never ſo much " as entred into my Thoughts to ſend him out " of this Place into any Foreign Parts, partly " becauſe his Health will not bear any Journeys, " and partly becauſe, tho' I ſhould not ſcruple " to ſend him into any Part of the World, " where I knew him out of all Danger, yet I do " not think any Place more ſecure than this " Sanctuary, which there never was any Ty- " rant ſo deviliſh, who dare Violate; and I truſt " that the Almighty God will ſo aw the Minds " of his, and my Enemies, as to Reſtrain them " from offering Violence to this Holy Place. But

Queen's Argument for Privileges of Sanctuary.

" you tell me, That the Lord Protector and " the Council are of Opinion that my Son can't " deſerve a Sanctuary, and therefore may not " be allow'd the Privileges of it: He hath found " out a goodly Gloſs, as if that Place which can " Protect a Thief, or Wicked Perſon, is not of " greater Force to Defend the Innocent, becauſe " he is in no Danger, and therefore can have no " need of it; which is an Opinion as Erroneous " as Helliſh. But the Child, you ſay, can't re- " quire the Privilege of a Sanctuary, and there- " fore ſince he has no Will to Chooſe it he ought " not to have it: Who told the Protector ſo? " Ask him, and you ſhall here him Require it. " But ſuppoſe it were really ſo that he could " not ask it, or if he could, would not, but " would rather chooſe to go out; I think it is " ſufficient that I do Require it, and am Regi- " ſtred a Sanctuary-Perſon, to make any Man " guilty of breaking Sanctuary to take my Son " out of it by Force and againſt my Will: For " is not the Sanctuary a Protection in that Caſe " as well for my Goods as my Self? No Man " can lawfully take my Horſe from me, if I Stole " him not, or Owe nothing; and ſurely much " leſs my Child. Beſides by Law, as my Lear- " ned Council ſheweth me, he is my Ward, be- " cauſe he hath no Lands by Deſcent holden by " *Knights Service*, but only by *Soccage*, and then " I being the Guardian of my Son by Law, no " Man can take him by force from me without " Injuſtice in any Place, and without Sacrilege " from hence. And upon this Right I do inſiſt, " and Require the Privilege of Sanctuary for " him, as my Pupil and Infant, to whom alone " by Law the Care of him belongs: and if this " triple Cord may be broken, I mean, the Right " which I have to keep him with me by the " Law of Man, as his Guardian; by the Law of " Nature, as his Mother; and by the Law of " God, as being in Sanctuary with him; If all " this be not enough to ſecure him from any " Human Force, I think nothing under Heaven " can: But I do not deſpair of Safety where I " have always found ſo much. Here was I brought " to Bed of my Son who is now King, and tho' " his Enemy Reigned, and might have uſed the " ſame or like Pretences to have taken us both " from Sanctuary, yet he did not; and I hope " no Man will have the Boldneſs to act contra- " ry to all former Precedents, but the Place " that protected one Son, will be as great a " Security to the other: For to be plain with " you, My Lord, I fear to put him into the " Protector's Hands, becauſe he hath his " Brother already, and ſince he pretends to be " the next Heir to the Crown after them, not- " withſtanding his Siſters, if they any ways " miſcarry, his Way to the Throne lies Plain " and Eaſy to him. Now this is ſo juſt a Cauſe " of Fear, that even the Laws of the Land teach " me it, which as Learned Men tell me, forbids " every Man the Guardianſhip of them, by " whoſe Death they become Heirs to their In- " heritance; and if the Law is ſo careful of " ſuch as have the leaſt Inheritance, how much " more ought I to be fearful that my Children " come not into his Power, who by their Death " will have the Kingdom for his Inheritance. " By theſe Reaſons I am confirmed in my Reſo- " lutions of keeping my Son in Sanctuary with " me, and my Right ſo to do, and think them ſo " far to Out-ballance the Protector's frivolous " Reaſons of keeping his Brother company, and " being Diſhonourable to him, that I cannot al- " ter my Mind: For I have reaſon to think that " whoever he proves a Protector to, he will " prove a Deſtroyer to them, if they be once in " his Hands and Power. I know the Protector " and Council have Power enough, if they have " Will, to take him and me from this Place; " but whoſoever he be that ſhall dare to do it, " I pray God ſend him ſhortly Need of a Sanctu- " ary, but no Poſſibility to come to it.

1483.

Her Suſpition of the Duke of *Glouceſter*.

The Cardinal ſeeing the Q. grow more and more Paſſionate by Diſcourſing, and to reflect ſharply upon the Protector, which he was unwilling to hear, becauſe he believed them inconſiderate Effects of Paſſion, thought it time to break off Arguing with her, and therefore to bring all things to a Concluſion, ſaid unto her; " Madam, I will " not Diſpute the Matter longer with you: It is " equal to me, whether you deliver him, or not. " I am with theſe Lords, but the Meſſenger to " know your Reſolution, and beg you will but " tell us plainly, whether you will, or will not " deliver him to us? For tho' if you reſign him " to us, I durſt Pawn my own Body and Soul " to you for his Safety; yet if you Deny it, I " will immediately Depart and finiſh my Truſt, " reſolving never to engage in the Matter again, " ſince I ſee you ſo Reſolute in your own Judg- " ment, as if you thought both me, and all " others lack'd either Wit or Honeſty; Wit, " in that we, not perceiving the Protector's Ill " Deſigns, were made the Tools of his Wicked " Craft; Honeſty, in that knowing his Inten- " tions we have labour'd to bring your Son in- " to the Protector's Hands to Deſtroy him; an

Cardinal's Anſwer.

" Execra-

1483. " Execrable Treaſon, which as our ſelves abhor, " ſo we dare boldy ſay was far from the Pro- " tector's Thoughts, and cannot be imputed to " any in this Caſe, but you muſt brand the whole " Council with Short-ſighted Advice and Diſ- " loyalty to their Prince

Theſe Words of the Cardinal's being Peremptory and Short, much amuſed the Queen, being put to it on a ſudden to reſolve whether ſhe would ſend him, or no. The Cardinal ſhe ſaw ready to depart, and the Protector and Council were near ſhe knew; what to do ſhe could not tell: ſhe fear'd that by Delivering him, ſhe caſt him into the Mouth of Ruin; and by Keeping him, ſhe did but provoke the Protector and Council to be more Rough and Severe with them both. She ſaw there was no way to ſave him from the Protector's Hands, but by Conveying him out of his Knowledge or Power; which tho' ſhe Wiſh'd, yet ſhe had no Way to effect it: Wherefore ſhe reſolv'd to make the beſt uſe of Neceſſity, and ſince the Protector muſt have him, take the beſt Way to Secure him in his Hands. She conſider'd, that her Fears were but grounded on vehement Preſumptions, and therefore hop'd Things might not prove ſo Bad as ſhe imagin'd She could not doubt of the Cardinal's Sincerity and Loyalty to her Son, and tho' ſhe indeed fear'd he might be deceived, yet ſhe did not believe either he, or the Lords preſent, would be any ways Acceſſory to his Deſtruction: and for theſe Reaſons ſhe thought it better to deliver him to them, who were ready to Pawn their Honour and Lives for his Security, and would therefore look upon themſelves engaged for his Safety, than ſuffer him to be taken from her; and thereupon taking her Son, the Duke of *York*, in her Hand, ſhe led him to the Cardinal and Lords, and with great Earneſtneſs ſaid to them, " My " Lord Cardinal, and you my Lords, I am not " ſo opinionated of my ſelf, or ill-adviſed concerning you, as to Miſtruſt either your Wiſdom or Fidelity, as I ſhall prove to you by repoſing ſuch Truſt in you, as, if either of them be wanting in you, will Redound to my Inexpreſſible Grief, the Damage of the whole Realm, and your eternal Shame and Diſgrace: For Lo! Here is my Son, the Perſon whom you deſire; and tho' I doubt not but that I could keep him Safe in this Sanctuary from all Violence; yet here I reſign him into your Hands. I am ſenſible that I run great Hazards in ſo doing, no whit leſs than my Fears ſuggeſt; for I have ſome ſo great Enemies to my Blood, that if they knew where any of it lay in their own Veins, they would preſently let it out; and much more in others, and the nearer to me the more Zealouſly. Experience alſo convinces us all, that the Deſire of a Kingdom knows no Kindred. The Brother in that Caſe hath been the Deſtruction of the Brother, and the Son of his Father; and have we any Cauſe to think the Uncle will be more tender of his Nephews? Each of theſe Children are the other's Defence while they are aſunder; if one be ſafe they are both ſecure; but being both together they are in great Danger: and therefore as a Wiſe Merchant will never adventure all his Goods in one Ship, ſo it looks not ſo Politickly in me to put them both under the ſame Hazards. But notwithſtanding all this, (whether rightly foreſeen or no, I leave you to think on, and prevent.) I do here Deliver him, and his Brother in him to your Keeping, of whom I ſhall ask him again at all times before God and the World. I am Confident of your Fidelity, and

The Queen's Speech at the Delivery of the Duke of *York* to the Lords.

" and have no reaſon to diſtruſt your Wiſdom, 1483. " Power, or Ability to keep him, if you will " make uſe of your Reſolution when it is re- " quired; and if you are unwilling to do that, " then I pray you leave him ſtill here with me: " and that you may not meet with more than " you did expect, let me beg of you, for " the Truſt which his Father ever repoſed " in you, and for the Confidence I now put in " you, that as you think I fear too much, ſo " you would be cautious that in this weighty " Caſe you fear not too little; becauſe your " Credulity here may make an irrecoverable " Miſtake. Having thus ſpoken, ſhe turn'd to the Child, and ſaid to him, " Farewel, mine own " ſweet Son, The Almighty be thy Protector: Let " me Kiſs thee once more before we part, for " God knows when we ſhall Kiſs again; and then having kiſſed him, ſhe Bleſſed him, and turn'd from him and wept, and ſo went her way, leaving the Child with the Lords weeping alſo for her Departure.

The Duke of *York* brought to the Protector.

The Cardinal and Lords having obtain'd their Deſire thus, and gotten the Duke of *York* from his Mother, immediately led him to the Star-Chamber, where the Protector and Lords of the Council ſtaid in Expectation of him. The Protector receiv'd him with all the ſeeming Kindneſs and Reſpect that was due to him, as the King's Brother and his Nephew; and taking him in his Arms kiſſed him, and ſaid, *Now Welcom my Lord with all my very Heart*: and the ſame Day carried him to the King his Brother, who was at the Biſhop of *London*'s Palace near S. *Paul*'s Church. Here he left them a few Days together; and becauſe all Things were in a great forwardneſs for the Coronation, which he was Zealous to Promote, he cauſed the King and the Duke his Brother to be remov'd to the *Tower*, the uſual Place from whence that Solemnity began, with much Pomp and State. But now the Protector was at a ſtand how to Proceed: He look'd upon himſelf, as the Lawful King of theſe Realms, by the Judgment of ſuch as were beſt Able to determine ſuch Doubts; but yet ſince his Brother's Children were generally preſumed the True Heirs, and their Illegitimacy not underſtood, or Diſregarded, he was Afraid to Claim his Right againſt the Common Opinion, and yet as loath to throw it up himſelf, as he muſt do by Crowning his Brother's Son. There was almoſt a Neceſſity the Coronation ſhould go forward; it had proceeded ſo far, that the Nation would grumble extreamly at the Expence if it were now laid aſide; and on the other ſide, if his Nephew were crown'd he muſt give up his Right, and not only deprive himſelf but his Children: Wherefore he reſolv'd with himſelf to ſeem as Earneſt as ever in carrying it on, and to that end, appointed a Council of ſuch Lords as he knew to be moſt Faithful to the King his Nephew, of whom the Lord *Haſtings* the Chamberlain, and Lord *Stanley* were the Chief, to Aſſemble *De die in diem* at *Baynard's-Caſtle* to conſult and contrive the Ways and Ceremonies for the Coronation of his Nephew; but in the mean Seaſon he contriv'd ſecretly to make known his own Title to certain Perſons that he could Confide in, and by delaying the Coronation try how far his own Intereſts might be Advanced, that he might obtain his Right Peaceably and Quietly; but being Senſible how great Prejudices he was to Encounter with on all Hands, he knew he muſt proceed very warily in it. The Duke of *Buckingham* in all his Motions hitherto had been his chief Friend and Aſſiſtant. He in a manner had made him Pro-

A Council appointed to carry on the Coronation.

1483. tector, and it would be ſuch a Diſobligation if he ſhould not make uſe of him in his Councils, that he certainly would turn his Enemy, and being of ſuch mighty Intereſt would pull him down, as he had ſet him up. And yet he could hardly hope for any Encouragement from him; becauſe tho' the Duke was a Male-content in the Days of the late King, yet he ſeem'd very Loyal to his Son, as if he had Buried the Enmity to his Father in his Grave. But the Protector knew old Enmity is eaſily Reviv'd, and to prepare the Duke of *Buckingham* for his Deſigns, he Suborn'd certain Perſons about the Duke to repreſent to him the King's Diſpleaſure for impriſoning his Mother's Kindred, and into what a miſerable Dilemma, he had run himſelf by that Action; for if they were Releaſed they'd bear him an Immortal Grudge, and if they were put to Death, he was ſure to incur the King's Anger ſo much, that he could hope for nothing, but Misfortunes on all Hands; for the King did not Refrain from ſuch Expreſſions as ſhew'd, that whenever he had Power he would Revenge it upon him to the Utmoſt. Theſe Relations ſtruck him with a Fear of Danger, and prediſpos'd him to lay hold upon any Opportunity of Securing himſelf; which the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who laid the Train, ſoon offer'd him; for a little after inviting him to a Conference, he deſired him to Aſſiſt him in taking upon him the Crown of *England* as his Right, ſhewing him the Judgment of the Civil Lawyers concerning the Illegitimacy of his Brother's Children, and promiſing, as the Reward of his Faithful Services to him, that his Son ſhould Marry the Duke's Daughter; that he would give him the Earldom of *Hereford* with all the Appurtenances, which tho' his Inheritance, yet had been Unjuſtly kept from him by his Brother; And laſtly, That he would Allow him a large Share of K. *Edward*'s Treaſure, and ſo much of the Wardrobe as ſhould furniſh his Houſe, and ſettle upon him and his Poſterity the Office of the High-Conſtable of *England*, which his Anceſtors by Deſcent for many Generations had enjoy'd.

Duke of *Buckingham* engages with the Protector in taking the Crown.

The Duke of *Buckingham* was not hard to be won to engage in ſuch an Action as ſecur'd him from his preſent Fears, and afforded a Proſpect of ſo much Gain and Advantage, and ſo became a Zealous Actor for the Protector in making him King; for he ſoon brought many of his Friends into the ſame Deſign, and with the Protector conſtituted a Council, which ſat at *Croſbye's Place*, the Protector's Manſion Houſe, to contrive the moſt Artificial and Politick Ways to Settle the Crown upon his Head: but they were to meet very Secretly and Privately.

The Protector's Private Council ſuſpected by the other.

This Council had not ſat long, but both their Perſons and their Actions were Diſcerned: for Cardinal *Bourchier* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Rotheram* Archbiſhop of *York*, *John Morton* Biſhop of *Ely*, the Lord *Stanley*, Lord *Haſtings*, and other Perſons of Quality, who were buſie to order the Coronation, perceiv'd that, notwithſtanding their Endeavours, Matters mov'd ſlowly, and they ſaw Cauſe to ſuſpect contrary Motions.

The Common People began to Murmur at the Delays of the Coronation, and talk'd as tho' there were ſome bad Deſigns on foot, tho' no Man could gueſs at what was really intended; but it was generally look'd upon as a bad Omen that the Protector took upon him a State and Magnificence above his Place, and would endure none but his own Servants about the King, who gave an unkind Welcom to all Perſons, that either deſir'd to ſee the King out of Curioſity, or wait on him out of Duty; as tho' 1483. they would tell Men that they muſt ſeek the King elſewhere, *viz.* at their Maſter's Palace, which was ſoon ſo well underſtood by ſuch as expected any Honours and Preferments at Court, that the Protector was Flatter'd and Careſs'd as King, while his Nephew was little regarded, and bore only an inſignificant Name.

Theſe Actions increaſed the Jealouſie of the Lords who ſat at *Baynard's-Caſtle* to Direct the Coronation; and the Lord *Stanley*, who was a Wiſe and Sagacious Man, began to declare openly to his Brethren, "That he much diſlik'd "theſe Doings, and could not believe that two "different Councils could Produce any good "Effects: We are conſcious of the Loyalty and "Integrity of our Actions; but who knows "what the Cabal at *Crosbye's-Place* Talk of, and "Contrive? I fear, what we are Building, they "are Plucking down; and unleſs we could U-"nite, or know their Councils, ours will be in "Vain. Peace, My Lord, ſaid the Lord *Ha-* Lord *Haſtings* ap-peaſes their Diſ-truſts. "*ſtings*, never fear or miſdoubt any thing; I "durſt aſſure you upon my Life All's well, or "at leaſt nothing Ill is intended againſt Us: "For while One Man is there, who is never "Abſent, I am ſure there can be nothing pro-"pounded which ſhall ſound Ill to me, but it "will be in my Ears as ſoon as it is out of "their Mouths almoſt. This the Lord *Haſtings* meant of one *Catesby* a Lawyer, who was his ſpecial Confident, and being put into a Conſiderable Truſt in the Counties of *Leiceſter* and *Northampton*, where this Lord's Intereſt and Power lay, merely by his Means, was reputed by him ſo Faithful and Grateful, that he would neither do, nor ſuffer to be done any things Injurious to his Patron: which indeed he had great reaſon to have done, but he much deceiv'd him, as will after appear, and ſo was the Chief Inſtrument of Working the Protector's Will and Aims; for the Lords generally ſaw ſo many Signs of Diſtruſt, that had they not rely'd entirely upon the Lord *Haſtings*'s Word, whom they knew Firm and Loyal, they had all departed every Man to his own Country and provided for their own Safety, which had certainly broken all the Protector's Meaſures; for they were Men of great Power and Intereſt with the People, and could eaſily have kept Matters in the Right Current had they been at Home; but *Catesby* carrying all fair to *Haſtings*, and he perſwading them that nothing could be done amiſs till he ſhould know it and advertiſe them of it, they truſted to him, and denying their own Senſes almoſt to conſtrue all things for the beſt, laid themſelves open to Ruin, and made way to the Protector's Deſigns, which both himſelf and his Council were vigilant to improve.

Haſtings Careſſed, and ſounded by his Confident *Catesby*.

The former Jealouſies of the Council at *Baynard's-Caſtle* were ſoon known to the Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham*, and tho' they would not ſeem to be ſenſible of it, yet they took up Reſolutions with themſelves either to win them over to their Side, or if not to ſecure them from being their Enemies, and to this end they ſhew'd great Favour to the Lord *Haſtings*, who much influenc'd the Actions of all the Reſt, and kept him much in their Company, hoping by Familiarity and friendly Endearments to diſpoſe him to a Compliance with their Deſigns, which they not long after caus'd *Catesby* his familiar Acquaintance to Propound to him, but at ſome diſtance, leaſt his Refuſal ſhould betray all; for if they could gain him, they were ſure of the greater part of the Reſt. *Catesby*, who now had forgotten all former Obligations, and

1483. and was courting greater Favours, readily undertook the Employment, and coming to the Lord *Haſtings*, who had not yet the leaſt Miſtruſt of him, after much other Diſcourſe about the ~~preſent~~ Circumſtances of Affairs, asks his Opinion about the Title and Claim that the Protector had to the Crown; inſinuating, that if it might Lawfully be done, it would be better that an Experienc'd Perſon and a Brave Commander ſhould Rule than a Child. The Lord *Haſtings*, who was firmly Loyal to K. *Edward*'s Children, preſuming upon *Catesbye*'s Fidelity, freely open'd his Mind to him without any Circumlocutions, and having ſhew'd him what Jealouſies the Council had of the Protector's Actions, with Indignation expreſſed his utter Diſlike of it in Words to this Effect: "That he had rather ſee the "Death and Deſtruction of the Protector and "D. of *Buckingham*, than the Young King depri-"ved of the Crown; and that if he diſcern'd any "Deſigns that Way in any Perſons whatſoever, "he would engage his utmoſt Power and Ability "againſt them. Theſe Words, which 'tis believed the Lord *Haſtings* would never have ſpoke, had he ſuſpected (*a*) either the Miſſion, or Treachery of *Catesby*, were carried to the Protector immediately, and repreſented to him not with the mollifying Terms of a Friend, but Aggravations of an Enemy, becauſe he hop'd by his Death and the Protector's Favour, which for this ill Office alone he had reaſon not to doubt of, to obtain moſt of the Rule and Truſt, which that Lord had in his Country, and ſo his Ruin would be his own Making.

Catesby's Treachery.

The Protector received the Account of *Haſtings*'s Averſion to his Deſigns with much Trouble and Regret, not for the Diſappointment only, but becauſe he had a great Love for him, who had always been his Friend, and had done him many Kindneſſes in his Brother's Days, and therefore engaged *Catesby* to win him, if poſſible: but *Catesby* willing to ſee his Downfall, repreſented him ſo irreconcilable to his Proceedings, that he chang'd the Protector's Love into Hatred to him, and made him lay hold upon any ſlight Pretences to take away his Life, without which he ſaw he muſt meet with a great Impediment in the Road of his Ambition, and ſo the Way was Agreed upon in this Manner.

Haſtings Death contriv'd.

The Protector call'd a Great Council at the *Tower* on *Friday* the 13th of *June*, on pretence of concluding all Things for the Coronation, which drew on apace, the Pageants being making Day and Night at *Weſtminſter*, and Victuals killed ready for it. The Lords of this Council aſſembled Early in the Morning, and ſat Cloſe to their Buſineſs to ſettle every Thing for that Solemnity.

The Protector came about Nine a Clock to them, and having Saluted all the Lords very courteouſly, excus'd himſelf for coming to them ſo late, ſaying Merrily, That he had play'd the Sluggard this Morning. Then he ſat down and diſcourſed a-while with them about the Buſineſs in hand, and was very Pleaſant and Jocoſe in all his Speeches. Among other things more Serious he by the Bye ſaid to the Biſhop of *Ely*, *My Lord, You have very good Strawberries in your Garden at* Holborn, *I deſire you to let us have a Diſh to Dinner. Gladly, my Lord, will I do that,* (quoth the Biſhop) *I wiſh I had ſome better Thing as ready for your Service as they*; and thereupon ſent his Servant in all haſte for a Diſh of Strawberries. A little after this, the Protector obliging them to go on in their Councils, requeſted them to diſpenſe with his Abſence a-while, and ſo departed. 1483.

In the ſpace of little more than an Hour he return'd again, but with ſuch an angry Countenance, knitting his Brows, frowning and biting his Lips, that the whole Council were amaz'd at the ſudden Change. Being ſet down, he ſaid nothing for a good while, but at length ſpoke with great Concern, and ask'd them this Queſtion, What Puniſhment do they deſerve who had Plotted his Death, who was ſo near in Blood to the King, and by Office the Protector of the King's Perſon and Realm? This Queſtion he had raiſed out of *Catesby*'s Account of the Lord *Haſtings*'s Words and Diſcourſe, which he ſo repreſented to him, as if he had Wiſh'd and Contriv'd his Death. The Lords of the Council were much ſtartled at it, and thinking with themſelves of whom he meant it, return'd no Anſwer. The Lord *Haſtings* who was always familiar with him, and thought this general Silence not reſpectful, reply'd, That they deſerv'd to be puniſh'd as heinous Traitors, whoſoever they were. Then ſaid the Protector, *And that hath that Sorcereſs my Brother's Wife*, (meaning the Queen, but diſdaining to call her ſo) *with others her Accomplices endeavour'd to do.* Theſe Words begat freſh Fears and Diſturbances among them; becauſe they moſt of them favour'd the Queen: but *Haſtings* was well enough Content that the Crime was not laid upon any that he lov'd better, tho' he lik'd not that the Protector had not communicated it to him, as he had done his Deſigns to put the Queen's Kindred to Death: (which was by his Advice and Approbation to be done that Day at *Pomfret-Caſtle.*) The Protector ſtill went on in his Complaints, and ſaid, "See, in what a miſerable manner that Sorce-"reſs, and *Shore*'s Wife, with others their Aſſo-"ciates have by their Sorcery and Witchcraft "miſerably deſtroy'd my Body: And therewith Unbuttoning his Left Sleeve, ſhew'd them his Arm fleſhleſs, dry and wither'd, Saying, "Thus "would they by degrees have deſtroy'd my "whole Body, if they had not been Diſcover'd "and Prevented, in a ſhort time. This Proof, which the Protector thought to give of his Accuſation, convinc'd the Council that he had only a Mind to Quarrel with them, for they all knew that his Arm was never otherwiſe, and that as the Queen was too nice to engage in any ſuch Fooliſh Enterprize, ſo if ſhe had done it, ſhe would not have made *Shore*'s Wife, whom of all Women ſhe moſt hated, becauſe ſhe was her Husband's beſt-beloved Concubine, one of her Council. 1483.

The Q. accuſed of Witchcraft.

Lord *Haſtings* kept *Shore*'s Wife. He is Arreſted.

The Lord *Haſtings*, who from King *Edward*'s Death had kept *Shore*'s Wife (for whom he had a great Kindneſs in the King's Life, but in Reverence to him forbore her) was inwardly troubled to hear her, whom he lov'd, and knew [illegible] be Innocent of any ſuch thing, ſo highly and u[illegible] juſtly Accuſed, and becauſe he had made the firſt Anſwer to the Duke's Queſtion, he took himſelf obliged to return as Modeſt an Anſwer as he could to his Accuſation; and therefore ſaid, "Certainly my Lord, if they have indeed done "any ſuch Thing, they deſerve to be both Se-"verely puniſh'd: But this Anſwer diſcover'd the Lord *Haſtings*'s Opinion ſo much, that he thought the Accuſation falſe and forged, that

(*a*) Sir *Thomas Moor* makes it a Doubt whether he ſpoke the Words, or not; or indeed, whether *Catesby* try'd him, or not.

the

1483. the Protector in Anger catch'd hold of his Words, and ſaid, Do you Anſwer me with *If's* and *And's* as if I charg'd them falſely? I tell you, they have done it, and thou haſt joyn'd with them in this Villainy; and therewith clapped his Fiſt down hard upon the Board, at which Sign ſeveral Men in Arms ruſh'd into the Room, crying, Treaſon, Treaſon. The Protector ſeeing them come in, ſaid to the Lord *Haſtings*, I Arreſt thee, Traitor. What me, My Lord, ſaid *Haſtings*? Yea, thou Traitor, ſaid the Protector. Whereupon he was taken into their Cuſtody. In this Buſtle, which was all before contriv'd, a certain Perſon ſtruck at the Lord *Stanley* with a Pole-Ax, and had certainly cleft him down, had not he been aware of the Blow and ſunk under the Table: yet he was wounded ſo on the Head that the Blood ran about his Ears.

The Archbiſhop of *York*, and other Biſhops impriſon'd.

Then was the Archbiſhop of *York*, Biſhop of *Ely*, and Lord *Stanley*, with divers other Lords who were thought averſe to his Deſigns, Impriſon'd in ſeveral Places in the *Tower*; and the Lord *Haſtings* order'd forthwith to Confeſs and Prepare himſelf for his Death, for the Protector had Sworn by St. *Paul* that he would not Dine till his Head was off.

It was in vain to complain of Severity, or demand Juſtice, the Protector's Oath muſt not be broken: ſo he was forc'd to take the next Prieſt that came, and make a ſhort Confeſſion, for the Common Form was too long for the Protector's Stomach to wait on, and being immediately hurried to the Green by the Chappel within the *Tower*, his Head was laid on a Timber-logg which was provided for Repairing the Chappel, and there ſtricken off. His Body and Head were carried to *Windſor*, and there buried by his Maſter King *Edward* IV. late deceaſed, it being very Convenient that he ſhould have a Place next him at his Death, who had loſt his Life for his Unmovable Loyalty to his Children.

Omens of *Haſtings's* Death.

The Death of this Great Lord, as it was ſudden and unſuſpected, ſo it may ſeem to have been particularly regarded by Heaven, from whence he had many Omens of it given him either to avoid it or prepare for it, if he had had but Wiſdom to take a due Notice of them; which are worth a particular Relation, that we may ſee the Care Providence has of Men in imminent Dangers.

The Night before his Death the Lord *Stanley* had a fearful Dream, in which he thought that a Wild Boar with his Tuſhes had ſo wounded his own and the Lord Chamberlain's Head, that the Blood ran about both their Shoulders. This Dream had more than an uſual Impreſſion upon him, and becauſe he interpreted the Dream of the Protector, who gave the Boar for his Arms, and the Wounds and Blood from their Heads of ſome imminent Danger of their Lives, he reſolv'd no longer to tarry within reach of his Power, but ordering Horſes to be got ready, ſent his Chamberlain to the Lord *Haſtings* at Midnight to acquaint him with his Dream, and encourage him to take Horſe as faſt as he could, and with him ſecure himſelf, for with ſwift Horſes they could get near their Friends by Morning,

Lord *Stanley* from his Dream adviſes him to fly.

The Lord *Haſtings*, tho' awaked out of his Sleep, yet being naturally a Man neither Melancholy nor Superſtitious, receiv'd the Meſſage with a Smile; And ſaid to him, Doth my Lord, your Maſter, give ſo much Credit to ſuch Trifles as Dreams, which are uſually the Effect of our Fears or Cares? Pray tell him, That it is plain Witchcraft to believe in ſuch Dreams, which if they may be allowed Foretellers of Things to come, yet are ſo Uncertain, that we may do our ſelves more Harm than Good in following them: for who could aſſure him, that if there is any real Danger to be feared from the Boar, we ſhall not fall into it rather by ~~Flying~~ than Tarrying? For if we ſhould be taken and brought back, (as might very well happen) we ſhould give the Boar juſt Occaſion to Goar us; for our Flight would be ſuch an Argument of ſome Guilt, that we could hardly avoid it, and to alledge a Dream as the Cauſe, would make us ridiculous to all Men: Wherefore if there were Danger, as indeed there is none unleſs in his cauſleſs Fears, it is rather in Flying than Tarrying; and if we muſt fall into it one way or other, I had rather that Men ſhould ſee it to be from others Falſhood, than my Guilt or Cowardice: And therefore go to thy Maſter, and commend me to him, and bid him be merry and fear nothing: for I can aſſure him, that there is as little Danger from the Man he means as from my own right Hand. God grant it may be ſo (ſays the Meſſenger) and ſo departed. The Gentleman brought the Meſſage to his Lord, and made him forget his Reſolution; tho' with what Miſchief to himſelf the Event proved.

Other Ominous Preſages he had of his Death that Morning, which his Security would not ſuffer him to take Notice of. Before he was up from his Bed, (where he had lain all Night with *Shore's* Wife) there came to him Sir *Thomas Howard*, Son of the Lord *Howard*, to call him as he pretended, and to Accompany him to the Council; but he was really ſent by the Protector to perſwade him to come if he ſhould not intend it, or if he deſign'd it to haſten him; which tho' he manag'd artificially enough, yet being of the Protector's Cabinet Council he was ſuſpicious, and in the Way as they paſſed along, he gave the Lord *Haſtings* ſuch an Odd Interruption, in his Diſcourſe with a Prieſt which he met by the Way, by telling him, tho' merrily, That he wonder'd he would Talk ſo long with a Prieſt, he had no Occaſion for one, *as yet*; that he might eaſily have ſuſpected he knew that he ſhould have need of one Soon: but he was a looſe and careleſs Man, and regarded it not.

Sir *Tho. Howard's* Words.

His Horſe's ſtumbling.

In the Way alſo as he paſſed from his Houſe to the *Tower*, his Horſe that he was accuſtom'd to Ride, ſtumbled with him twice or thrice ſo dangerouſly that he had almoſt faln; which thing, tho' it happens almoſt daily to Perſons who fall into no Miſchance, yet of old it was accounted a certain Preſage of ſome Misfortune. Alſo when he came to the *Tower-Wharf*, within a Stone's caſt of the Place where his Head was cut off a few Hours after, he met with a Purſevant of his own Name call'd *Haſtings*, who having met him in the ſame Place, when he lay under King *Edward's* Diſpleaſure thro' the Accuſation of the Lord *Rivers* the Queen's Brother, and was in great Danger of his Life, put him in Mind of his former Danger, and thereupon he fell into a Diſcourſe with him about it and ſaid, Ah *Haſtings*! Doſt thou remember, when I once met thee in this Place before with an heavy Heart? Yea, my Lord (ſaid he) very well, and Thanks be to God, your Enemies got no good and you no harm by it. You would ſay ſo indeed (ſaid the Lord *Haſtings*) if you knew as much as I do now, or as you will ſhortly. I was never ſo afraid of my Life, as I was then; but now Matters are well mended with me: Mine Enemies are now in as great Danger as I was then (This he ſaid, becauſe he knew that the Protector by his and others Advice had

His Diſcourſe with one *Haſtings*.

given

1483. given Order for the Execution of the Lord *Rivers*, Lord *Grey*, and Sir *Thomas Vaughan* at *Pomfret*) and I was never Merrier nor more Secure in all my Life. With these Words he parted and went into the *Tower*, whence he never came out again. Oh the uncertain Confidence and short-sighted Knowledge of Man! When this Lord was most afraid, he was most secure; and when he was secure, Danger was over his Head. By him we may see the Truth of *David*'s Advice, *Oh put not your trust in Princes!* and learn to leave all to God's Providence who delivers us in Dangers, and never leaves us but when we grow Self-confident; of which this great Man was a sad Example, and ought to be a Warning to us in the like Case.

Hastings's Death murmured at and justified.

The Protector having thus far proceeded to open himself a plain Way to the Crown by removing all that appear'd in Opposition to it, *Hastings* being Dead, and the Lords of his Party in Prison, was yet at a Plunge, how to justify to the Nation the Severity of these Proceedings against him. For the Lord *Hastings*, tho' in himself no good Man, as his Publick keeping of *Shore*'s Wife for his Concubine declared, yet was had in great Esteem by the King's Friends, as a Person of approved Loyalty and good Affection to King *Edward*'s Line, and by the People as a Lover of the Common Good, and he was sensible that the News of his Death, which would fly into all Parts from the City apace, would cause great Discontents in all Parts of the Nation: Whereupon he thought it his wisest Course to send for the Lord Mayor and Chief Citizens to him into the *Tower*, and give them a full Account of the Justice of the Lord *Hastings*'s Sufferings; that so the Murmurs of the City being appeased, the Nation might have no cause to repine.

This Contrivance he put in Execution immediately after Dinner the same Day, and having put on Old rusty Armour, which lay neglected in the *Tower*, and commanded the Duke of *Buckingham* to do the same, as if their sudden Danger had caused them to take any thing that lay next for their Defence, he and the Duke stood ready to receive them.

When they were come, the Protector told them, "That the Lord *Hastings*, and several "other Persons, had conspired and contrived "together suddenly to Kill him and the Duke "of *Buckingham* that Day in Council, for what "Cause, or for what Design he could not guess, "and had not yet time to search it out, be-"cause he had no certain Knowledge of the "intended Treason before Ten a-Clock of the "same Day, so that he had enough to do to "stand upon his own Guard, and provide for "his own Defence; which tho' they had both "done in an Undecent manner, by putting "on such filthy Armour, yet Necessity o-"bliging them to it, they were forc'd to take "what was next Hand: That God had won-"derfully protected them from the Danger "he hoped, now the Lord *Hastings* was dead, "against whom, tho' there might seem to be "something of Cruelty us'd in so sudden an "Execution without any Legal Tryal and Hear-"ing, yet there appearing to the King and the "Lords of his Council many Reasons to be-"lieve, that if he had been kept in Prison, his "Complices would have made a formidable In-"surrection in the Country to Rescue him, and "his Guilt being very Evident, they judg'd it "best to inflict the deserved Punishment of his "Crimes upon him immediately, that the Peace "of the Nation might not be in Danger. This "is the real Truth of the Business, and we "have therefore call'd you hither to inform 1483. "you of it that you may, as you see Cause, "satisfie the People of the Justice of the Lord "*Hastings*'s Sufferings, which tho' we were no "ways oblig'd to do, yet out of our Care to "please them, we have condescended to it, and "we require you thus to Report it. They all answer'd fair, and declar'd their Readiness to Obey, as if they really believed him, tho' in themselves they look'd upon his Harangue as a plausible Pretence for a foul Fact, and so taking their Leaves of him departed. But upon more Mature Deliberation this was not thought sufficient to appease the People's Minds; and therefore soon after the Mayor and Citizens were gone, an Herald of Arms was sent into the City to Publish a Proclamation in all Parts of it, to this Effect:

A Proclamation Publish'd to justifie *Hastings*'s Death.

"That the Lord *Hastings* with divers other "wicked Conspirators, had Traiterously con-"trived the same Day to have Slain the Pro-"tector and Duke of *Buckingham* Sitting in "Council, with a Purpose and Design to take "upon him the Government of the King and "Kingdom, and rule all Things at his Pleasure, "hoping that when they were Dead, they should "meet no Opposition in their Designs. And "in how miserable a Condition this Nation "had been, if God had left them in his Hands, "appear'd from the former Actions of the said "Lord, who being so Ill a Man, could not make "a good Governour. For he it was, that by his "ill Advice enticed the King's Father to ma-"ny Things much redounding to his Dishonour "and to the Universal Damage and Detriment "of the Realm, leading him into Debauchery "by his Examplary Wickedness, and procuring "Lewd and Ungracious Persons to gratifie his "Lusts, and particularly *Shore*'s Wife, who was "one of his Secret Council in this Treason, by "which lewd Living, the said King not only "shortned his Days, but also was forced to "Oppress and Tax his People, that he might "have sufficient to gratify his Expences. And "since the Death of the said K. he hath lived in "a continual Incontinency with the said *Shore*'s "Wife, and lay Nightly with her, and parti-"cularly the very Night before his Death; so "that it was no marvel if his Ungracious Life "brought him to as Unhappy a Death, which "he was put to by the Special Command of the "King's Highness, and of his Honourable and "Faithful Council, both for his own Demerits, "being so openly taken in his intended Trea-"son, and also least any Delay of his Execution "might have encourag'd other Mischievous Per-"sons, who were engaged in the Conspiracy with "him, to make an Insurrection for his Delive-"rance, which being wisely foreseen, and as "effectually prevented, was the only means un-"der God's Providence to preserve the whole "Realm in Peace and Quietness.

The Proclamation not regarded.

This Proclamation, which was very well Indited (as was thought by *Catesby*, who was a Chief Actor in this Tragedy) and as fairly written on Parchment, tho' the Expedition of the Publishing of it was look'd upon as Politick and Wise to prevent the Discontents of the People, yet it did very little Good: for when Men came to compare Things, and consider'd, That the Proclamation was very Elegantly composed, very fairly written, and being very long was yet Publish'd within two Hours after the Death of the Lord *Hastings*, they began to suspect that that Lord had foul Dealings, and that his Ruin being determin'd, it was composed and written before his Death; for the Time after

1483. was not ſufficient, either to Compoſe or Write it in. And hence it was, that ſome ſpared not to Reflect upon it. The School-maſter of *Paul*'s, ſharply ſaid,

Here's a very goodly Caſt,
Foully Caſt away for Haſte.

And a Merchant that ſtood by him, Anſwer'd him, It was Written by Prophecy. Thus did the Protector endeavour to Palliate his Wickedneſs, in Deſtroying the Lord *Haſtings*, but all was in vain; this Action was too foul to receive any tolerable Plea, which would paſs with Men of any Thought at all.

The Protector proceeds a gainſt *Shore*'s Wife.

The Protector having done as much as cou'd be done, to excuſe his Cruelty to the Lord *Haſtings*, took himſelf oblig'd to proceed againſt *Shore*'s Wife, whom he had accus'd of the ſame Treaſon; leaſt if he ſhou'd let her eſcape, he ſhou'd betray his Plot: for if ſhe were not Guilty, no more was the Lord *Haſtings*; and if he deſerved Death, ſo did ſhe. For this Reaſon, he ſent Sir *Thomas Howard* to her Houſe, with an Order of Council to Apprehend her Perſon, and Seize her Goods, as forfeited to the King by her Treaſon; which were both accordingly done; and her Goods, to the value of Two or Three Thouſand Marks being taken from her, ſhe was carry'd to Priſon into the *Tower*: Within a few Days after, ſhe was brought to her Examination before the King's Council, and the Protector laid to her Charge, "That ſhe had "endeavour'd his Ruin and Deſtruction ſeveral "ways; and particulary, by Witchcraft had "decay'd his Body, and with the Lord *Haſtings* "had contriv'd to Aſſaſſinate him. But ſhe made ſo good a Defence for her ſelf, as that there appear'd not the leaſt Likelihood of her being Guilty: Whereupon they, by the Protector's Order, fell upon her for her open and ſcandalous Whoredom, which every Body knowing ſhe cou'd not Deny. And becauſe they wou'd do ſomething to her to Satisfy him, they deliver'd her over to the Biſhop of *London*, to do Publick Penance for her Sin in St. *Paul*'s Church, which ſhe accordingly perform'd the next *Sunday*-Morning, after this Manner: Mrs. *Shore* being deprived of all her Ornaments, and Cloath'd with a white Sheet, was brought by way of Proceſſion, with the Croſs carried before her, and a Wax Taper in her Hand, to the Church of St. *Paul*'s from the Biſhop's Palace adjoyning, through great Crowds of People gather'd together to behold her; and there Standing before the Preacher, acknowledg'd in a ſet Form, her open Wickedneſs, and declared her Repentance for it: In all this Action, ſhe behav'd her ſelf with ſo much Modeſty and Decency, that ſuch as reſpected her Beauty more than her Fault, never were in greater Admiration of her, than now: for ſhe being a Beautiful and Handſome Woman, wanting nothing in her Face but a little Bluſh, this ſhameful Act ſupply'd that ſo well, that ſhe appear'd more lovely for it; and as to ſuch, as were glad to ſee Sin Corrected, yet they pitty'd her, becauſe they knew, that the Protector did it more out of Hatred to her Perſon, than Sin; more out of Malice, than a love to Virtue.

Shore's Wife does Penance.

Mrs. *Sh*'s Character.

This Woman was Born in *London*, virtuouſly Educated, and Well Married to a Subſtantial and Honeſt Citizen; but being drawn to the Match, rather by Intereſt than Affection, by her Parents Judgment, than her own Inclination, ſhe never had that Fondneſs for him, that joyns a Wife inviolably to her Husband's Bed. This Looſeneſs to her Husband, with that natural Ambition, and Affectation of Gay Cloathing and Greatneſs, which is uſually in Women much above their Fortunes, though almoſt never ſo Great, diſpos'd her to accept of the King's Kindneſs, when offer'd; who, beſides that he was a very Handſom and Lovely Perſon, cou'd eaſily gratify her Deſires, and by fulfilling his Luſts, ſhe knew ſhe had Maſtery of his Gifts and Treaſure; and for theſe Reaſons, ſhe became his Concubine. Her Husband (tho' made Unhappy by her Lewdneſs) yet carried his Reſentments evenly; and after the King had Abus'd her, never wou'd have any thing to do with her, whether out of Reverence to the King's Perſon, or out of a Principle of Conſcience, it is not eaſy to determine, tho' both might concur. She lived many Years in King *Edward*'s Court, and tho' that King had many Concubines, and ſome of them of much greater Quality than her ſelf, yet he loved her beſt for her merry and ingenious Behaviour. In this Great, tho' Bad Station, ſhe Demean'd her ſelf with admirable Prudence, and was not Exalted by the King's Favour, but always us'd it with as much Benefit to others as to her ſelf; for ſhe never abus'd the King's Kindneſs to any Man's Hurt, but always us'd it to their Comfort and Advantage: Where the King took Diſpleaſure againſt any Man, ſhe would mitigate his Anger and Appeale his Mind; and ſuch as were out of Favour, ſhe would Reconcile. For many heinous Offenders ſhe obtain'd Pardon, and got a Relaxation, and ſometimes a total Remiſſion of large Fines: and tho' ſhe was the only effectual Suitor almoſt at Court for ſuch as wanted Places and Preferments, yet ſhe made little Advantage to her ſelf by it; expecting none or very ſmall Reward, and that rather Gay than Rich; either becauſe ſhe was content with doing of a Kindneſs, or delighted to be Sought to; for Wanton Women and Wealthy, be not always Covetous. In fine, her Lewdneſs was her only Fault; and tho' that was great enough, yet to have a King for their Bedfellow is ſuch a mighty Temptation, that if no Woman would Condemn her before they have the like Trials, it's to be fear'd, ſhe'd have few to caſt a Stone at her. She was Affable and Obliging, Generous and Charitable; and tho', indeed, ſhe was after reduc'd to a miſerable Poverty in her Old Age, a juſt Puniſhment for her Sin, yet it was a Reproach to many Thouſands, that ſhe was ſo, whom ſhe kept from Beggary; and if they had been Grateful to Requite her for thoſe Kindneſſes in her Want, which ſhe ſcornd to Sell in her Proſperity, ſhe might have Liv'd to her Death, in a Condition great enough for her Brith and Degree.

Shore's Wife's Goodneſs.

Her Lewdneſs her only fault

While the Protector was thus buſied at *London*, in making his way to the Crown, and excuſing himſelf for the Death of the Lord *Haſtings*, his bloody Order given for the Execution of the Queen's Kindred, the Lord *Rivers* and *Richard* Lord *Grey*, with *Richard Hauſe* and Sir *Thomas Vaughan* at *Pomfract*, was punctually executed by Sir *Richard Ratcliffe*, a great Favourite of the Protector's, who was a Man of a deſperate Courage, and forward to promote all his Deſigns. It is thought, they ſuffer'd Death at the ſame time the Lord *Haſtings* was Beheaded in the *Tower*; who being a principal Adviſer in their Deaths, may be a Warning to us all, how we concur in the undeſerved Sufferings of innocent Perſons: For God often, and that juſtly, brings the Evil we

The Earl of *Rivers*, *&c.* Executed at *Pomfract*.

1483. we do to others upon our own Heads. The Lord *Haſtings*, by adviſing the Protector to Deſtroy the Queen's Kindred cauſleſly, ſhew'd him the way to do the like to himſelf. The manner of their Execution was as barbarous as unjuſt. Great and Heavy Accuſations were laid againſt them, but none prov'd. They had not ſo much as the formality of a Tryal, but were brought to the Scaffold on the Day appointed; and being branded, in general, with the Name of Traitors, were Beheaded. The Lord *Rivers* wou'd fain have declar'd his Innocency to the People, but *Ratcliffe* wou'd not ſuffer him, leaſt his Words ſhou'd lay open the Protector's Cruelty too much, and make both him and his Party odious to the People; and ſo he died in ſilence. Sir *Thomas Vaughan* wou'd not endure his Mouth to be ſtopp'd, but as he was going to the Block he ſaid aloud, A Miſchief take them that Expounded the Propheey, which foretold that G ſhould Deſtroy King *Edward*'s Children, for *George* Duke of *Clarence*, who for that Suſpicion is now Dead; for there ſtill remain'd *Richard G. i. e.* Duke of *Glouceſter*, who now I ſee is he that ſhall, and will, accompliſh the Propheey, and Deſtroy King *Edward*'s Children, and all his Allies and Friends, as appeareth by us this Day; againſt whom I Appeal to the High Tribunal of God, for this wrongful Murther, and our real Innocency. Sir *Richard Ratcliffe* heard this with Regret, and putting it off, ſaid to him in ſcorn, You have made a goodly Appeal, lay down your Head. Yea, ſaith Sir *Thomas*, but I Die in the Right, take heed that you Die not in the Wrong: and having this ſaid, he was Beheaded. He, with the other three, were Buried Naked in the Monaſtery of St. *John* the Evangeliſt at *Pomfract*.

Sir *Richard Ratcliffe* wouldnot let them Speak to the People.

Then the Conſpirators held Councel among themſelves, how they might bring about their Wicked Purpoſes. Their chief Difficulty, was to engage the City; and having Gain'd the Lord Mayor, Sir *Edmund Shaw* his Brother, Dr. *John Shaw* a Prieſt, and Frier *Pinker* Provincial of the *Auguſtine* Friers, to their Intereſt, they determin'd, That Doctor *Shaw* ſhould firſt break the Matter in a Sermon he was to Preach at *Paul*'s Croſs, and the main Argument he was to uſe for the Depoſing of King *Edward* and the Advancement of his Unkle *Richard*, was reſolv'd among them to be the Baſtardy of the Two Princes, Sons to *Edward* the Fourth; which diſabled them to Inherit the Imperial Crown of this Realm. Tho' this Charge would bring the Scandal of Adultery on the Queen, yet *Richard* and the Conſpirators did not conſider much, that the whole Royal Family wou'd be Defam'd by it, in the higheſt degree: On the contrary, (rather than fail of the Sovereignty to which he aſpir'd) the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and his Emiſſaries, intended to give out, That King *Edward* the Fourth was Himſelf a Baſtard, tho' His Mother was the Parent of the Protector, and in calling Her an Adultreſs, he prophaned the Honour of the very Perſon that brought him into the World. This Accuſation he would have at firſt only hinted, and ſpoken myſteriouſly, that if the People, in abhorrence of ſuch an unnatural Slander, ſhou'd have been ſet againſt the Publiſher of it, there might be room to put ſome other Conſtruction on the Words. *Shaw* was order'd to declare to his Auditory, That King *Edward* had promis'd Marriage to the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy*, by whom he had a Child; and that the Dutcheſs of *York* had told him, He was her Husband before God, to prevent His Marrying the Lady *Elizabeth Grey*, whoſe Children, by King *Edward*, were conſequently Baſtards. He was not to mention any thing of that King's Illegitimacy, unleſs he found his Reflection on the Queen's Children wou'd not take. The Doctor was a famous Preacher, and a vaſt Number of Perſons, of all Qualities us'd to flock to hear him: So they thought they had gone a great way in accompliſhing their Deſigns, when they had got him to their Side. *Shaw* was not only ready to ſpeak what the Conſpirators would have him, but turn'd his whole Diſcourſe againſt the Legitimacy of the Young King and his Brother: He began his Sermon with this Expreſſion, *Spurea Vitilamina non agent Radices altas*, Baſtard Slips, ſhall never take deep Root. He ſhew'd the Bleſſings that God beſtow'd on the Fruits of the Marriage-Bed, and the Unhappineſs of thoſe Children who were born out of Wedlock. Several Examples of both kinds he us'd to prove the Truth of his Aſſertion. He took occaſion from what he had ſaid, to ſhew the Reaſon they had to fear, that the Reign of the preſent King wou'd be Unfortunate; and inlarg'd very much on the Great things that they might hope for, from the Government of a Prince of the Duke of *York*'s illuſtrious Qualities, the Father of King *Edward* the Fourth, or rather, of the Lord Protector, who was the only Lawful begotten Son of the late Duke of *York*, who was Kill'd at the Battel of *Wakefield*. He then declared, That King *Edward* was never Legally Married to the Queen, being Husband, before God, to the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy*: beſides, neither He, nor the Duke of *Clarence* were thought Legitimate by thoſe of the Duke of *York*'s Family, who were moſt acquainted with the Dutcheſs of *York*'s Intrigues with ſeveral Perſons of Her Husband's Court, whom they Reſembled in the Face: But my Lord Protector, that very Noble Prince, the Pattern of all Heroick Deeds, repreſented the very Face and Mind of the Great Duke his Father: He (ſays the Falſe Preacher) is the perfect Image of his Father; his Features are the ſame, and the very expreſs Likeneſs of that Noble Duke. At theſe Words, 'twas deſign'd the Protector ſhould have enter'd, as if it had been by chance; and the Conſpirators hoped, that the Multitude taking the Doctor's Words, as coming from the immediate Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt, wou'd have been induc'd to have Cry'd out, *God Save King* Richard. Which Artifice was prevented, either by the Doctor's making too much haſte to come to that part of his Sermon, or the Lord Protector's Negligence to come in at the Inſtant when he was ſaying it; for it was over before he came, and the Prieſt was enter'd on ſome other Matter when the Duke appear'd, which, however he left, and Repeated again, abruptly, The Lord Protector, that very Noble Prince, the Pattern of all Heroick Deeds, Repreſents the very face and Mind of the Great Duke his Father; his Features are the ſame, and the plain expreſs Likeneſs of that Noble Duke. The Protector, Accompanied by the Duke of *Buckingham*, paſt thro' the Multitude, as the Prieſt ſaid this: but the People were ſo far from Saluting him King, that they were Diſapſtruck with Indignation at the Preacher's Baſe Flattery and Treaſon; who, when he had clos'd his Sermon, went Home, Hid himſelf for Shame, and never after durſt ſhew his Face in the World. Being inform'd how Odious he was become for what he had done, he fell, out of Grief and Remorſe, into a Conſumption, of which he died in a ſhort time. He Preached this Nota-

Dr *Shaw*'s Sermon againſt the Queen's Children.

The Charge of Baſtardy laid to the Princes.

Richard accuſes his Mother of Adultery.

His Device to Move the Aſſembly.

Diſappointed.

1483. ble Diſcourſe, on a *Sunday* which was to be Preparatory to the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Oration, on the *Tueſday* following, to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Council of the City of *London*, aſſembled for that purpoſe in the *Guild-Hall*; where that Duke mounting the Huſtings, and Silence being commanded in the Lord Protector's Name, ſpoke to this effect, ſeveral Lords, who were privy to the Secret, attending him;

The D. of *Buckingham*'s Oration to the Citizens.

"Gentlemen, out of the Zeal and Sincere "Affection we have for your Perſons and In- "tereſts, we are come to acquaint you with "a Matter of High Importance, equally plea- "ſing to God, and profitable to the Common- "wealth, and to none more, than to you the "Citizens of this Famous and Honourable "City. For the very Thing, which we be- "lieve you have a long while wanted and "wiſh'd for, what you wou'd have Purchas'd "at any Rate, and gone far to fetch, we are "come hither to bring, without any Labour, "Trouble, Coſt, or Peril to you: And what "can this be, but your own Safety, the Peace "of your Wives and Daughters, the Securi- "ty of your Goods and Eſtates, which were "all in Danger till now? Who, of you, "cou'd call what he had his own, there were ſo "many Snares laid to Deceive you? So ma- "ny Fines and Forfeitures, Taxes and Impo- "ſitions, of which there was no End, and of- "ten no Neceſſity; or if there was, it was "occaſion'd by Riots and Unreaſonable Waſte, "rather than a Juſt and Lawful Charge, for "the Defence or Honour of the State. Your "beſt Citizens were Plunder'd, and their Wealth "ſquander'd by Profuſe Favourites: Fifteenths, "and the uſual Subſidies wou'd not do, but "under the plauſible Name of Benevolence, "your Goods were taken from you by the "Commiſſioners much againſt your Will, as if "by that Name, was underſtood, That every "Man ſhou'd pay, not what he pleas'd, but "what the King wou'd have him; who never "was moderate in his Demands, always Exor- "bitant, turning Forfeitures into Fines, Fines "into Ranſoms; Small Offences into Miſpri- "ſon of Treaſon, and Miſpriſon into Treaſon it "ſelf. We need not give you Examples of "it, *Burdet*'s Caſe will never be forgot; who "for a Word ſpoken in haſte, was cruelly Be- "headed. Did not Judge *Markham* Reſign "his Office, rather than Joyn with his Bre- "thren, in Paſſing that Illegal Sentence on "that Honeſt Man? Were you not all Wit- "neſſes of the Barbarous Treatment one of "your own Body, the Worſhipful Aldermen "*Cook*, met with? And your own ſelves know, "too well, how many Inſtances of this kind I "might name among you. King *Edward* gain- "ing the Crown by Conqueſt, all that were "any ways Related to thoſe that were his E- "nemies, lay under the Charge of Treaſon: "Thus half of the Kingdom became at once "Traytors; for half of the Kingdom were ei- "ther Friends to King *Henry*, or Relations "or Friends to ſome that were ſo. Tho' O- "pen War with Invaders, is Terrible and De- "ſtructive to a Nation, yet Civil Diſſentions "are much more fatal, and to be dreaded; "with which His Reign was more diſturb'd, "than the Reigns of all his Predeceſſors: "but he is Dead and Gone, and God Forgive "his Soul. It coſt the People more Blood "and Treaſure to get the Crown for This, "than it had done to Conquer *France* Twice: "Half of the Nobility of the Realm loſt their

Hol writes he was Hang'd at *Tyburn*.

"Lives or Eſtates in his Quarrel; and when 1483.
"the Diſpute was over, the Peace that fol-
"low'd was not much ſafer than the War:
"Every Rich and Landed Man was in danger;
"for whom cou'd he Truſt that Diſtruſted his
"own Brother? whom Spare, that Kill'd his
"own Brother? or who cou'd perfectly Love
"him, whom his own Brother cou'd not Love?
"We ſhall, in Honour to the Memory of One
"that was our Sovereign, forbear to Menti-
"on, who were the Perſons on which he was
"ſo laviſh of his Favours; only 'tis well known,
"that thoſe that deſerved them moſt, had leaſt
"of them. Was not *Shore*'s Wife his Chief
"Miniſter? Was not there more Court made
"to her than to all the Lords in *England*;
"except thoſe that were the Strumpet's Favou-
"rites? Who, poor Woman, was her ſelf Chaſte
"and of Good Reputation, till he deluded her
"to his Luſt, and tempted her from her Huſ-
"band, an Honeſt Subſtantial Young Man, whom
"you all know. Indeed I am aſhamed to
"ſay it, the King's Appetite in that Point was
"inſatiable and intolerable: no Woman cou'd
"eſcape him, Young or Old, Rich or Poor,
"Wife or Virgin, all fell Victims to his Luſt;
"by which Means, the moſt Honourable Houſes
"were Defil'd, and the moſt Honeſt Families
"were Corrupted. You of this Renown'd Ci-
"ty ſuffer'd moſt: You who deſerv'd moſt from
"him for your readineſs to Serve the Houſe
"of *York* with your lives and Fortunes, which
"tho' he Ill Requited, there is of that Houſe,
"who, by God's Grace ſhall Reward you bet-
"ter. I ſhall not enlarge on this Subject, you
"have heard it from One, whom you will
"hearken to more, as you ought to do;
"for I am not ſo vain as to think, what I
"can ſay, will have ſo great Authority with
"you, as the Words of a Preacher; a Man
"ſo Wiſe and ſo Pious, that he wou'd not
"utter a Thing, in the Pulpit eſpecially,
"which he did not firmly believe 'twas his
"Duty to Declare. You remember, I doubt
"not, how he ſet forth the laſt *Sunday*, the
"Right of the moſt Excellent Prince *Richard*,
"Duke of *Glouceſter*, unto the Crown of this
"Realm: For, as he prov'd to you, the Chil-
"dren of King *Edward* the Fourth were ne-
"ver Lawfully Begotten, the King leaving his
"Lawful Wife, the Lady *Lucy*, to contract an
"Illegal Marriage with the Queen: My No-
"ble Lord the Protector's Reverence to the
"Dutcheſs his Mother, will not permit me to
"ſay any thing further concerning what the
"worthy Doctor alledg'd of her Familiarity with
"Others beſides her own Husband, for fear
"of Offending the Duke of *Glouceſter* her Son:
"Tho' for theſe Cauſes, the Crown of *England*
"is devolv'd to the moſt Excellent Prince, the
"Lord Protector, as the only Lawfully Begot-
"ten Son of the Right Noble Duke of *York*.
"This, and the Conſideration of his many High
"Qualities, has prevail'd with the Lords and
"Commons of *England*, of the Northern Coun-
"ties eſpecially, who have declared they will
"not have a Baſtard Reign over them, to Pe-
"tition that High and Mighty Prince, to take
"on him the Sovereign Power for the Good
"of the Realm, to which he has ſo Righteful
"and Lawful a Title: We have reaſon to
"fear he will not grant our Requeſt, being a
"Prince whoſe Wiſdom foreſees the Labour
"both of Mind and Body that attends the
"Supreme Dignity: Which Office is not a
"Place for a Child? as that Wiſe Man ob-
"ſerv'd, who ſaid *Væ Regno cujus Rex Puer eſt*,

"Wo

1483. " Wo is that Realm that has a Child to their " King! Wherefore we have reaſon to bleſs " God that the Prince whoſe Right it is to reign " over us is of ſo ripe Age, ſo great Wiſdom " and Experience, who tho' he is unwilling " to take the Government upon himſelf, yet " the Petition of the Lords and Gentlemen " will meet with the more favourable Acce- " ptance, if you the Worſhipful Citizens of the " Metropolis of the Kingdom will joyn with us " in our Requeſt; which for your own Wel- " fare we doubt not but you will. However, I " heartily entreat you to do it for the Common " Good of the People of *England*, whom you " will oblige by Chooſing them ſo good a King, " and His Majeſty by ſhewing early your ready " Diſpoſition to his Election. In which my moſt " dear Friends, I require you in the Name of " my Self and theſe Lords, to ſhew us plainly " your Minds and Intentions. The Duke ſtop'd here, expecting the Aſſembly would have cry'd out, *God ſave King* Richard: but all were huſh'd and Silent, as if the Auditory was confounded with the Extravagance of the Propoſal; at which the Duke was extreamly ſurpriz'd, and taking aſide the Mayor, with ſome others of the Conſpirators, ſaid to them ſoftly, *How comes it the People are ſo ſtill? Sir*, ſays the Mayor, *It may be they don't underſtand you well.* The Duke to help the Matter repeated his Speech with a little Variation, and with ſuch Grace and Eloquence, that Never ſo ill a Subject was handled with ſo much Oratory. However the Aſſembly continu'd Silent. Then the Mayor told the Duke, " The " Citizens had not been accuſtom'd to hear a- " ny one but the Recorder, and perhaps they " wou'd take the Thing better from him who " is the Mouth of the City. Upon which the Recorder *Fitz-Williams*, much againſt his Will ſpoke to the ſame Purpoſe at the Mayor's Command; and yet he manag'd his Speech ſo well as to be underſtood to ſpeak the Duke's Senſe, and not his own. The People being ſtill as before, the Duke mutter'd to the Lord Mayor, ſaying, " They are wonderfully Obſtinate in " their Silence: And turning to the Aſſembly, he ſaid, " Dear Friends, We came to acquaint " you with a Thing which we needed not have " done, had it not been for the Affection we " bear you. The Lords and Commons could have " determin'd the Matter without you, but would " gladly have you joyn with us, which is for " your Honour and Profit, tho' you do not ſee " it nor conſider it: We require you therefore " to give your Anſwer one way or another, " Whether you are willing, as the Lords are, " to have the moſt Excellent Prince the Lord " Protector to be your King or not? The Aſſembly then began to murmur, and at laſt ſome of the Protector's and the Duke's Servants, ſome of the City Apprentices, and the Rabble that had crouded into the Hall, cry'd out, King *Richard*, King *Richard?* and threw up their Hats in token of Joy. The Duke perceiv'd eaſily enough who they were that made the Noiſe; yet, as if the Acclamation had been General, he took hold of it; Saying, " 'Tis a Goodly and a Joyful Cry to hear every " Man with one Voice agree to it, and no body " ſay No; Since therefore, Dear Friends, we " ſee you are all as one Man inclin'd to have " this Noble Prince to be your King, we ſhall Re- " port the Matter ſo effectually to him, that we " doubt not 'twill be much for your Advantage. " We require you to Attend us to Morrow with " our joynt Petition to his Grace; as has been " already Agreed on between us. Then the Duke and the Lords came down from the Huſtings and the Aſſembly broke up, the moſt part of them with Weeping Eyes and Aching Hearts; tho' they were forc'd to hide their Tears and their Sorrows as much as poſſible for fear of giving Offence, which had been Dangerous.

Richard Choſen King by the Rabble.

1483.

The next Day the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and the Chief of the Common-Council reſorted to *Baynard's-Caſtle*, where the Protector then lay; and the Duke of *Buckingham*, Attended by ſeveral Lords and Gentlemen, came thither alſo. The Duke ſent Word to the Protector that a great Company attended to move a Buſineſs of the Higheſt Importance to him, and deſir'd Audience of his Grace. The Duke of *Glouceſter* made ſome Difficulty of coming forth, as if he was jealous whether their Errand was good or not.

The Duke of *Buckingham* took this Occaſion to ſhew the Lord Mayor and Citizens how little the Protector was Conſcious of their Deſign; and then he ſent another Meſſenger with ſo Humble and ſo Earneſt a Requeſt to be Heard, that his Grace came forth; yet with ſo much affected Diffidence, that he ſeem'd unwilling to draw near them till he knew their Buſineſs. Then the Duke of *Buckingham* very ſubmiſſively beg'd Pardon for Himſelf and his Company, and Liberty to propoſe to him what they had to offer, without which they durſt not proceed; tho' 'twas for his Grace's Honour and the Good of the Realm. The Protector gave them Leave to propoſe what they would, Saying, " He be- " liev'd None of 'em ment him any Harm. The Duke then ſet forth Elegantly and Pathetically " the Grievances of the People, and " pray'd him to Redreſs them by Aſſuming the " Sovereign Authority, which of Right belong'd " to him, and which the whole Kingdom with " unuſual Unanimity deſired he would take to " himſelf for the benefit of the Commonwealth, " as much as for his Grace's Honour. The Protector ſeemed mightily ſurpriz'd; and Anſwer'd, " That tho' he knew the Things he al- " ledg'd to be true, yet he lov'd King *Edward* " and his Children above any Crown whatſo- " ever, and therefore cou'd not Grant their " Requeſt. However he pardon'd their Peti- " tion, and thank'd them for their Love, but " deſir'd them to be Obedient to the Prince " under whom Himſelf and they liv'd at that " Time, and whom he would Adviſe to the " beſt of his Capacity, as he had already done " to the Satisfaction of all Parties. The Duke of *Buckingham* murmur'd at this Reply, and after having ask'd and obtain'd Pardon a ſecond time for what he was about to ſay, He declar'd aloud to the Protector, " That they " were all Agreed not to have any of King *Edward*'s Line to Reign over them: That they " were gone too far to go back; for which " Reaſon if his Grace wou'd be pleas'd to take " the Crown upon him, they humbly beſeech " him to do it: Or if he he would give them " a reſolute Anſwer to the Contrary, which " they ſhould be loath to Hear; They muſt " and wou'd Look out for ſome Worthy Per- " ſon that wou'd Accept of their Propoſal. At theſe Words, the Protector began to comply a little, and at laſt he Spoke thus to them; " Since we perceive that the whole Realm is " bent upon it not to have King *Edward*'s " Children to Govern them, of which we are " Sorry, and knowing that the Crown can be- " long to no Man ſo juſtly as to our Self, the " Right Heir, lawfully begotten of the Body " of our moſt Dear Father *Richard* late Duke " of *York*; to which Title is now joyn'd your

Buckingham's Speech to him.

His Anſwer.

He accepts of the Crown.

1483. " Election the Nobles and Commons of this " Realm, which we, of all Titles Possible, take " for the most Effectual; we are content and " agree favourably to receive your Petition " and Requeſt, and according to the ſame take " upon us the Royal Eſtate, Preheminence and " Kingdoms of the Two Noble Realms *Eng-* " *land* and *France*; The One from this day for- " ward by us and our Heirs, to Rule, Govern " and Defend; The Other by God's Grace, and " your good Help to get again, Subdue, and Eſta- " bliſh for ever in due Obedience unto this Realm " of *England*; and we ask of God to Live no 148
" longer than we intend to Procure its Ad- " vancement. At the Cloſe of his Speech there was a great Shout of *God ſave King* Richard. The Lords went up to the King, and the People departed every Man talking for or againſt the Revolution, as he was inclin'd by Humour or Intereſt. 'Twas eaſie to perceive that however the thing appear'd Strange to King *Richard*, 'twas acted by concert with him, and what was done, was only to preſerve Decency and Order.

THE LIFE and REIGN OF RICHARD III.

His Diſſimulation.

THE next Day he went to *Weſtminſter*, Sat himſelf Down in the Court of King's-Bench, made a very Gracious Speech to the Aſſembly there preſent, and promis'd them Halcyon days from the Beginning of his Reign.

To ſhew his Forgiving Temper, he order'd one *Hog* whom he hated, and who was fled to Sanctuary for fear of him, to be brought before him, took him by the Hand and ſpoke favourably to him, which the Multitude thought was a Token of his Clemency, and the Wiſemen of his Vanity. In his return Home, he ſaluted every one he met.

He is Crown'd.

From this Mock Election in *June* he commenc'd his Reign, and was crown'd in *July* with the ſame Proviſion that was made for the Coronation of his Nephew. But to be ſure of his Enemies he ſent for 5000 Men out of the North, who came up to Town ill Cloath'd and worſe Harneſs'd, their Horſes poor and their Arms ruſty; who being muſter'd in *Finsbury-Fields* were the Contempt of the Spectators. The Apppearance of theſe Rude Fellows in Arms, gave Cauſe to the People to ſuſpect, that as he was conſcious of his Guilt, he was apprehenſive of its Puniſhment.

On the 4th of *July* he came to the *Tower* by Water, with his Wife *Ann* Daughter to *Richard* Earl of *Warwick*; and the next Day he created *Thomas* Lord *Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, Sir *Thomas Howard* his Son Earl of *Surrey*, *William* Lord *Berkly* Earl of *Nottingham*, *Francis* Lord *Lovell* Viſcount *Lovell*, and Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold, and the Lord *Stanley* was ſet at Liberty and made Lord Steward of the Houſhold: The King being afraid of the Lord *Strange* who was raiſing Men in *Lincolnſhire*, as was reported The Archbiſhop of *York* was releas'd from his Impriſonment, and Biſhop *Morton* deliver'd to the Charge of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who engag'd to keep him in Safe Cuſtody at his Manour of *Brecknock*. King *Richard* alſo created Seventeen Knights of the *Bath*, and his Son *Edward* Prince of *Wales*. The ſame Day he and his Queen rode through the City of *London* to *Weſtminſter*, and the next Day they were both crown'd in the Abby-Church with extraordinary Pomp. What is moſt Obſervable in the Proceſſion is, That the Counteſs of *Richmond*, Mother to King *Henry* the Seventh, bore up the Queen's Train. After the Ceremony was over, the King diſmiſs'd all the Lords who attended his Coronation except the Lord *Stanley*, whom he retain'd till he heard that the Lord *Strange*, his Son, was Quiet in the Country. He gave the Lords a ſtrict Charge to ſee their ſeveral Counties were well Govern'd and none of his Subjects Wrong'd. He liberally rewarded his Northern Men, who valu'd themſelves ſo much on the King's Favour, that preſuming to commit many acts of Injuſtice and Oppreſſion upon it, he was forc'd to take a Journey into the North to reclaim them. What is ill got is never well kept; which King *Richard* ſoon ſhew'd by the Murther of his two Innocent Nephews, the Young King and his Tender Brother; whoſe Death has however been much doubted of ſince, whether 'twas in his Time or not; *Perkin Warbeck*, thro' the Malice of ſome and the Folly of others, having a long time abus'd the World, and impos'd himſelf upon Princes as well as People, for the Younger of King *Edward* the Fourth's Sons. King *Richard* contriv'd the Deſtruction of the two Young Princeſs in a Progreſs he made to *Glouceſter*, to Honour the Town, which gave him the Title of Duke, with a Viſit: He imagin'd that while his Nephews liv'd, his Right to the Crown wou'd be call'd in queſtion: wherefore he reſolv'd to rid himſelf of them, and to that end ſent *John Green*, a Creature of his, to Sir *Robert Brackenbury*, Conſtable of the *Tower* with a Letter, deſiring him one How or other to make away with the two Children whom he had in Keeping.

His Son created Prince of *Wales*.

He contrives the Deſtruction of the two Young Princes.

E. Lauderill delin.
P. Vanderbanck Sculp.
KING RICHARD THE III.rd

1483. Keeping. *Brackenbury* refus'd to do it, and *Green* return'd to King *Richard*, who then lay at *Warwick*, with the Conſtable's Anſwer; at which the King was ſo diſpleas'd, that he ſaid to a Page of his the ſame Night, *Alas! Who is there that a Man can truſt? Thoſe that I have brought up my ſelf, thoſe that I thought wou'd be moſt ready to ſerve me, even thoſe fail me, and will not do what I command them.* The Page reply'd, *Sir, There lyes a Man on the Pallat in the Outer Chamber, who I am ſure will think Nothing too hard that you ſhall Require him to do.* Meaning Sir *James Tyrrell*, a brave handſom Man, who deſerv'd a better Maſter, and wou'd have merited the Eſteem of all Men had his Virtue been as great as his Valour. He was Ambitious, and with regret ſaw Sir *Richard Ratcliff* ſoar above him in his Maſter's Favour. The King knowing how aſpiring he was, imagin'd the Page had hit upon the Perſon who was for his Purpoſe, believing *Tyrrell* wou'd do any thing in hopes of further Preferment; So he went out into the Chamber where he found Sir *James* and Sir *Thomas Tyrrell* his Brother on a Pallat Bed, to whom he ſaid merrily, *What are you a Bed ſo ſoon Gentlemen?* And calling Sir *James* to him, told him his Mind and what he wanted of him; whom he found ready to do whatever he commanded him. The next Day therefore he ſent him with a Letter to Sir *Robert Brackenbury*, requiring him to deliver Sir *James* the Keys of the *Tower*, to the end that he might accompliſh the King's Pleaſure in certain things he had given him Commandment about. Sir *Robert* having reſtor'd the Keys to this Aſſaſſin, he reſolv'd to murder the two Princes in the enſuing Night. When the Elder, who was call'd King *Edward* the Fifth, was told that his Uncle was crown'd King; He ſigh'd and ſaid, *Ah! wou'd my Uncle let me have my Life, he might take my Kingdom.* The Perſon that told him ſo, comforted him as well as he could, and for a little while the King and his Brother were well us'd; but afterwards they were ſhut up Cloſe, and one Servant only allow'd to Attend them. Then the Young King apprehended what would be his Fate, gave himſelf over to Sorrow and Deſpair; and the Prince his Brother was the Companion of his Grief as well as of his Misfortune. Sir *James Tyrrell* contriv'd to have them murder'd in their Beds, and appointed one *Miles Forreſt*, a noted Ruffian, and *John Dighton* his Groom a luſty Fellow, to ſee Execution done. Thoſe that waited near the Prince's Lodging's were Removed, and Way made for *Forreſt* and *Dighton*, to enter their Chamber, unperceiv'd of any one, at Midnight. The poor Youths were Aſleep in their Beds, whom the two Aſſaſſins wrap'd up in the Blankets and Coverlaid of the Bed, clapt the Feather-bed and Pillows upon them, ſtopt their Mouths and Smother'd them to Death. When the Ruffians perceiv'd by their Struggling that they were Dying, and afterwards by their Lying ſtill that they were Dead, they laid their Bodies out Naked upon the Bed, and fetch'd Sir *James Tyrrell* to ſee them, who ordered the Murderers to Bury them at the Stair-foot deep in the Ground under a Heap of Stones. Then *Tyrrell* Rode to the King, and gave him a full Account of the Murder, with which he was ſo well pleaſed, that 'tis ſaid, he Knighted him at that time; tho' he ſeem'd not to approve of their being Buried in ſo vile a Corner, they being the Sons of a King: Upon which, Sir *Robert Brackenbury's* Chaplain took their Bodies up, and Buried them privately in a Place, that, by occaſion of his Death, never came to light. Sir *James Tyrrell*, when he was afterwards in the Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh, committed to the *Tower* for Treaſon, confeſs'd the Murder in the manner we have related it: So did *Dighton*, and both the Maſter and the Man, and *Forreſt* the Warder came to miſerable Ends, thro' the Juſt Judgment of God, the Avenger of Innocent Blood. *Dighton* and *Forreſt*, tho' they were not Executed by the Hangman, died in a moſt Horrible manner, rotting away by degrees. Sir *James Tyrrell* was Beheaded, and King *Richard* himſelf, Slain by his Enemies, and his Body ignominiouſly uſed by the Rabble. He could never after be at reſt; his Guilt haunted him like a Spectre; He was afraid of his own Shadow when he went abroad, his Eyes rowl'd in his Head; his Limbs trembled, and his Hand was always on his Dagger; His ſleep was ever diſturb'd by frightful Dreams; he would ſuddenly Start up, Leap out of his Bed and Run about the Chamber. Nor did he long Enjoy the Fruits of his Bloody Policy; for tho' the Princes were Remov'd, New Enemies aroſe from time to time, that kept him in continual Fear thro' the Courſe of his ſhort Reign. The Firſt that Conſpired againſt him, was the very Perſon who had been moſt inſtrumental in his Advancement, the D. of *Buckingham*, whoſe intimacy with him, commenced from the Death of K. *Edward* the Fourth.

1483.

The Murderers come to Ill Ends.

King *Richard's* Terrors of Conſcience.

Sir *James Tyrrell* undertakes to murder them.

They are murder'd between two Feather-beds.

We muſt look a little backward into the beginning of their Confederacy, the better to clear the Hiſtory of this Duke's Misfortunes. On the Death of King *Edward* he ſent a truſty Servant of his to the Duke of *Glouceſter*, to offer him his Service, and that he wou'd Attend him with a Thouſand Men, whenever he pleas'd to command him. The Duke of *Glouceſter* return'd him Thanks, and inform'd the Duke of *Buckingham* with his Secret Deſigns. At *Northampton*, *Buckingham* met the Duke of *Glouceſter*, at the Head of Three Hundred Horſe, and joyn'd with him in all his Undertakings; He accompanied him to *London*, and ſtayed with him till after the Coronation: He went with him to *Glouceſter*, and there he took his Leave of him to return Home; where he was no ſooner arrived, than he began to Repent of what he had done; and to think he had not been ſufficiently Rewarded for it by the Uſurper. The Reaſon of his Firſt Diſcontent, is ſaid to be this: Some time before the Uſurper was Crown'd, 'twas agreed between him and the Duke of *Buckingham*, that the latter ſhould have all the Lands belonging to the Duke of *Hereford*, to which he pretended to have a Title, by his Deſcent from the Houſe of *Lancaſter*; his Mother being the Daughter of *Edmund Beaufort*, Duke of *Somerſet*, Brother to *John* Duke of *Somerſet*, Father to *Margaret* Counteſs of *Richmond*, Mother to King *Henry* VII. But this Title having ſome Relation to that of the Crown, the Uſurper would not hear of Reſtoring him to the Duke of *Hereford's* Eſtate, and rejected his Petition with Indignation and Threats, when he was in poſſeſſion of the Soveraignity; which the Duke of *Buckingham* ſo highly reſented, that from that time forward he contrived how he might Pull him Down from the Throne upon which he had Set him. We are told he feign'd himſelf Sick, and excuſed his Attendance at the Coronation, and that King *Richard* ſhould ſend him word, If he would not come and Ride he would make him be Carried.

The Duke of *Buckingham* falls out with him.

This Circumſtance of the Duke of *Buckingham's* Diſcontent is not given Credit to, by thoſe who conſider the Natures of the Uſurper and of the Duke, being both of them the greateſt

1483. greateſt Diſſemblers in the World: The one would not ſo raſhly have provok'd a powerful Enemy, nor the other have given a Jealous Tyrant occaſion to ſuſpect his Fidelity: The Truth is, the Duke of *Buckingham* was a high Spirited Man, and envied the Glory of another ſo much, that when he ſaw the Crown ſet upon King *Richard*'s Head, he cou'd not endure the Sight, but turn'd his Head away. Others Write, that they continu'd good Friends till after his return Home, and that the Uſurper diſmiſs'd him at *Glouceſter* with Rich Gifts and Extraordinary Marks of his Favour and Affection: When he came to *Brecknock*, he convers'd much with Dr. *Moreton*, Biſhop of *Ely*, whom he had there in Keeping. This Prelate was a very Wiſe Politick Perſon, a Man of Learning and of a Winning Behaviour. He had been always Faithful to King *Henry*; and when he fell in with the Party of King *Edward*, on King *Henry's* Death, he Serv'd him as faithfully, and was one of the Lords whom the Uſurper Seiz'd at the Council in the Tower. The Biſhop perceiving the Duke of *Buckingham* was pleas'd with his Company and Diſcourſe, thought he might improve the Favour he had obtain'd of him to the Advantage of the Common-wealth, by getting him to Joyn in a Conſpiracy againſt King *Richard*, towards whom, he found, he was not very well inclin'd; yet he manag'd the Matter ſo warily, that he rather ſeem'd to Follow than to Lead him, and brought him by degrees to open his whole Mind to him, and to engage in Proſecuting a Deſign which he had form'd, to bring about a Match between *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, Eldeſt Daughter to King *Edward*, by which Marriage, the Two Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter* wou'd be United, and an End put to the Long and Bloody Diſputes between the Two Factions. He durſt not come to the Point preſently, but advanced to it ſtep by ſtep, as he ſaw the Duke of *Buckingham* prepared to hearken to it.

His Diſcourſe with the Bp. of *Ely*.

When that Lord came to *Brecknock* firſt, he Prais'd the King, and boaſted what Great Things the Nation might expect from ſuch a Prince: The Biſhop reply'd; "My Lord, "'Twould be Folly in me to Lye, and if I "ſhould Swear the contrary, your Lordſhip "wou'd not, I ſuppoſe, believe me; had Things "gone as I would have had them, King *Hen*"*ry*'s Son had been King, and not King *Ed*"*ward*. But when by God's Providence, he "was deprived of the Crown, and King *Ed*"*ward* advanced to the Throne, I was not ſo "mad, as to bring a Dead Man in competi"tion with a Living One: So I became K. "*Edward*'s Faithful Chaplain, and ſhould have "been glad that his Son had Succeeded him: "However, ſince God has otherwiſe order'd "it, I ſhall not kick againſt the Pricks, nor "labour to Set up whom the Almighty has "pull'd Down: As for the late Protector, the "King that now is-----. Here he ſtopt ſhort, as if he had ſaid too much already, to heighten the Duke's Curioſity to know what he had to ſay more. The Duke earneſtly deſired him to proceed, promiſing him, upon his Honour, "That never any Hurt ſhould come of it; and "perhaps, it might produce more Good than he "was aware of; Saying, he intended to con"ſult him, and to be govern'd by his Advice; "for which cauſe only, he had procured of the "King to have him in his Cuſtody, where he "might reckon himſelf at Home; otherwiſe, "he had been deliver'd to thoſe that would not "have been ſo kind to him. The Biſhop humbly thank'd him, and ſaid, "Indeed, my Lord, "I don't care to talk much of Princes, as a "thing which is dangerous, tho' the Words "may be innocent; for if they be not taken "in Good part, they may be fatal to him that "ſpeaks them, the Prince, putting what Con"ſtruction he pleaſes upon them: I often think "of the Fable in *Eſop*, when the Lyon Proclaim'd "*That no Horn'd Beaſt ſhould ſtay in the Wood, on "pain of Death; One that had a Bunch of Fleſh in "his Forehead, fled away in haſte: the Fox meet"ing him, ask'd him, Whither ſo faſt? The Beaſt "anſwer'd, Troth I don't know nor don't care, pro"vided I was out of the Wood, as the Proclamation "commands all Horned Beaſts to be gone. You Fool, ſays "the Fox, thou mayeſt ſtay, the Lyon does not mean "thee; it is not a Horn that grows in thy Head; No, "quoth the Beaſt, I know that well enough, but what "if he ſhould call it a Horn, where am I then?* The Duke Laugh'd at the Tale, and anſwered, "I "warrant you, my Lord, neither the Lyon nor "the Boar, ſhall reſent any Thing that is ſaid "here, it ſhall never go any further I aſſure "you. The Biſhop reply'd, "If it did, were "the Thing that I was about to ſay, underſtood "as I meant it, I ſhould deſerve Thanks; but "taken as I ſuppoſe it wou'd be, it might per"haps turn to your Prejudice and mine. This raiſed the Duke's Curioſity ſtill higher; upon which the Biſhop proceeded thus: "As for "the late Protector, ſince he is now King, I "don't intend to diſpute his Title; however, "for the good of the Realm he Governs (of "which I am a poor Member) I was about "to wiſh, that to the Good Qualities he poſ"ſeſſes, it had pleaſed God to have added "ſome of thoſe Excellent Virtues, requiſite "for the Governing a Kingdom, which are "ſo conſpicuous in the Perſon of your Grace.

The End of Sir *Tho' Moor*'s Hiſtory.

Here Ends Sir Thomas Moor. *What follows, is taken from* Hall *and* Hollinſhead's *Chronicles.*

The Duke wondering why the Biſhop made ſuch frequent Pauſes, was the more eager to have him ſpeak his Mind freely, and reply'd; "I cannot but take notice of your Stopping ſo "often in the midſt of your Diſcourſe, which "hinders my making any Judgment of your "Opinion of the King, or your Good Will "towards me. As for any good Qualities in "me, I pretend to none, and expect no Praiſe "on account of my Merit. I plainly perceive you "have ſome hidden Meaning which you reſerve "from me, either out of Fear or Shame. You "may be bold and free with me who am your "Friend; I aſſure you on my Honour, that "I will be as Secret in this Caſe, as the Deaf "and Dumb Perſon is to the Singer, or the "Tree to the Hunter.

The Biſhop grew Bolder on the Duke's Promiſe of Secrecy, in which he was encouraged, by the Diſcoveries he made of *Buckingham*'s Hatred to the King, he reſolv'd therefore to come to the Point, and to propoſe to the Duke, That either out of Ambition, or his Love to his Country, he ſhould attempt to Deſtroy the Tyrant.

To this End, he reſumed his former Converſation in this manner: "My ſingular Good "Lord; Since I have been your Grace's Pri"ſoner, I have not known what it is to be "de-

1483. "deprived of Liberty; and to avoid Idleneſs, "the Mother and Nurſe of Vice, I have ſpent "my Time in Reading. I have Read in ſome "of my Books, That no Man was Born for "himſelf only: He owes a Duty to his Pa- "rents that Begat him; to his Relations and "Friends for Proximity of Blood and Good "Offices; but above all to the Country, "whoſe Air he firſt breath'd; and this Duty "is never to be forgotten: For which Rea- "ſon, I conſider the Preſent State of this "Realm, wherein I was Born, and in theſe "Conſiderations, I cannot help making Re- "flections on what a Governor we now have, "and what a Ruler me might have. In the "preſent Circumſtances of Affairs, the King- "dom muſt ſoon decay: Confuſion and De- "ſtruction will certainly be the ſudden end of "Diſorder and Miſ-rule. All my Hope is in your "Grace: When I reflect on your Valour, your "Juſtice, Impartiality, your Zeal for the Pub- "lick Welfare, your Learning, your Senſe and "Eloquence, I rejoyce at the Happineſs of *Eng-* "*land*, that poſſeſſes ſo Good and ſo Great a "Prince, worthy the Higheſt Dignities: But "when I on the other ſide conſider the Good "Qualities of the late Protector (now call'd "King) how they are violated and ſubverted "by Tyranny, eclipſed by Blind and Inſatiate "Ambition, and changed from Mild and Hu- "man, to Cruel and Bloody; I cannot forbear "declaring openly to you, That he is neither "fit to be King of ſo Noble a Realm, nor ſo "Noble a Realm fit to be Govern'd by ſuch a "Tyrant, whoſe Kingdom, were it larger than "it is, could not long continue: God will over- "throw thoſe that are thirſty of Blood; he will "bring horrible Slaughter upon them: How "many Brave and Virtuous Perſons were Mur- "der'd to make way for him to the Throne? "did he not accuſe his own Mother, an Ho- "nourable and Religious Princeſs, of Adultery? "Which, if it had been true, a Dutiful Child "would have paſt it over in ſilence. Did he "not declare his two Brothers and his two Ne- "phews Baſtards? And what is ſtill more bar- "barous, did he not cauſe thoſe two poor Inno- "cent Princes, whoſe Blood cries aloud for "Vengeance, to be cruelly Murdered? My Heart "melts when I think of their Untimely Fate; "and my Soul, with Horror, remembers this "Bloody Butcher, this Inhumane Monſter. What "Man can be ſure of his own Life, under the "Dominion of a Prince, who ſpared not his own "Blood? Eſpecially, if at any time he is ſuſpi- "cious of his Fidelity to him, and that he is "carrying on Ill Deſigns againſt him, as every "thing will be term'd, that tends to the Good "of the Publick: all will be reckon'd Guilty by "him, that are great and Rich. 'Tis enough "for Perſons to have large Poſſeſſions to pro- "voke his Wrath. Now, my Lord, to conclude "this Diſcourſe with what I have to ſay to your "Grace; I Conjure you by your Love to God, "your Illuſtrious Line, and your Native Coun- "try, to take the Imperial Crown of this Realm "upon you, to reſtore this Kingdom to its an- "cient Splendour, and deliver it from the Vio- "lence of the Oppreſſor. I dare affirm, if the "*Turk* ſtood in Competition with this Bloody "Tyrant, This Killer of Infants, the People of "*England* would Prefer him to *Richard*, who "now ſits in the Throne. How much more "then would they Rejoyce to live under the Go- "vernment of ſo Excellent a Prince as your "Grace? Deſpiſe not, neither loſe ſo fair an "Occaſion of Saving your Self and your Dear "Country: But if you will not your ſelf accept 1483.
"of the Sovereignty of this Kingdom; if the "Toils and Hazards of a Crown, prevail over "you more than the Charms of Power, I Intreat "you, by the Faith you owe to God, and your "Oath to St. *George*, Patron of the Honourable "Garter, (of which Order you are a Compani- "on) by your Affection to the Place that gave "you Birth, and to the *Engliſh* Nation; that "you will in your High and Princely Wiſdom, "think of ſome Means of advancing ſuch a "Good Governour, as you ſhall appoint to Rule "and Govern them. All the Hopes of the Peo- "ple of *England* are in you, and to you only "can they fly for Succour. If you could Set "up the Houſe of *Lancaſter* once more, or Mar- "ry the Eldeſt Daughter of King *Edward* to "ſome Great and Potent Prince, the New King "would not long Enjoy his Uſurp'd Empire: "All Civil War would ceaſe, Domeſtick Diſ- "cord would ſleep, and univerſal Peace and "Profit would be the Bleſſings of this Noble "Realm.

When the Biſhop had done ſpeaking, the Duke continued Silent for ſome time: The Biſhop chang'd Colour, and was very much Concern'd at it, expecting his Propoſal would have been receiv'd with Joy and Greedineſs.

The Duke perceiving the Fright he was in, ſaid, "Fear nothing, my Lord, I will keep my "Word with you; to Morrow we'll Talk more "of the Matter, let us now go to Supper.

The Duke the next Day ſent for the Biſhop, who had not all that while been very Eaſy, for fear how his laſt Converſation would be taken. *Buckingham* repeated almoſt all the Biſhop of *Ely* had ſaid to him, and when he had done, he pull'd off his Hat and made this ſort of a Prayer, "O Lord God! Creator of all things; how "much is thy Kingdom of *England* and the *Engliſh* Nation indebted to thy Goodneſs? Tho "we are now Oppreſs'd by an Evil Governour, "yet I hope e're long, by Thy Help, to pro- "vide ſuch a Ruler, as ſhall be to Thy Pleaſure "and the Security of the Common-wealth. He then put on his Hat, and apply'd himſelf thus to the Biſhop; "My Lord of *Ely*, I have always "found you Faithful and Affectionate to me, "and eſpecially in your laſt Free Confidence in "me: I acknowledge you to be a Sure Friend, "a Truſty Counſellor, a Vigilant States-Man, "and a True Lover of your Country; for "which I return you hearty Thanks now, and "ſhall Recompence you more effectually, if Life "and Power ſerve. Since, when we were laſt "together, you open'd your Mind freely, touch- "ing the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who has Uſurp'd "the Crown; and hinted a little, the Advance- "ment of the Two Noble Families of *York* and "*Lancaſter*; I ſhall alſo, with as much freedom, "Communicate to you what I have done, and "what I intend to do. I declare therefore, "that when King *Edward* Died, to whom I "thought I was very little obliged, (tho' he "and I had Married two Siſters) becauſe he nei- "ther Promoted nor Prefer'd me as I thought I "deſerv'd, by my Birth, and the Relation I "had to him. I did not much value his Chil- "dren's Intereſt, having their Father's Hard U- "ſage ſtill in my Mind. I call'd an Old Proverb "to remembrance, which ſays, *Wo be to that "Kingdom where Children Rule and Women Govern.* "I thought it of very Ill Conſequence to the Peo- "ple of *England*, to ſuffer the Young King to "Govern, or the Queen his Mother to be Re- "gent; conſidering that her Brothers and her "Children by her Firſt Husband, tho' of

Biſhop *Moreton* ſpeaks openly againſt K. *Richard.*

He propoſes to the Duke to ſet up for the *Crown.*

The D. of *Buckingham's* Anſwer to the Biſhop of *Ely.*

no

1483. " no High Deſcent, wou'd be at the Head " of all Affairs by their Favour with the " Queen, and have more Share in the Govern- " ment than the King's Relations, or any Per- " ſon of the Higheſt Quality in the Kingdom. " For this Reaſon I thought it to be for the " Publick Welfare and my Private Advantage " to Side with the Duke of *Glouceſter*, whom I " took to be as ſincere and Merciful as I now " find it to be Falſe and Cruel. By my means, " as you, my Lord, know well, he was made *Pro-* " *tector* of the King and Kingdom. After which, " partly by fair Words and partly by Threats, " he perſwaded me and other Lords, as well Spi- " ritual as Temporal, to conſent that he " might aſſume the Crown till the young King " was Four and Twenty Years of Age. I ſtuck " at it at firſt, and he produced Inſtruments wit- " neſs'd by Doctors, Proctors, and Notaries, " whoſe Depoſitions I then thought to be true, " Teſtifying that King *Edward*'s Children were " Baſtards. When theſe Teſtimonials were read " before us, he ſtood up Bare-headed and ſaid, *Well, My Lords, Even as I find you (Sage and Diſ-* " *creet Councellors) wou'd that my Nephew ſhou'd have* " *no Wrong, ſo I pray you to do me nothing but Right,* " *Theſe Depoſitions being true, I am the Undoubted Heir* " *to Lord* Richard Plantagenet *Duke of* York, *who* " *by Act of Parliament was adjudged the true Heir to* " *the Crown of this Realm.*

" Upon which, my ſelf and others took him " really for our Rightful Prince and Soveraign " Lord; the Duke of *Clarence*'s Son by reaſon of " his Father's Attainder cou'd not Inherit. The " Duke was alſo ſuſpected to be a Baſtard. " Thus by my Aſſiſtance and Friendſhip he was " made King: At which time he promis'd me at " *Baynard*'s-*Caſtle*, laying his Hand on mine, that " the two young Princes ſhou'd Live and ſhou'd be " Provided for to Mine and every One's Satis- " faction: How he perform'd his Promiſes, we " all know to our Sorrow. When he was in " Poſſeſſion of the Throne, he forgot his Friends " and the Aſſurances he had given them: He " deny'd to grant my Petition for Part of the " Earl of *Hereford*'s Lands, which his Brother " wrongfully detain'd from me: He refuſed me " in ſuch a manner as made the Affront much " more Intolerable. I have born his Ingrati- " tude hitherto with Patience; I have conceal'd " my Reſentments I had with him afterwards, " carry'd it outwardly fair, tho' I inwardly re- " pented that I had been acceſſory to his Ad- " vancement. But when I was certainly inform'd " of the Death of the two Innocent Princes; " to which (God be my Judge) I never con- " ſented; My Blood curdled at his Treaſon " and Barbarity, I abhorr'd the Sight of him, " and his Company much more; and pretending " an Excuſe to leave the Court retir'd to " *Brecknock*. In my Way, home, I meditated " how I might Dethrone this Unnatural Uncle. " I thought if I wou'd take the Soveraignty on " my ſelf, Now was the Time. The Temporal " Lords I ſaw hated the Tyrant: he was odious " alike to the Gentlemen and People of *Eng-* " *land*; and had I aſſum'd the Supream Power, " I thought there was no body ſo likely to " carry it as my ſelf. Flattering my Ambi- " tion with thoſe Vain Imaginations, I ſtaid " two Days at *Tewkſbury*. As I travell'd fur- " ther Homewards, I conſider'd that to Pretend " to Seat my ſelf on the Throne as a Conqueror " would not do; which wou'd be to ſubject " the whole Conſtitution of the Government, " and entitle the Conqueror to all the No- " blemens Poſſeſſions, which wou'd ruin my De- " ſign: At laſt I remember'd that *Edmund* Duke 1483.
" of *Somerſet* my Grandfather, was with King " *Henry* the Sixth in two or three Degrees from " *John* Duke of *Lancaſter* lawfully Begotten; " my Mother being Duke *Edmund*'s Eldeſt " Daughter, I look'd on my ſelf as the next " Heir to *Henry* the Sixth of the Houſe of *Lan-* " *caſter*: But as I travel'd Homewards, between " *Worceſter* and *Bridgenorth* I met the Lady *Mar-* " *garet* Counteſs of *Richmond*, at preſent Wife to " the Lord *Stanley*, who is the Rightful and Sole " Heir of *John* Duke of *Somerſet*, my Grandfa- " ther's Elder Brother, whoſe Title I had forgot " till I ſaw her in my Way, and then I remem- " ber'd that both her Claim and her Son the " Earl of *Richmond*'s were Bars to mine, and " forbad my Pretending to the Imperial Crown " of *England*.

" I had ſome Diſcourſe with her about her " Son, and then we parted, ſhe for *Worceſter* and " I for *Shrewsbury*. As I proceeded in my Jour- " ney, I conſider'd with my ſelf, whether ſince " I cou'd not pretend to the Crown by Deſcent, " I might not have recourſe to the Election of " the Lords and Gentry of the Realm, the " Uſurper being generally hated by them: But " then I began to reflect on the Dangers and " Difficulties of the Enterprize: That the late " King's Daughters and Friends, and the Earl " of *Richmond*'s Relations, whoſe Intereſt is ve- " ry conſiderable, wou'd certainly oppoſe me " to the Utmoſt: And if the Houſes of *Lan-* " *caſter* and *York* ſhou'd joyn againſt me, I ſhou'd " ſoon loſe the Vain Power I might obtain: " wherefore I reſolv'd to flatter my ſelf no " more with Chimæra's of my Imaginary Right " to the Royal Diadem, but only to revenge " Mine and the People's Wrongs on the Com- " mon Enemy.

" The Counteſs of *Richmond* propos'd in the " Converſation we had on the Road, That her " Son might marry One of King *Edward*'s " Daughters; and ſhe conjur'd me by the Me- " mory of Duke *Humphrey* my Grandfather, that " I wou'd procure the King's Favour for her " Son, and get him to Conſent to the Match. " I took no notice of her Propoſal then; which " then I weigh'd in my Mind, I found of ſo " great Advantage to the Commonwealth, that " I thought it was an Inſpiration of the Holy " Spirit for the Benefit of the Kingdom; and I " came to a Reſolution in my ſelf to Spend my " Life and Fortune in endeavouring to accom- " pliſh ſo Glorious a Deſign, to Marry the Prin- " ceſs *Elizabeth* to the Earl of *Richmond*, the " Heir of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, in whoſe Quar- " rel my Father and Grandfather loſt their Lives " in Battel. If the Mothers of the Princeſs and " the Earl can come to an Agreement concern- " ing the Marriage, I doubt not but the Proud " Boar, whoſe Tuſks have goar'd ſo many In- " nocent Perſons, ſhall ſoon be brought to Con- " fuſion. The rightful and Indubitate Heir ſhall " enjoy the Crown and Peace be reſtor'd to " this diſtracted Kingdom.

The Biſhop rejoyced extreamly at this Free Declaration of the Duke: and that he might not ſlacken his Zeal in ſo Righteous a Cauſe, he en- deavour'd to Fire him the more, and haſten him to the Execution of his Deſigns; *My Lord,* ſays the Biſhop, *Since by the Providence of God and* The Biſhop's Anſwer. *your Grace's incomparable Wiſdom this Happy Alliance is ſet on foot, 'tis Convenient or rather Neceſſary that we ſhou'd Conſult whom to truſt in ſo Important and Perilous an Undertaking. To whom ſhall we firſt apply towards effecting it? To whom,* reply'd The Duke replies. the Duke, *but to the Counteſs of* Richmond; *who knows*

1483. *knows where her Son is, and how to Send to him.* The Biſhop anſwer'd, *If you begin there, I have an Old Friend in her Service one* Reginald Bray, *a Man of Probity and Judgment, for whom I will ſend to attend your Grace and receive your Commands, if you think Proper ſo to do.* The Duke conſenting to it, the Biſhop wrote to Mr. *Bray* to come to him to *Brecknock*; which he did immediately, believing there was ſomething to be done for his Lady's and her Son's Service. The Duke told him what he intended to attempt in favour of the Earl of *Richmond*, no leſs than to Seat him in the Royal Throne of *England*, if he Swore to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*; and by that Alliance put an End to the long and bloody Diſpute between the White Roſe and the Red.

In order to this, He ſaid, the Counteſs muſt manage the Buſineſs with the Queen Dowager and the Princeſs her Daughter, and when they were engaged, ſend to her Son in *Britain*, and get him to Swear he wou'd Perform the Articles, agreed on between his Mother and the Princeſs *Elizabeth* in both their Names. *Bray* gladly undertook to carry this Meſſage to his Miſtreſs, And now they were Embark'd in ſo great an Affair, the Biſhop who long'd to be at Liberty, deſir'd the Duke to let him go to *Ely*, where the Number of his Friends wou'd ſecure him againſt all the Force King *Richard* cou'd ſend to deſtroy him. The Duke being loath to loſe ſo Able and Experienced a Counſellor, excus'd his detaining him a little longer; ſaying, *he ſhould go in a few Days, and ſo well accompanied that he need fear no Enemy.*

The Bp. leaves the Duke.

The Biſhop impatient of Confinement, ſtole away from *Brecknock* to *Ely* in Diſguiſe, rais'd Money there, and paſs'd over into *Flanders*. The good Prelate thought he had done enough in ſetting the Duke at Work on ſo Hazardous a Buſineſs, in which it ſeems he did not care to venture further. Whether he thought he could be more Servicable to the Earl of *Richmond* Abroad, or was afraid of his Perſon at Home; or whatever reaſon he had to leave the Duke of *Buckingham*, he does not appear to be Excuſeable in Hiſtory: For knowing the Duke was too apt to Open his Mind freely, he might have imagin'd that his Indiſcretion wou'd ruin him, and 'twas to Sacrifice a Perſon of his High Quality, to put him upon an Enterprize he was not fit to Manage, and then forſake him in the Execution of it; at which the Duke was very much concern'd.

In the mean time *Reginald Bray* return'd to his Miſtreſs, inform'd her of what had been concerted between the Duke and the Biſhop, for the Advancement of her Son; and the Counteſs with great Joy intended to play her Part as ſoon as poſſible. The firſt thing ſhe was to do, was to engage the Queen Dowager and the Princeſs; To which purpoſe ſhe diſpatch'd one *Lewis* a *Welſhman* who was her Phyſician, with Inſtructions to Attend the Queen at *Weſtminſter*, and break the Matter to her. *Lewis*'s Meſſage was not in the leaſt ſuſpected, becauſe he came as a Doctor, to Adviſe her about her Health. When he was admitted into her Preſence, and every body withdrawn, he gave her to underſtand what Errand he was ſent upon: He ſet forth the Wrongs She, her Children, and the whole Nation had ſuffered by the Tyranny of *Richard*, what Miſeries had befaln the Kingdom by the Civil War between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, and what Advantages wou'd accrue to her, her Children, and the Commonwealth, by the Uniting the Two Houſes in marrying her Daughter *Elizabeth*, the only true Heir of the Houſe of *York*, to his Miſtreſs's Son the Only true Heir of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*. 1483.

The Counteſs of *Richmond* ſends to the Q. Dowager.

The Queen heard him with Attention, agreed to the Propoſals, and bad him tell his Lady, *That all King* Edward's *Friends and Dependants ſhould joyn with her for the Earl of* Richmond, *on Condition he took his Corporal Oath to marry the Lady* Elizabeth *her Eldeſt Daughter, or in caſe ſhe were not living, the Lady* Cecilia, *her Second Daughter.* Dr. *Lewis* cary'd this pleaſing Anſwer to his Miſtreſs; from whom he went frequently to the Queen as a Phyſician, and from her to the Counteſs, till Matters were fully concluded between them. While theſe Things were tranſacting by the two Princeſſes, *Reginald Bray* was employ'd to engage as many Perſons of Quality as he could in the Earl's Intereſt; accordingly he procur'd Sir *Giles Daubeney*, Sir *John Cheyney*, *Richard Guilford* and *Thomas Rame* Eſquires, and others, to promiſe their utmoſt Aſſiſtance, taking an Oath of Secrecy and Fidelity of all of them. The Queen Dowager on her Part made the Earl many Friends, and the Buſineſs in a ſhort time was ſo ripe, that 'twas thought proper to ſend an Account of it to the Earl, and give him Notice to prepare for his Return to *England*. *Chriſtopher Urſewick* her Chaplain, was firſt ſent, and ſoon after follow'd by *Hugh Conway* Eſq; with Money to Provide Men and other Neceſſaries for his Voyage, and a full Account of the Diſpoſition the Nobility and Commonalty were in to recive him favourably. She adviſ'd him to Land in *Wales*, that Principality being moſt Inclin'd to him, as well for his Deſcent being *Welſh*, as for the great Eſtate ſhe had there. For fear Mr. *Conway* ſhould miſcarry in his Voyage, Mr. *Rame* was diſpatch'd away with the ſame Inſtructions: The former ſail'd from *Plimouth*, the latter from *Kent*; and tho' they took different *Routes* they arriv'd at the Duke of *Britain*'s Court both within an Hour of each other. They communicated the Subject of their Commiſſion to him. For which he render'd Thanks to the Almighty, being ſuch Joyful News as he wou'd not have given light Credit to; but it came ſo circumſtantiated, and by ſuch truſty Meſſengers, that he did not doubt of the Truth of it. He imparted the Secret to the Duke of *Bretagne*, informing him what a fair Proſpect he had of obtaining the Crown of *England*, deſiring him to Aſſiſt him, and Promiſing to return all his Acts of Generoſity and Friendſhip as ſoon as it was in his Power. The Duke gave him hopes of Aſſiſtance, and accordingly he Lent him Money and Troops for his intended Expedition; tho' *Thomas Hutton*, King *Richard*'s Ambaſſador, offer'd large Sums, and earneſtly ſollicited the Duke and his Miniſters to put the Earl's Perſon in Safe Cuſtody. The Earl having receiv'd ſo good Incouragement in *Bretagne*, ſent Mr. *Conway* and Mr. *Rame* back again to give his Friends an account of his Intentions and Preparations, and to deſire them to Provide every thing neceſſary for his Reception.

The Q. Dowager approves of the Earl of *Richmond*'s marrying her Daughter the Princeſs *Elizabeth*.

Meſſengers ſent to the E. of *Richmond*.

The Meſſengers returning, ſatisfy'd the Queen Dowager by Dr. *Lewis* of the Earl's Readineſs to comply with the Terms ſhe propos'd, and inform'd the Conſpirators of the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Promiſing to lend him Men and Money: Upon which they all repair'd to their ſeveral Poſts to make Proviſion for joyning him with ſufficient Strength to accompliſh their Deſigns when he Arriv'd. With theſe, all ſuch as had any Grudge againſt, or Quarrel with King *Richard*, fell in, by which means the Party encreaſed daily, and ſo many Perſons could not act zealouſly in ſuch an Affair without giv-

The Conſpiracy againſt K. *Richard* encreaſes.

1483. ing Umbrage of their Intentions to the Uſurper.

King *Richard* endeavour'd by his Spies to find out the bottom of their Conſpiracies, but he had to deal with Men of Equal Cunning and Secrecy, and he cou'd not fix the Matter on any one, tho' he did not doubt but there was a Plot carrying on to Dethrone him and Advance the Earl of *Richmond*. The Duke of *Buckingham*'s avoiding the Court, made him Jealous that he was in it; and to get him into his Power he made uſe of his Diſſimulation, a Quality that had been very ſerviceable to him in his Uſurpation, and wrote him very Kind obliging Letters to come to *London*; but the Duke pretending Indiſpoſition excus'd himſelf. The King enrag'd to find his Artifices unſucceſsful, ſent him a Letter in a rougher Stile commanding him on his Allegiance to Attend him. The Duke anſwer'd as roughly, *That he wou'd not Expoſe himſelf to his Mortal Enemy whom he neither Lov'd nor wou'd Serve:* He knew this Anſwer was a Declaration of War, and to loſe no time took Arms. The ſame did *Thomas* Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, who had eſcap'd out of Sanctuary, in *Yorkſhire*. Sir *Edward Courtney* and *Peter* Biſhop of *Exeter* his Brother in *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall*; and Others in other Places. The King hearing of theſe Inſurrections was not at all diſhearten'd, but muſtring all his Forces march'd againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Head and Heart of the Conſpirators; whom if he ſuppreſs'd he ſuppos'd the Others wou'd fall of Courſe, or if not, he might eaſily reduce them. The Duke rather by the Influence he had over the *Welſhmen* who were his Tenants, than out of an Inclination they had to follow him, got a great Multitude of them together, with whom he march'd through the Forreſt of *Dean* towards *Glouceſter*, intending to paſs the *Severn* there, and thence to proceed into the Weſt to joyn the *Courtneys*; which if he cou'd have effected, King *Richard*'s Reign had not been ſo long as it was by a Year. But it happen'd that the River *Severn* was ſo ſwoln by a continual Rain for 10 Days together, that it Over-flow'd all the Neighbouring Country, did abundance of Damage, and 'twas ſo Remarkable, that for a Hundred Years after, that Inundation was call'd, *The Great Water*, or *Buckingham*'s *Water*, by the Inhabitants of thoſe Parts. Theſe Floods as it hinder'd the Duke's paſſing the *Severn* to joyn his Friends in *Devonſhire*; ſo it prevented his Friends on the other Side of the River paſſing over to him: In which Extremity the *Welſhmen* deſerted by Degrees, till at laſt the Duke had none left about him but his Domeſtick Servants. Nor Prayers nor Threats cou'd keep them together, ſo he was forc'd to fly with the reſt, and in Deſpair fled to the Houſe of one *Humphrey Baniſter* near *Shrewsbury*, deſigning to hide himſelf there till he cou'd raiſe more Forces, or eſcape thence to the Earl of *Richmond* in *Bretagne*. He truſted this *Baniſter* as a Man who had ſo many Obligations to him, that he did not think it cou'd be almoſt poſſible for Humane Nature to be ſo Ungrateful, as to betray a Maſter who had been ſo Kind to a Servant as the Duke had been to *Baniſter*; having bred him up, provided for him honourably, and put entire Confidence in him on many Occaſions. Yet upon King *Richard*'s Proclamation to Apprehend the Duke, with the Promiſe of a Thouſand Pounds Reward to the Man that ſhould Diſcover him, this faithleſs Wretch betray'd his Maſter to *John Milton* Eſq; Sheriff of *Shropſhire*, who ſurrounded his Houſe with a Party of the County Militia, ſeiz'd the Duke, and carried him to the King, who then kept his Court at *Salisbury*. *Baniſter* and his whole Family were deſtroy'd by the Surprizing Judgments of the Almighty. The Uſurper refus'd to Pay him the Thouſand Pounds promis'd in the Proclamation; Saying, *He that wou'd betray ſo good a Maſter, wou'd be falſe to any other.* The Duke earneſtly deſir'd to be admitted to the King's Preſence, but whether he was or not, we cannot determine. Some Writers affirm he was, and that he attempted to Stab him with a Dagger. 'Tis certain he confeſs'd the whole Conſpiracy, and without any further Tryal was Beheaded in the Market-Place at *Salisbury*, on the 2d of *November*. Such was the Fate of *Henry Stafford*, whom moſt Authors call *Edward* Duke of *Buckingham*: He married *Katharine* the Daughter of *Richard Woodville*, Siſter to Queen *Elizabeth* Wife to *Edward* IV. by whom he had *Edward* Duke of *Buckingham*, *Henry* Earl of *Wiltſhire*, and two Daughters; The one married *George* Lord *Haſtings*, and the other *Richard Ratcliffe* Lord *Fitz-Waters*. The Duke of *Bucks* was Hereditary Conſtable of *England*, and his Eſtate and Revenues were ſo great, that King *Richard* had reaſon to be Jealous of him; for no Subject in *England* was ſo Powerful either in the Number of his Tenants and Dependants, or in his vaſt Riches.

1483.

By the diſperſing of the *Welſhmen* the Weſtern Army was ſo diſcouraged, that every Man ſhifted for himſelf. Some fled to Sanctuary, others took Shipping and ſail'd to *Bretagne* to the Earl of *Richmond*. Among theſe were *Peter Courtney* Biſhop of *Exeter*, Sir *Edward Courtney* his Brother, afterwards created Earl of *Devonſhire* by *Henry* the Seventh, *Thomas* Marqueſs *Dorſet*, *John* Lord *Welles*, Sir *John Bourchier*, Sir *Edward Woodville* the Queen Dowager's Brother, Sir *Robert Willoughby*, Sir *Giles Daubeney*, Sir *John Cheyney* and his two Brothers, Sir *Thomas Arundell*, Sir *William Berkley*, Sir *William Branden*, *Thomas Branden* Eſq; his Brother, Sir *Richard Edgecomb*, *John Hallowell* Eſq; and Capt. *Edward Poynings*, a famous Soldier, whom *Henry* VII. highly preferr'd. King *Richard* did all that a Wiſe Prince cou'd think of to prevent their getting off. Knowing what an Addition to the Earl's Power, the Preſence of ſo many Perſons of Quality wou'd make, he ſet Guards on moſt of the Ports of *England*; but thoſe in the Weſt being in the Hands of the Malecontents, they eſcap'd the Cruel Vengeance which was prepar'd for them. The Uſurper fitted out a Fleet to Cruiſe off the Coaſts of *Bretagne*, and prevent the Earl of *Richmond*'s Landing any Forces in *England*; but the Earl not hearing of the Duke's Misfortune, ſet Sail the 12th of *October* with a Fleet of Forty Ships having 5000 *Bretons* aboard. They had not been long at Sea before they met with a Storm that ſcatter'd their Fleet. The Ship in which was the Earl in Perſon was driven on the Coaſt of *England* to the Mouth of the Haven of *Pool* in *Dorſetſhire*; where finding the Shore was crouded with Troops to oppoſe his Deſcent, he forbad any of his Men to land till the whole Navy came up. However, he ſent out his Boat with ſome Officers to demand of the Men, who ſtood on the Shoar, Whether they were Friends or Enemies? Theſe Traytors inſtructed by King *Richard* anſwer'd, They were Friends poſted there by the Duke of *Bucks*, to receive the Earl of *Richmond*. The Earl ſuſpecting the Deceit, and perceiving he was alone, the reſt of his Fleet not appearing, weigh'd Anchor and return'd to *France*. He landed in *Normandy*, where he refreſh'd himſelf and his Men two or three days, and then ſent a Gentleman to *Charles* the Eighth, the

French

The King Summons the Duke of *Buckingham* to Court.

The Duke will not come.

He and the Conſpirators take Arms.

A great Flood the cauſe of the Duke's Overthrow.

Buckingham betray'd by his Servant.

Beheaded at *Salisbury*.

The Conſpirators fly to *Bretagne* to the Earl of *Richmond*.

Who Sails to *England*.

Returns to *France*.

1483. *French* King deſiring Paſsports thro' his Territories into *Bretagne*; which was readily granted by *Charles*. However the Earl did not ſtay for the return of his Courier, but truſting to the *French* King's Generoſity continu'd his Journey thro' *Normandy* to *Vannes*, where the Duke of *Bretagne* reſided. When he arriv'd there he heard of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Death, and found the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, and the other *Engliſh* Gentlemen who had made their Eſcape. They all ſwore Allegiance to him, and he took his Corporal Oath, on the ſame Day the 25th of *December*, that he would marry the Princeſs *Elizabeth* when he had ſuppreſs'd the Uſurper *Richard*, and was in Poſſeſſion of the Crown.

Some of the Conſpirators executed.

The Zeal which theſe Gentlemen ſhewed in his Cauſe, and the Conſideration of the great Intereſt they had in *England*, leſſen'd the Earl's Sorrow for the Misfortune of his Friends in their firſt Attempts againſt the Tyrant, and encouraged him to refit his Fleet and prepare for a New Voyage to *England*, where many of his Friends were Seiz'd and Executed; as Sir *George Brown* and Sir *Roger Clifford* who were Beheaded at *London*; and Sir *Thomas St. Leger*, who had married the King's own Siſter the Dutcheſs of *Exeter*, *Thomas Rame* Eſq; and ſeveral of his own Servants; the two former were executed at *Exon*; the latter, whom he condemn'd on bare Suſpicion, at *London*, and other places. The Uſurper made a Progreſs to *Devonſhire* and *Cornwal* to ſettle the Peace of thoſe Counties, where the Earl's Party was very Numerous. The Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of *Exeter* preſented him with a Purſe of Gold to obtain his Favour: He receiv'd it graciouſly, lay in the City one Night, and the next Day went about it to take a View of it: When he came to the Caſtle, and was inform'd 'twas call'd *Rugemont*, he ſeem'd very Melancholy, and ſaid, *I find, I ſhall not Live long.* He thought that Name was Foretold by an Old Prophecy which he had heard relating to him, That *his End wou'd be nigh when he came to Richmond:* Which Prediction was fulfill'd at the Battle of *Boſworth*. In his Weſtern Journey, he found the Gentlemen of thoſe Parts were almoſt all concern'd in the Conſpiracy to depoſe him and raiſe the Earl of *Richmond* to the Throne. All that had made their Eſcape were Out-law'd, and thoſe that fell into his Hands were put to Death; for he knew not what Mercy and Humanity meant.

1484. In the Beginning of the following Year he Summon'd a Parliament, in which the Earl of *Richmond* and his Followers were attainted, and the People burthen'd with ſevere Taxes and Impoſitions. The Money ſo collected was waſted on his Creatures, or ſquander'd away Prodigally on ſuch as knew any thing of his Guilt in the Death of his Nephews, to ſtop their Mouths. He obliged the Lord *Stanley* to confine his Wife the Counteſs of *Richmond*, ſo that ſhe ſhou'd have no means of holding Correſpondence with any one to his Prejudice. He order'd *William Collingburne* of *Lydiard* in *Wiltſhire* to be Hang'd, Drawn and Quarter'd, for Aiding and Aſſiſting the Earl of *Richmond* and his Followers, and Writing a Satyrical Dyſtich upon him and his Favourites, the Lord Viſcount *Lovel*, Sir *Richard Ratcliffe*, and Sir *William Catesby*.

The Earl of *Richmond* attainted.

The Cat, the Rat, and Lovell *the Dog,*
Rule all England *under a Hog.*

Alluding by the Hog to the Uſurper's Arms, one of his Supporters being a Wild-Boar. Yet theſe Executions did not eaſe him of his Fears: He heard by his Emiſſaries abroad, that Dr. *Moreton* Biſhop of *Ely*, and *Urſewich*, the Counteſs of *Richmond*'s Chaplain, who liv'd in *Flanders*, had carried on a cloſe Correſpondence with many of the Chief Perſons in his Kingdom; and that the Duke of *Bretagne* ſtill continu'd to Protect and Support the Earl *Henry*. He ſaw the Storm that had lately been gathering over him was not diſpers'd by the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Death, and the Flight of the *Courtneys*; the Clouds grew Darker ſtill, and the Tempeſt that threatned him was ſuch as requir'd all his Arts and all his Power to Provide againſt. He ſecur'd his Dominions on the Side of *Scotland*, by entring into an Alliance with the *Scots* King, to whoſe Eldeſt Son the Duke of *Rothſay* he married the Lady *Anne de la Pool*, Daughter to *John* Duke of *Suffolk*, by *Anne* the Uſurper's beſt belov'd Siſter. Her Son *John* he proclaim'd Heir Apparent to the Crown, without having regard to King *Edward* the Fourth's Daughters: Yet all his Negotiations and Succeſſes Abroad and at Home were Ineffectual, and he perceiv'd that nothing would entirely ſecure him againſt the Earl and his Friends Contrivances, unleſs he cou'd get his Perſon into his Power. To this Purpoſe he ſent over other Ambaſſadors to the Duke of *Bretagne*, with Inſtructions to apply themſelves to *Peter Landeiſe* the Duke's Chief Miniſter and Favourite, and by Immenſe Sums of Money to endeavour to tempt him to betray the Earl. They were to offer him for the Duke his Maſter the Clear Profits of all the Earl's Eſtate in *England*, and for himſelf whatever he cou'd ask of them. The Treacherous *Breton* hearken'd to the Propoſals made by *Richard*'s Ambaſſadors, and promis'd to deliver the Earl of *Richmond* to them. But the Biſhop of *Ely* who had Intelligence in King *Richard* and the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Courts, underſtood what Deſigns were forming againſt Earl *Henry*, of which he ſent him Notice by *Urſewich*; and the Earl giving Credit to his Information, eſcap'd in Diſguiſe with his Principal Officers into the *French* King's Dominions. *Landeiſe* intended a Day or two after to have ſeiz'd him, and when he miſs'd him ſent Couriers into all Parts of the Dutchy in Search of him. He was ſcarce got into the *French* Territories when one of the Parties that was ſent out after him came within an Hour's Riding of him, but he had prevented *Landeiſe* his Treachery, who acted without his Maſter's Privity. The Duke of *Bretagne* being at that time dangerouſly Ill, and leaving all things to his Management. The *Engliſh* Refugees that remain'd in *Bretagne* expected all to be deliver'd up to the Fury of King *Richard*, when they heard of the Earl's Eſcape, and the Reaſons of it: And had not the Duke of *Bretagne* recover'd and took on him the Adminiſtration of Affairs, the Traytor *Landeiſe* wou'd have ſeiz'd them, and yielded them up to the Uſurper's Ambaſſadors. The Duke inquiring into the Cauſes of the Earl's Flight into *France*, was very much diſpleas'd with *Landeiſe*, and ſent for Sir *Edward Woodvill* and Capt. *Poynings*, to whom he excus'd the Treachery of his Miniſter, diſowning the Knowledge of it, and gave them a conſiderable Sum of Money to conduct them and all the *Engliſhmen* who were at *Vannes*, thro' *Bretagne* into *France* to their Maſter the Earl of *Richmond:* For which generous Act the Earl ſent him Thanks by a Meſſenger on purpoſe. Himſelf went to *Loinges* on the *Loire*, where *Charles* the Eighth, the *French* King, kept his Court, and from thence accompanied him to *Montargis*. *Charles* entertain'd him and his Followers very Magnificently, but was not

1484.

John Earl of *Lincoln* Proclaimed Heir apparent.

The Earl of *Richmond* in Danger in *Bretagne*.

He Eſcapes into *France*.

His Reception there.

1484. very forward to lend him any Aſſiſtance.

While the Earl was in the *French* Court, *John* Earl of *Oxford* repair'd to him with *James Blunt* Captain of the Caſtle of *Haumes*, in which the Lord *Oxford* had been confin'd ſeveral Years, and had engag'd the Governour in the Intereſt of the Earl of *Richmond*; with them came Sir *John Forteſcue*, Porter of the Town of *Calais*. *James Blunt* had reinforc'd his Garriſon, ſupply'd it with all ſorts of Proviſions for a vigorous Defence, and left a Truſty Officer to Command there in his Abſence. The Arrivial of the Earl of *Oxford*, and the Revolt of the Garriſon of *Haumes*, animated afreſh Earl *Henry* and his Friends, whoſe Spirits began to ſink, ſeeing the little Hopes they had of Help in *France*. Their Company encreas'd after this daily: Moſt of the *Engliſh* Gentlemen who were Students in the Univerſity of *Paris* did Homage to the Earl, among whom was Mr. *Richard Fox*, afterwards Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; and as their Numbers grew greater Abroad, their Intereſt at Home was conſequently enlarged.

The Uſurper, who by his ſpies had a full Account of all their Proceedings, knew that the Hopes of the Party were founded on the Earl's Promiſe to marry the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, which he reſolv'd by ſome Means or other to prevent; and to that end he did his Utmoſt to ingratiate himſelf with her Mother Queen *Elizabeth*. He ſent ſeveral Flattering Meſſages to her in Sanctuary, Promiſed to advance the Marqueſs *Dorſet* and all her Relations, and won upon her ſo much by his fair Speeches, that forgetting the many Affronts he had caſt on the Memory of her Husband, on her own Honour and the Legitimacy of her Children, and even the Murder of her dear Sons, ſhe comply'd with him, and promis'd to bring over her Son, and all the late King's Friends from the Party of the Earl of *Richmond*. She went ſo far, as to deliver up her Five Daughters into his Hands; whom as ſoon as King *Richard* had got in his Cuſtody, he reſolv'd to order the Matter ſo, that he might be in a Condition to take the Eldeſt of them to be his Wife; which was a ſure Way of defeating the Earl of *Richmond*'s Purpoſes. Queen *Elizabeth* was ſo charm'd by his falſe Promiſes, that ſhe wrote to her Son the Marqueſs *Dorſet* to leave Earl *Henry* and haſten to *England*, where ſhe had procur'd him a Pardon, and provided all ſorts of Honours for him. What Succeſs her Letters had, we ſhall ſee in the Courſe of this Hiſtory.

King *Richard* perſwades the Queen Dowager to Leave Sanctuary.

And deliver up her *Daughters* into his Hands.

He reſolves to maray the Eldeſt.

We have already obſerv'd, that King *Richard* had caſt his Eyes upon his Brother *Edward* the Fourth's Daughter, the Princeſs *Elizabeth*: He had been guilty of Treaſon and Murder, and almoſt all the Crimes that are to be found in the Infernal Rolls: Inceſt ſeem'd only wanting to make him a compleat Monſter of Mankind, the Horror of his People, and the Shame of the whole World. As he was Maſter of the Art of Diſſimulation, and had lately put on the Mask of Piety, ſo he was a little at a loſs how to remove his Wife out of the way, to make room for his Niece in his Bed. He began his Lewd Deſign, by ſhewing an Averſion to his Wife's Company and Embraces. He complain'd to ſeveral Lords of the Council, of her Barrenneſs; eſpecially to *Thomas Rotherham*, Archbiſhop of *York*, whom he had lately Releaſed out of Priſon. He told him of ſome Private Defects in the Queen, which had render'd her Perſon diſagreeable to him, and hoped the Biſhop would tell her of it, who being a Woman of a meek Temper, he thought would take it ſo much to Heart, that ſhe would not Live long after it. Dr. *Rotherham* ſaid to ſome of his moſt intimate Friends, *The Queen's Days are but few*; for he perceiv'd by the Uſurper's Diſcourſe, that he was weary of her and wanted another Wife, and he knew him ſo well, that he could not ſuppoſe he would ſcruple to add one Murder more to the many bloody Cruelties he had been guilty of to ſatisfy his Luſt and Ambition. To prepare the Way for her Death, he order'd a Report to be ſpread among the People, that ſhe was Dead: Which he did with an Intention, that the Rumour coming to her Ears, it might allarm her with fear of her ſudden Fate, and thoſe Fears throw her into a Diſeaſe which might carry her off. The Queen no ſooner heard of what was reported againſt her, but ſhe believ'd it came originally from her Husband; and thence concluding, that her Hour was drawing nigh, ſhe ran to him in a moſt Sorrowful and Deplorable Condition, and demanded of him *What ſhe had done to deſerve Death?* The Tyrant anſwer'd her with Fair Words and Falſe Smiles, bidding her *be of Good Chear, for to his knowledge ſhe had no other cauſe.* But whether her Grief, as he deſign'd it ſhou'd, ſtruck ſo to her Heart, that it broke with the Mortal Wound, or he haſten'd her End, as was generally ſuſpected, by Poiſon, ſhe Died in a few Days afterwards. She was Daughter to the famous Earl of *Warwick*; and when *Richard* married her, Widow to Prince *Edward*, Heir to *Henry* VI. The Uſurper affected to ſhew an extraordinary Sorrow at her Death, and was at the Expence of a Pompous Funeral for her. Notwithſtanding all his pretended Mourning, before ſhe was ſcarce cold in her Grave, he made his Addreſſes to the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, who had his Love in abhorrence, and the whole Kingdom appear'd averſe to ſo Unnatural a Marriage. His Affairs were in ſuch an Ill Poſture, that he durſt not provoke the Queen and the People further, by putting a Violence on the Princeſs's Inclinations; ſo he deferr'd his Courtſhip till he was better Settled in the Throne. The Nobility daily paſt over into *France*: The Gentry and Commonalty every where, ſhew'd an Affection to the Earl of *Richmond*, as far as they durſt do it, without bringing themſelves under the Laſh of the Tyrant's Laws. He was moſt Jealous of *Thomas* Lord *Stanley*, his Brother Sir *William Stanley*, and *Gilbert Talbot*. He obliged the Lord *Stanley* to leave his Son *George Stanley*, Lord *Strange*, at Court, as an Hoſtage of his own Fidelity. He commanded the Governour of *Calais* to Attack the Caſtle of *Haumes*: 1485.
The Earl of *Oxford* and Captain *Blunt* immediately haſten'd to the Relief of it, but before they could arrive near it, the Garriſon was reduced to the laſt Extremity, and the Beſiegers, on the report of the Earl of *Oxford*'s Approach, offering them to March out with Bag and Baggage, they Surrender'd the Fort, and Joyn'd the Earl, who led them to *Paris*, where they were Entertain'd by the Earl of *Richmond*. The Reduction of *Haumes*, and the ſmall Hopes of Aſſiſtance which Earl *Henry* had in the *French* Court, made the Uſurper ſo ſecure, that he recall'd the Squadron of Men of War, which he had order'd to Cruiſe in the Channel and prevent the Earl's making a Deſcent in *England*, and contented himſelf with commanding the Lords and Gentlemen, who liv'd near the Coaſts, to be on their Guard to Defend them.

And ſhe Died ſoon after it.

Grows weary of his Wife.

In the mean time the Earl of *Richmond* continued his Negotiations in the Court of *France* for Succours; but *Charles* VIII. being in his Minority, he was forced to apply to the Regents,

1485. or Miniſters of State, who being Divided among themſelves, had no Inclination to Unite in his Favour. The chiefeſt of them was *Lewis* Duke of *Orleance*, who afterwards was King: But by their Civil Diſſentions, the Affair of his Supplies was ſpun on to ſo great a length, that the Uſurper flatter'd himſelf 'twould never take effect: For this Reaſon he grew more Pleaſant than before, his Joy increas'd as his Care leſſen'd, and lull'd him at laſt into a Fatal Security.

The Q. Dowager perſwades her Son, the Marqueſs of *Dorſet* to leave the E. of *Richmond*.

The Queen Dowager, to oblige the King, who lately appear'd very ready to Serve her and her Daughters, continued to Write to her Son the Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, to leave Earl *Henry*. The Marquis fearing the Earl wou'd not ſucceed in his Enterprize, gave way to his Mother's Perſwaſions, and King *Richard*'s Flattering Promiſes, left the Earl, and ſtole away from *Paris* by Night, intending to Eſcape to *Flanders*: But as ſoon as the Earl had Notice of his Flight, he apply'd to the *French* Court, for leave to Apprehend him in any Part of his Dominions; for both Himſelf and his Followers were afraid of his Diſcovering all their Deſigns, to their utter Deſtruction if he got to *England*. Having obtain'd Licence to Seize him, the Earl ſent Meſſengers every way in ſearch of him, and among the reſt, *Humphrey Cheyney*, Eſq; who

The Earl ſtops him.

overtook him near *Champaigne*, and by Arguments and Fair Promiſes prevail'd with him to return. By the Marqueſs's Diſpoſition to leave him, the Earl began to doubt, that if he delay'd his Expedition to *England* longer, many more of his Friends might grow cool in their Zeal for him; ſo he earneſtly Sollicited the *French* Court for Aid, deſiring ſo ſmall a Supply of Men and Money, that *Charles* cou'd not in Honour refuſe him; yet for what he Lent him, he would have Hoſtages, that Satisfaction ſhould be made. The Earl made no Scruple of that, ſo leaving the Lord Marqueſs *Dorſet* (whom he ſtill miſtruſted) and Sir *John Bourchier* as his Pledges at *Paris*, he departed for *Roan*, where the few Men that the *French* King had lent him, and all the *Engliſh* that follow'd his Fortunes Rendezvous'd.

When he arriv'd there, he was inform'd of the Uſurper's Intentions to marry the Princeſs *Elizabeth* himſelf, and her Siſter, the Princeſs *Cecilia*, to a Man of Mean Condition. This was Mortifying News to him, for he imagin'd if his Alliance with the Houſe of *York* was by that Means broken, their Friends would all fall off from him: However he reſolv'd to puſh for the Crown, as Heir to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, but then it was neceſſary for him to encreaſe his Strength and Intereſt; wherefore he diſpatch'd away a Meſſenger to Sir *Walter Herbert*, a Man of Great Power in *Wales*, to get him to eſpouſe his Quarrel, by an Offer of Marrying his Siſter, a Beautiful Young Lady. The Earl of *Northumberland* had Married another of Sir *Walter*'s Siſters, and the Earl of *Richmond*'s Agent had Inſtructions to Addreſs himſelf alſo to him, and perſwade him to forward the Marriage. The Meſſenger found the Ways ſo narrowly watch'd, that he cou'd not proceed on his Journey; and 'twas well for the Earl that he did no more in it; for had any ſuch Treaty been propoſed and known, his Friends, who were ſo on the Princeſs *Elizabeth*'s account, had all forſaken him. The Meſſenger being thus diſappointed, the Earl receiv'd One out of *England*, *Morgan Kidwellie*, Eſq; a Lawyer, who brought him Advice, That Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, a Gentleman who was as powerful in *Wales* as Sir *Walter Herbert*, and Capt. *John Savage*, a famous Soldier, had made Great Preparations

K. *Richard* deſigns to Marry the Princeſs *Elizabeth*.

to Aſſiſt him; that *Reginald Bray* had collected large Sums of Money to Pay his Troops, and earneſtly Entreated him to haſten his Voyage and direct his Courſe to *Wales*. The Earl rejoycing at this Good News, order'd all his Forces to Embark and Sail from *Harfleet* in *Normandy* in *Auguſt*, with about Two Thouſand Men, in a few Ships, juſt enough to Tranſport them. After Seven Days Sail, he arriv'd in the Haven of *Milford*, and Landed at a Place call'd *Dalle*, from whence he March'd the next Day to *Haverford Weſt*, where he was Receiv'd with Joy by the Townſmen. Having Refreſh'd his Men, and ſent Notice, by Truſty Meſſengers, to his Mother, the Lord *Stanley*, and *Sigilbert Talbot*, that he intended to direct his March towards *London*, deſiring them to meet him on the Way with their Powers, he advanced to *Shrewsbury*, where Sir *Gilbert Talbot* Joyn'd him with the E. of *Shrewsbury*'s Tenants, as Sir *Rice ap Thomas* and *Richard Griffith* Eſq; had done before, with a Body of *Welſh*-Men; by which his Army became ſo ſtrong, that he eaſily Reduced all the Towns to which he came in his March. Sir *Rice ap Thomas* wou'd not come unto him, till he had promiſed to make him Governour of *Wales*, in caſe he got the Crown; which the Earl agreed to and perform'd as ſoon as 'twas in his power, Sir *Rice* having been very Faithful and Serviceable to him.

1485.

The Earl of *Richmond* Lands in *Wales*.

His Power increaſes.

In the mean while, the Lord *Stanley* and his Brother Sir *Willian Stanley* rais'd Men, but did not declare whom they would ſide with; Sir *William* advanced with his Army into *Staffordſhire*, and waited on the Earl of *Richmond* at *Stafford*, attended only by Twenty or Thirty Perſons. The Lord *Stanley* lay at *Litchfield* with 5000 Men; yet neither he nor his Brother Joyn'd the Earl. Sir *William* having had a Short Conference with him, return'd to his Forces; and when the Earl approach'd near *Litchfield*, the Lord *Stanley* return'd to *Atherſtone*, to prevent King *Richard*'s having any Suſpicion of him; being afraid that the Tyrant would murder his Son the Lord *Strange*, whom he had in his Cuſtody, if he ſided openly with the Earl of *Richmond*.

King *Richard*'s Proceedings upon it.

The Uſurper at firſt deſpiſed the Earl's Attempt, hearing he had brought ſo few Men with him, he did not doubt but Sir *Walter Herbert* would eaſily Suppreſs him with the Militia of *Wales*, which he order'd him to raiſe, but when he heard that Sir *Walter* had ſuffered him to paſs, and ſo many Gentlemen had Joyn'd him with their Friends and Dependants, that his Army would be as numerous as his own, if the *Lancaſhire* Men, under the *Stanley*'s, declar'd for him, he reſolved to Oppoſe him in Perſon, He commanded *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, Sir *Thomas Bourchier*, and Sir *Walter Hungerford*, and other Gentlemen whoſe Loyalty he ſuſpected, to attended him in Arms, and ſent for the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Surrey*, Sir *Robert Brackenbury*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and others, to bring their whole Strength with them, to enable him to give the Earl Battle before he receiv'd further Aſſiſtance. When all his Troops were arrived at *Nottingham*, where he kept his Court, he put himſelf at their Head, and led them to *Leiceſter*. Sir *Thomas Boucrhier*, Sir *Walter Hungerford* and ſeveral others, found means to Deſert to the Earl; which tho' it was a great Diſcouragement to *Richard*, yet it did eaſe Earl *Henry* of his Diſcontent, for that the Lord *Stanley* had not Joyn'd him. His Army proceeded from *Litchfield* to *Tamworth*, Himſelf bringing up the Rear with about Twenty Horſe.

As

1485. The Earl of *Richmond* loſes his Way.

As he was muſing on the Difficulties of his Enterprize, he lagg'd behind his Company, and it growing Dark, they march'd on and entred *Tamworth* before they miſt him. His Care was increaſed, by a Report, that King *Richard* was at hand; whoſe coming up before the Lord *Stanley* had Joyn'd him, threatned his whole Army with Deſtruction; yet his Men were not diſcourag'd, they truſted in their own Valour and the Goodneſs of their Cauſe, and proceeded with Great Reſolution.

The Earl having inſenſibly loſt his Companions, and the High-way to *Tamworth*, turn'd aſide to a Little Village Three Miles from *Tamworth*, where he ſtay'd all Night, not daring to diſcover himſelf, or ask a Guide to the Town. His Followers were much ſurprized at his Abſence, and afraid what was become of him. He was alſo apprehenſive of the ill Effects of their miſſing him, and not a little fearful of falling into the Hands of ſome of the Uſurper's Parties. Early in the Morning he left the Village, and happily arriv'd at the Town, to the unſpeakable Joy of his Army: He excus'd his Abſence by pretending he had been to conſult with ſome private Friends of his who durſt not yet appear for him. He was unwilling his Companions ſhou'd think him Guilty of ſuch a Blunder as to loſe his Way, when he had ſo many Guides about him, and made that a piece of Policy, which was indeed downright Ignorance: So eaſie 'tis for Princes to impoſe upon their People who are ready to judge favourably of all their Actions.

He juſt ſhew'd himſelf to his Soldiers, and then left them again to go to *Atherſtone*, where he firſt ſaw and ſaluted the Lord *Stanley*, his Father in Law; He held a Conference with him and Sir *William Stanley* in a little Field, where they conſulted how they ſhould give the Tyrant Battle to the beſt Advantage. In the Evening Sir *John Savage*, Sir *Bryan Sanford*, and Sir *Simon Digby*, came unto him with all their Friends and Followers from King *Richard*, who was advanc'd to *Leiceſter*, and his Army encamp'd not far off, on a Hill call'd *Arme Beame*, in *Boſworth* Pariſh. The next Day after King *Richard* arriv'd at *Leiceſter*, he went to the Camp and drew up his Men in order of Battle on the Plain. He plac'd his Archers in Front under the Command of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Surrey* his Son; Himſelf led the Main Body, with two Wings of Cavalry on each Flank. The Earl leaving the Lord *Stanley* return'd to his Army, and march'd them out of *Tamworth* towards the Enemy, reſolving to fight King *Richard*. The Lord *Stanley* alſo march'd from *Atherſtone*, and halted in a place between the two Armies. The Earl ſent to him to come and help to ſet his Men in Order of Battle; but the Lord *Stanley* even now was ſo cautious, that he excus'd his appearing among the Earl's Followers: He bad him *Draw up his Soldiers, He wou'd do the ſame by his, and Joyn him at Supper time.* Tho' this Anſwer vext the Earl of *Richmond* inwardly, he ſeem'd as well ſatisfy'd as if he had come, and Chearfully put his Men in Order: His Front was thin, and conſiſted of Archers, commanded by *John* Earl of *Oxford*; Sir *Gilbert Talbot* led the Right Wing, and Sir *John Savage* the Left, attended by a Troop of Young Fellows well arm'd, Clad in white Coats and Hoods, who made a gallant Figure, terrible to the Enemy. The Earl of *Richmond* accompanied by the Earl of *Pembroke* led the Main Body; his whole Strength did not amount to Six Thouſand Men, *Stanley*'s Forces which were Seven or Eight Thouſand ſtrong excepted: And King *Richard* had twice that Number. In the Order we have mention'd, the two Armies advanced towards each other; the Lord *Stanley* moving aſide off as the Earl of *Richmond* mov'd; and when the Uſurper was come farther into the Plain where he expected the Earl's Approach, he made a Speech to his Army to this Purpoſe.

King *Richard* encamps at *Boſworth*.

The Earl marches to Fight him.

1485. The Lord *Stanley*'s warineſs

King *Richard*'s Speech to his Army.

My Friends and Fellow-Soldiers,

"BY your Valour and Conduct I got and have enjoy'd the Crown in ſpite of all the Wicked Deſigns of your and my Enemies. I have govern'd this Nation as a good Prince ought to do for the Benefit of my Subjects, and done nothing without the Advice and Conſent of my Counſellors, whoſe Fidelity and Wiſdom I have often prov'd; and your Loyalty to me makes me believe that you have an Opinion of me as I have of my Self, that I am your Rightful and Lawful King. Tho' at my Acceſſion to the Throne I was Guilty of a Wicked Deteſted Crime, yet my Repentance of it has been ſo Severe and ſo Sincere that I hope you will forget it, as I ſhall never ceaſe to Deplore and Lament it. Conſidering the Danger we are in at this Time, what a gracious Prince I have been to you, and what good Subjects you have been to me, we are bound by the ſtricteſt Bonds of Obligation and Duty mutually to defend one another in ſo great Peril. To keep what we have got is as glorious as to get it: And as by your Aſſiſtance I was advanced to the Throne, ſo I hope by the ſame Help to continue in it. I doubt not you have heard of the Traiterous Devices of an Obſcure *Welſhman* (whoſe Father I never knew, and whom I never ſaw) againſt our Crown and Dignity. You hear who they are that he depends upon, a Company of Traytors, Thieves, Outlaws and Fugitives; mean Beggarly *Bretons*, and Cowardly *Frenchmen*: whoſe Aim is the Deſtruction of you, your Wives and Children, as 'tis their Leaders to Diſpoſſeſs me of the Imperial Crown of this Realm. Let us therefore joyn heartily in our common Defence, Fight like Lions, and fear not to dye like Men: Indeed there is Nothing for you to be afraid of. The Hare never fled faſter from before the Hound, nor the Lark from the Kite, nor the Sheep from the Woolf, than theſe Boaſting Adverſaries of ours ſhall quit the Field at the Sight of ſuch brave Soldiers. Nor do I Promiſe you Victory without Reaſon: For let us think a little who it is that we have to deal with. And firſt for the Earl of *Richmond*, Captain of the Rebels, a *Welſh* Boy, of little Courage and leſs Experience in War; Bred up in the Duke of *Brittain*'s Court like a Bird in a Cage, who never ſaw an Army, and conſequently is not Capable to Lead one. The Soldier's Succeſs is owing in a great meaſure to the Captain's Conduct and Valour. What can his Men hope from him? What from Themſelves? a Crew of Vagabonds and Rebels, who will Tremble when they ſee us advancing with Banners diſplay'd to chaſtize them. They will either fly before us, or *Conſcious of* Divine Vengeance, for the breach of many Oaths of Allegiance they have Sworn to us, throw down their Arms, and at our Feet implore our Royal Mercy. As for the *Frenchmen* and *Bretons*, our Noble Anceſtors have often triumph'd over them. What are They? *Boaſters, Drunkards, Raviſhers, Cowards, the moſt Effeminate and Lewd Wretches that ever offer'd themſelves in Front of Battle.* Since *ſuch are the Enemies* we are to Fight with, Come on, *My*

" *Friends*

1485. "*Friends and Fellow Soldiers*, and dauntleſs try "if they dare diſpute this Matter with us by "dint of Sword. Come on my Captains and "Champions, in whoſe Wiſdom and Courage I "truſt for Me and My People. What is a "Handful to a whole Nation? Let me *Conjure* "*you all* by your Love to your Country, your "Duty to your King, and your Affection to your "Families, to behave your ſelves like good Sub-"jects and good Soldiers this Day, when I reſolve "to be Victorious or crown my Death with Im-"mortal Fame. Remember, that as I Promiſe "thoſe who do Well Riches and Honours; ſo "I ſhall ſeverely Puniſh ſuch as deſerve it by "their Cowardice or Treachery. And now in "the Name of St. *George*, let us meet our Ene-"mies.

Hollins-head. Whether this Speech was made By him or for him, we cannot decide; the Author from whom we took it ſays it was his own, and that it had not ſo good an Effect on the Minds of his Soldiers as he intended it ſhould have. He had many Gentlemen, and others in his Army, who follow'd him more out of Fear than Affection; and wiſh'd well to his Adverſary. The Earl of *Richmond* receiving by his Scouts, That the Uſurper's Army was drawn up in Battalia a little diſtance off on the Plain, rode from Rank to Rank and Wing to Wing to encourage his Men. He was arm'd at all Points, (his Helmet excepted) and got up on an Eminence to be the better ſeen by his Soldiers: For tho' he was handſom and well-proportion'd, yet he was ſhort. Having kept Silence ſome time to conſider of what he was about to ſay to them, He began his Speech thus:

The Earl of *Richmond*'s Speech to his Army "IF ever God appear'd in a Juſt Cauſe, and "gave a Bleſſing to their Arms who warr'd "for the good of their Country: If ever he "aided ſuch as ventur'd their Lives for the "Relief of the Innocent, and to Suppreſs Male-"factors and Publick Criminals; we may now, "*My Friends and Fellow Soldiers*, be ſure of Vi-"ctory over our Proud and Inſolent Enemies. "Juſt and Righteous is our Cauſe, and we can-"not be ſo Wicked as to imagin God will "leave us, to aſſiſt thoſe that fear neither him "nor his Laws, nor have any regard to Ho-"neſty or Juſtice. We have the Laws Divine "and Civil on our Side; we fight againſt a Parri-"cide ſtain'd with his own Blood, a Deſtroyer "of the Nobility, and an Oppreſſor of the Poor "Commons of this Realm; and againſt a Horrid "Band of Murderers, Aſſaſſins, Rebels and Uſur-"pers: For he that Stiles himſelf King wears "the Crown which of Right only belongs to "me. His Favourites and Followers ſeize your "Eſtates, cut down your Woods, ruin and lay "waſte your Mannours and Manſions, and turn "your Wives and Children to Wander in the "wide World without Succour and Relief: The "Cauſe of all theſe Miſchiefs, the Cruel Tyrant "*Richard*, reſt aſſur'd that God will this Day "give into our Hands to be puniſh'd according "to his Demerits. His Followers wounded by "the Stings of their Guilty Conſciences, will not "dare to look Juſtice in the Face: And believe "not that yon numerous Army are your Ad-"verſaries; many of them, if not the moſt "part of that Multitude, are forc'd into the Ty-"rant's Service, have his Crimes in Abhorrence, "and wait only for an Opportunity to joyn us. "You have often heard from the Pulpit, That "'tis the greateſt of Virtues to bring down the "Oppreſſor, and to help thoſe who are in Diſ-"treſs. Is not the Uſurper, *Richard* Duke of 1485. "*Glouceſter*, a Violater of God's Laws and Man's? "Who can have the leaſt good Thought of one "that ſo injur'd his own Brother's Memory, and "murder'd his Nephews? Who can hope for "Mercy from him who Delights in Blood? Who "truſt in him who Miſtruſts all Men. *Tarquin* "the Proud, ſo Infamous in Hiſtory, whom the "*Romans* baniſh'd their City for ever, was leſs "Guilty than this Uſurper. *Nero*, who ſlew his "own Mother, and open'd the Womb that bare "him to ſee the place of his Conception, was "not more a Monſter of Mankind than *Richard*. "In him you have at once a *Tarquin* and a *Nero*. "behold there, a Tyrant worſe than even him "that murder'd his Mother, and ſet his Impe-"rial City in a Flame. One, who has not only "ſlain his own Nephew, his King and Sovereign "Lord, baſtardiz'd his Noble Brothers, affron-"ted his Mother's Honour, but try'd all the Arts "his and his Creatures Cunning cou'd invent to "defile his own Niece, under the ſpecious Pre-"tence of a Marriage, a Princeſs I have ſworn "to marry, as you all know and believe. If "this Cauſe is not Juſt, let God the Giver of "all Victory Judge and determine. We have "(Thanks be to Jeſus our Saviour) eſcap'd "the Treaſons form'd in *Bretagne*, and the "Snares laid by our Subtle Adverſaries to de-"ſtroy us; we have paſs'd the Seas, travers'd a "ſpacious Country in Safety to ſearch for the "Boar, whom we have at laſt found. Let us "not therefore fear to begin the bloody Chace. "Let us put our Confidence in the Almighty, "and verily believe that this is the Hour we "have long'd and pray'd for, which will put "an end to the many Miſeries whe have hither-"to endur'd. Think what a glorious Prize is "before us. The Wealth and Spoil of the "Tyrant and his Followers is yours if we "Conquer, and Conquer we muſt or Dye; for "we are now come ſo far that there is no Re-"treat left us. Let us One and All reſolve to "end our Labours now by Death or Victory. "Let Courage ſupply want of Number, and "as for me, I purpoſe to Live with Glory here-"after, or Periſh with Glory here. Come on "then, Let us meet theſe Traytors, Murderers, "Uſurpers; Let us be Bold and we ſhall Tri-"umph: We are utterly deſtroy'd if we fly; "if we are Victorious there's an end of all our "Perils and Dangers. In the Name of God, "and St. *George*, Come on and Proſper.

Theſe Words ſo encourag'd his Men, that they demanded to be led immediately againſt the Enemy. There was a Moraſs between the two Armies, the Earl left it on his Right hand, by which he not only hinder'd King *Richard*'s attacking him on that Side, but had the Sun in his Back, and it ſhone full in the Faces of his Enemies. The Uſurper ſeeing his Army was approaching, order'd his Trumpets to ſound and the Archers to let fly their Arrows: The Earl's Bowmen return'd their Shot, and when that Dreadful Storm was over, the Foot joyn'd and came to cloſe Fight. 'Twas then that the Lord *Stanley* came in to the Earl's Aſſiſtance. The Earl of *Oxford* fearing his men might be ſurrounded by the Multitude of the Enemy, commanded none ſhou'd ſtir above Ten Foot from the Standard: The Soldiers preſently clos'd their Ranks and ceas'd the Combat, expecting further Orders. King *Richard*'s Troops being Jealous of ſome Stratagem, ſtood ſtill to obſerve them; and indeed they did not fight with a very good Will at all. The Earl of *Oxford* led his Men again

The Battel of *Boſworth.*

to

1485. to the Charge. The Duke of *Norfolk*, the Uſurper's faſt Friend, chang'd the Order of his Battle, widen'd his Firſt Line, but clos'd and enlarg'd his Second; and then renew'd the Combat. King *Richard* hearing the Earl of *Richmond* was not far off, attended with a few of his Guards only, ſought him amidſt his Enemies, and having ſpy'd him, ſet Spurs to his Horſe and ran towards him; The Earl perceived him, and prepar'd to receive him as a Man ſhou'd his mortal Foe. The King meeting with Sir *William Branden* the Earl's Standard Bearer in his way, overthrew and ſlew him. This Knight was Father of *Charles Branden* Duke of *Suffolk*, Famous in the Reign of *Henry* VIII. *Richard* then fought Sir *John Cheyney*, diſmounted him, and forc'd his Way up to the Earl; who kept him off at Swords Point till Aſſiſtance came in, and he was reliev'd by his Followers. At the inſtant Sir *William Stanley*, who had been as wary as the Lord *Stanley* his Brother, joyn'd the Earl with Three Thouſand choſen Men, upon which King *Richard*'s Soldiers turn'd their Backs and fled; himſelf fighting manfully in the midſt of his Enemies was Slain. The E. of *Oxford* made a terrible Slaughter in the Van of the Uſurper's Army. The Duke of *Norfolk*, the Lord *Ferrars* of *Chartley*, Sir *Richard Ratcliffe*, and Sir *Robert Brackenbury* dy'd on the Spot, together with about a Thouſand of their Men. The greateſt part of thoſe in the main Body of *Richard*'s Army watching their Opportunity, while the Van was hotly engag'd with the Earl's, left the Field and departed every Man to his Home; having been by Force taken from their Habitations to fight for a Prince whoſe Government was Odious to them. The Duke of *Norfolk* was warn'd, by a Dyſtich in the Meeter of thoſe Times which was fix'd on the Gate of the Houſe where he Lodg'd, not to venture farther in the Tyrant's Quarrel; for he was betray'd, and all thoſe that engag'd with him wou'd be ruin'd. The Rhimes were theſe:

King *Richard* ſeeks the Earl of *Richmond*.

Richard's Bravery.

He is ſlain and his Army routed.

> Jack *of* Norfolk, *be not too Bold;*
> *For* Dicken, *thy Maſter, is Bought and Sold.*

But as *John Howard* Duke of *Norfolk* owed his Advancement to the Uſurper, who made him a Duke, he thought his own Title to the Honours he held wou'd be Precarious, if *Richard* cou'd not defend his Crown; ſo he follow'd his Fortune, and fell a Victim to his Ambition. Sir *William Catesby* a Judge, who had been a main Inſtrument of the Uſurper's Tyranny, and ſeveral other Offenders were Taken, and two Days after Beheaded at *Leiceſter*. The Lord Viſcount *Lovell*, *Humphrey Stafford* Eſq; and *Thomas Stafford* his Brother, made their Eſcapes. Many Gentlemen and Private Soldiers threw down their Arms, ſubmitted to the Earl, and were graciouſly receiv'd. Among thoſe was *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, who did not engage in the late Battle, He and his Men ſtanding Neuter; for which he was immediately taken into the Earl of *Richmond*'s Favour and Sworn of his Privy-Council. *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey* was ſent to the *Tower*, as having been more zealous than the reſt in the Tyrant's Cauſe: However he was releas'd ſoon after, and preferr'd to Places of the greateſt Truſt and Honour. Earl *Henry* had ſcarce a Hundred Men Kill'd on his Part, and no Perſon of Quality beſides Sir *William Branden*. The Engagement laſted in all about two Hours, and happen'd on the 22d day of *Auguſt*. The Uſurper there finiſh'd his Evil Courſe after he had reign'd two Years, two Months and one Day, reckoning from the Time of his Coronation, which was the Day after his *Election*. Had he liv'd with as much Glory as he dy'd, his Character wou'd have ſhone bright in the *Engliſh* Annals. But tho' he wanted not Perſonal Bravery, yet that Quality as ſhining as it is, was ſully'd and obſcur'd by his Cruelty, and Thirſt of Blood. He might have ſav'd his Life had not Deſpair hurried him on to Death. In the Beginning of the Battle, he perceiv'd, by his Mens fighting with an ill-will and others leaving him, that the Day was loſt. Some of his Creatures adviſed him to Fly, and brought him a ſwift Horſe to carry him off; but knowing how generally he was hated by the whole Kingdom, and that his Crimes were ſuch as deny'd him all hopes of Pardon, he thought the longer he liv'd his Miſery wou'd be the longer, and that at laſt he ſhou'd dye with Infamy; wherefore he ruſh'd deſperately into the thickeſt of the Enemy, and met a more glorious Fate than he deſerved. 1485.

After the Battle was over and the Victory entirely gain'd, the Earl of *Richmond* fell down on his Knees in the Open Field, thank'd the Almighty for the Bleſſing he had given to his Arms, Pray'd for the Catholick Church, and his Subjects which now he had the Charge of. He then rode up to an Eminence, and from thence gave his Soldiers Thanks for behaving themſelves ſo well in the late Fight, promiſing them all Rewards anſwerable to their Deſerts. The Army ſhouting Clapt their Hands and ſaluted him King, crying out with one Voice, *King* Henry, *King* Henry! And the Lord *Stanley* taking King *Richard*'s Crown, which was found among the Spoils of the Field, put it on the Earl's Head, who from that Time aſſum'd the Title and Power of King. We muſt not omit to inform the Reader of the Lord *Strange*'s Eſcape. King *Richard* hearing his Father had raiſed Five Thouſand men and was Advancing towards the Earl of *Richmond* ſent to him to Joyn him, and Swore by *God's Death, if he refus'd it, he wou'd order his Son's Head to be cut off before he died.* The Lord *Stanley* anſwer'd, *He had more Sons, and cou'd not Promiſe to come to him at that Time.* The Tyrant as he Swore to do, order'd the Lord *Strange* to be Beheaded at the Inſtant when the two Armies were to Engage: But ſome of his Council abhorring that the Innocent young Gentleman ſhould ſuffer for his Father's Offence, told the Uſurper, *Now was a Time to Fight, and not to Execute*; adviſing him to keep him Priſoner till the Battle was over; The Tyrant hearken'd to their Advice, broke his Oath, and commanded the Keepers of his Tents to take him into Cuſtody, till he return'd from the Combat. By this Means the Lord *Strange* eſcaped the King's Revenge, equally Bloody and Unjuſt. The Keepers of his Tents deliver'd him to his Father the Lord *Stanley* after the Fight; and for ſaving him, were taken into the New King's Favour, and preferr'd. In the Evening King *Henry* march'd to *Leiceſter*. Where King *Richard*'s Body ſtript ſtark Naked was brought in a ſhameful manner to be Buried. *Blanch Sanglier*, a Purſuivant at Arms threw it upon a Horſe, like a Calf; His Head and Arms hanging on one Side and his Legs on the other, his whole Carcaſs beſmear'd with Dirt and Blood. The Purſuivant rode with it to the Grey-Fryers Church at *Leiceſter*, where it was expos'd a Filthy Spectacle to the View of the People, who us'd it Ignominiouſly, and afterwards 'twas Buried in that Abbey-Church; where King *Henry* in reſpect to his Family,

The Earl of *Richmond* ſaluted King by his Army.

The Lord *Stanley* puts the Crown on his Head in the Field.

King *Richard*'s Body Ignominiouſly us'd.

1485. Family, order'd a Tomb to be erected over his Grave. We ſhall not trouble the Reader with a long Account of his Perſon and Manners: He has doubtleſs by this time ſeen enough of him, and the Picture ſhewn at a nearer View wou'd rather Frighten than Divert him. He was ſhort and little, Crooked or Hump-back'd, one Shoulder higher than the other: His Face was little: He had a Cruel Look; and what confeſs'd the Malice and Deceit of his Heart, He often mus'd, and muſing bit his nether Lip: He wore a Dagger always about him, and frequently would draw it up and down the Scabbard: He was Cunning and Falſe, Proud and Valiant; *and in* a word, by the Hiſtory Sir *Thomas Moore* has left us of him, the greateſt Tyrant that ever Sat on the *Britiſh* Throne; where no Tyrant did ever Sit long. 1485.

A ſhort Character of King *Richard.*

The Reigns of King *Edward* V. and his Succeſſor *Richard* III. were ſo ſhort, that there were few *Remarkable Occurrences* in their Times: And the moſt Illuſtrious Perſons, both in *War* and the *Arts* and *Sciences*, will more Properly come under that of *Henry* the VIIth.

IN the Firſt Part of *Richard* the IIId's Reign, There happen'd ſuch a Flood in *Glouceſterſhire*, that all the Country was Overflow'd by the *Severn*, ſeveral Perſons were Drown'd in their Beds, Children in Cradles ſwam about the Fields, and Beaſts were Drown'd even on the Hills: The Waters did not Abate in Ten Days; which hinder'd the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Paſſing that River into *Wales* to joyn the *Welſhmen* who were riſen againſt King *Richard*, and occaſion'd his Misfortune and Death. *Hol.* 743.

Baniſter, who betray'd the Duke of *Buckingham* his Maſter, was ſorely afflicted with God's Secret Judgments: His Eldeſt Son went Mad, and died raving in a Hog-ſty. His Eldeſt Daughter, who was very Beautiful, was ſuddenly ſtricken with a foul Leproſy. His Second Son was taken Lame in his Limbs. His Younger Son was Suffocated in a Puddle of Filthy Water; and himſelf in an extreme Old Age found Guilty of Murther, but ſav'd by his Clergy. *Hol.* 744.

John Duke of *Norfolk*,
Sir *Robert Brackenbury*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*,
The Lord *Ferrars*, and Sir *Richard Ratcliff*, loſt their Lives fighting Valiantly for King *Richard* at *Boſworth* Battle.
Sir *William Branden*, and Sir *John Cheyney*, Signaliz'd themſelves in the ſame Fight, on the Side of the Earl of *Richmond*.

Of *Men of Learning*, there were ſome in the Reign of *Richard* III. of Note: *As*,

John Penketh an Auguſtine Frier, of *Warrington* in *Lancaſhire*, one of *Scotus*'s Followers; he Preach'd an Infamous Sermon in Favour of King *Richard*: The ſame did Dr. *Shaw*, an Eminent Preacher, Sir *Edmund Shaw*'s Brother, an Alderman of *London*.
John Kent, or *Caileie*, Born *in South-Wales*, Rhetorician.
George Ripley, a Carmelite Frier of *Boſton*, a Great Mathematician and Poet.
Dr. *John Spine*, a Carmelite Frier of *Briſtol*, &c.

THE LIFE and REIGN OF RICHARD III.

In Five BOOKS.

By *GEO. BUCK*, Eſquire.

The ARGUMENT and CONTENTS of BOOK I.

The Linage, Family, Birth, Education, and Tyrociny of King *RICHARD* the Third.

The Royal Houſe of Plantageneſt, *and the beginning of that Name. What* Sobriquets *were. The Antiquity of Sirnames.* Richard *is created Duke of* Glouceſter, *his Marriage and his Iſſue: His martial Imployments: His Journey into* Scotland *and Recovery of* Berwick: *The Death of King* Edward *the Fourth. The Duke of* Glouceſter *made Lord Protector, and ſoon after King of* England, *by importunate Suit of his Barons and of the People, as the next true and lawful Heir.* Henry Teudor *Earl of* Richmond *practiſeth againſt the King: He is conveyed into* France. *The Noble Linage of Sir* William Herbert, *his Imployment: He is made Earl of* Pembroke. *King* Edward *the Fourth firſt, and after King* Richard, *ſollicit the Duke of* Brittain, *and treat with him for the Delivery of the Young Earl of* Richmond *his Priſoner. The Succeſs of that Buſineſs. The Quality and Title of the* Beauforts *or* Somerſets. *The Linage and Family of the Earl of* Richmond. *The ſolemn Coronations of King* Richard, *and of the Queen his Wife; his firſt at* Weſtminſter, *the ſecond at* York. *Nobles, Knights and Officers made by him. Prince* Edward *his Son inveſted in the Principality of* Wales, *and the Oath of Allegiance made to him. King* Richard *demandeth the Tribute of* France. *His Progreſs to* York. *His careful Charge given to the Judges and Magiſtrates. He holdeth a Parliament, wherein the Marriage of the King his Brother with the Lady* Grey *is declared and adjudged unlawful, their Children to be Illegitimate and not capable of the Crown. The Earl of* Richmond *and divers others Attainted of Treaſon. Many good Laws made. The King declared and approved by Parliament to be the only true and lawful Heir of the Crown. The King and Queen Dowager are reconciled. He hath ſecret Advertiſements of Innovations and Practices againſt him: Createth a Vice-Conſtable of* England. *His ſundry Treaties with Foreign Princes. Dr.* Morton *corrupteth the Duke of* Buckingham, *who becometh diſcontent, demanding the Earldom of* Hereford, *with the Great Conſtableſhip of* England: *He taketh Arms, is defeated and put to Death by Marſhal Law.*

The Houſe and Title of *York*,

RICHARD Plantagenet, Duke of *Glouceſter*, and King of *England* and of *France*, and Lord of *Ireland*, the Third of that Name, was the Younger Son of Sir *Richard Plantagenet*, the (*a*) fourth Duke of *York* of that Royal Family, and King of *England*, deſignate by King *Henry* the Sixth, and by the moſt Noble Senate, and Univerſal Synod of this Kingdom, the High Court of Parliament. The Mother of this *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter*, was the Lady *Cecily* Daughter of Sir *Ralph de Nevill*, Earl of *Weſtmorland*, by his Wife *Joan de Beaufort*, the Natural Daughter of *John Plantagenet* (alias) *de Gaunt*, Duke of *Guiene* and *Lancaſter*, King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, third Son of King *Edward* the Third; for in that Order

(*a*) He was not the fourth Duke of that Family. The firſt was *Edmund* of *Langley*. The ſecond was *Edward* his Son, whoſe Brother *Richard*, Earl of *Cambridge*, was Beheaded for Treaſon before Duke *Edward* dy'd. He left this *Richard*, who cou'd not be the fourth Duke of *York*, his Father having never born that Title; But his Uncle *Edward* being Slain at the Battle of *Agincourt*, and dying without Iſſue, King *Henry* the VIth. created this *Richard* Duke of *York*: So he was the third Duke of that Title of this Family.

this

this Duke is best accounted, because *William* of *Hatfield*, the second Son of King *Edward* the Third died in his Infancy, and this Duke of *York* and King designate, was propagated from two younger Sons of the same King *Edward* the Third, whereby he had both Paternal and Maternal Title to the Crown of *England* and *France*: But his better and nearer Title was the Maternal Title, or that which came to him by his Mother the Lady *Anne de Mortimer*, the Daughter and Heir of *Philippa Plantagenet*, who was the sole Daughter and Heir of *Lyonel Plantagenet* Duke of *Clarence*, and second Son (*b*) of King *Edward* the Third, according to the Account and Order aforesaid.

And this Lady *Philippa* was the Wife of Sir *Edmond de Mortimer*, the great and famous Earl of *March*, and that Duke *Richard*, King designate, by his Father *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of *York* (Sirnam'd also *de Conningsborrough*) issued directly and in a Masculine Line from *Edmond Plantagenet*, alias *de Langley*, the first Duke of *York*, and the fifth Son of King *Edward* the Third; who was the most renowned and glorious Progenitor to those Princes of *York* and *Lancaster*, and the first King in a Lineal Descent from that great *Henry* Sirnam'd *Plantagenet*, famous for his great Prowess and many Victories, King of *England* in the Right of his Mother the Empress *Matilda* or *Maud*, Daughter and Heir of King *Henry* the First, and stil'd *Anglorum Domina*, sometime Wife of the Emperor *Henry* the Fifth, by which he was also Sirnam'd *Filius Imperatricis*: The *French* men call'd him *Henry du Court Manteau*, or Court Mantle, because he wore a Cloak shorter than the Fashion was in those Times. By his Father *Galfride*, or *Geoffry Plantagenet*, he was Earl or Duke of *Anjou* (for then *Dux & Comes*, and *Ducatus & Comitatus*, were Synonomies and Promiscuous words) he was also Earl of *Maine* of *Torraine*, and Hereditary Seneschal, or High Steward of *France*, and by his Marriage of *Elianor* Queen of *France* Repudiate, Daughter and Heir of *William* Duke of *Gascoigne* and of *Guiene*, and Earl of *Poictou*, he was Duke and Earl of those Principalities and Signiories; also by the Empress his Mother Duke of *Normandy*: He was Lord of *Ireland* by Conqueſt, and confirm'd by Pope *Adrian*. But these were not all his Seigniories and Dominions; for after he was King of *England*, he extended his Empire and Principate in the South to the *Pyrenean* Mountains, (The Confines of *Spain* and *France*) in the North to the Isles of *Orkney*, and in the East and West with the Ocean, as *Giraldus Cambrensis*, *Gul. Neubrigensis*, & *Joannes Sarisburiensis*, grave and credible Authors affirm, who stiled him, *Regum Britanniæ maximus*; and doubtless he was the greatest King of *Britain* since King *Arthur*.

The Lineage of *Edw.* III.

The Empire of K. *Henry* II.

Girald. in *Topog. Hiberniæ*, *Sarisbur.* in *Pol.* *Newbrig.* *Lib.* 2.

But it is controverted amongst the Antiquaries and Heralds, which Earl of *Anjou* first bare the Sirname and † *Sobriquet* of *Plantageneſt*, or *Plantagenet* after the vulgar Orthodox, by what occasion, and from what cause it was taken and born, and from what Time and Age it had beginning: Some would have the forenamed *Geoffry Plantagenet*, Father of this *Henry*, the first Earl of *Anjou*, which bare it. But we shall find stronger Reasons to derive it from a much more ancient Earl of *Anjou*, and better Causes than can be found in him, if we step but a little back to their Stories, and compare the Men and their Times. *Geoffry Plantagenet* being a Man of a Gallant and Active Fire, dispos'd to the Courts of Princes, to Justs, Turnaments, &c. and to the Courtship of fair Ladies those of the Higheſt Rank, and had so Amorous a Star, That *Philippe le Grosse*, King of *France*, suspected him for too familiar Commerce with his Bed. But it was of better Influence when he atchieved and married the Empress *Matilda*, by which we may very well calculate, he neither had nor would be intent or at leisure for such a mortified and perilous Pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*. But if we would know the Man, let us look upon the first *Fulke*, Earl of *Anjou*, who liv'd about an Hundred Years before the *Norman* Conqueſt of *England*, and was Son of *Godefray*, or *Geoffry Grisegonell* the first Earl of *Anjou* (according to *du Haillon*) Ancestor and Progenitor to the foresaid *Geoffry Plantagenet*, some seven or eight Degrees in the ascending Line, as *Paradin* accounteth, a Man raised upon the Foundation of a great Courage and Strength (two of the best Principles when they have good Seconds, and make too a glorious Man, where they serve his Vertues, not Affections, as in this Prince they did) whose Disposition on the other side being let out into as vast an Ambition and Covetousness, ne'er look'd upon the Unlawfulness of his Desires, how horrid soever (which amongst the many rest) run him upon the shelves of wilful Perjury and Murder; the one for defrauding and spoiling a Church of certain Rights, and the other for contriving the Tragedy of his young Nephew, *Drogo*, Earl of *Britain*, to make himself Lord of his Country and Principality. The secret Check and Scourge of those Crimes had a long time to work upon his Conscience, and of a great Sinner made a great Penitent; being Old and having much solitary Time and many heavy Thoughts (which naturally attend Old Age, and suggest better Considerations of our former and youthful Sins) he opens the Horror of them, and his afflicted Mind to his Confessor, (as great *Constantine* to *Ægyppus*) who enjoyn'd him to make the same Confession before the Holy Sepulchre at *Jerusalem*; which Pilgrimage the Earl perform'd in all lowly and contemptible manner, passing as a Private and Unworthy Person, without Train or Followers, save two of his meanest (which he took rather for Witnesses than) Servants, whose Service was, when they came near *Jerusalem*, the one with a Cord (such as is us'd for the Strangling of Criminals) thrown about his Master's Neck, to draw or lead him to the Holy Sepulcher, whilst the other did *accoustre* and strip him as a condemn'd Person, and with extremity Scourge him until he was prostrate before the Sacred Monument, where he gave Evidence of his unfeign'd Contrition and Sorrow. Amongst other devout Expressions, uttering this, *Mon dieu & Signeur recoy a Pardon le perjure & homicide & miserable Foulque*; And after this Pilgrimage he liv'd many Years of Prosperity in his Country, honoured of all Men. To justifie this, there be many Examples of other Princes and Noble Persons who liv'd about the Year of our Lord One Thousand, and somewhat before, and in Three or Four Ages after, who underwent the like Pilgrimages imposed under Base and Mechanick Nick-names and Persons, as of a Carpenter, a Smith, a Fisherman, a Mariner, a Shepheard, a Wood-man, a Broom-man, &c. In my Inquiry after that of *Plantagenet*, I met with an Ancient Manuscript, that afforded me a large

Fulke Earl of *Anjou*.

Accoustre *in crimi-* *nall &* *condemne* *Paradin.*

From this Example *Henry* II. submitted his Body to be scourged by the *Monks* of *Canterbury* for the Death of *Tho. Becket.*

† or Nick-name.

(*b*) *Lyonel* Duke of *Clarence*, was his Third Son: The Eldest was *Edward* the Black Prince, the Second *William* of *Hatfield*, and the Third *Lyonel*, &c.

Catalogue of many ſuch, by the *French* call'd *Sobriquets*; from whence I have tranſcribed theſe few for a Taſte.

SOBRIQUETS.

Berger, Shepherd.
Griſegonnelle, Gray-coat.
Taſte de Eſtoupe, Head of Tow.
Arbuſte, a Shurb.
Martoll, a Hammer.
Grandebœuf, Ox-face.
La Zouch, Branch upon a Stem.
Houlette, a Sheep-Hook.
Hapkin, Hatchet.
Chapelle, Hood.
Sans-terre, Lackland.
Malduit, Ill taught.
Geffard, *Jeuvencas*, or *Heyfer*.
Filz de Fleau, Son of a Flail.
Plantageneſt, the Plant or Stalk of a Broom.

After this manner & long after, King *Hen.* II. the Heir and Succeſſor of this Earl *Fulko*, was injoyn'd by the Pope to go to the *Holy-Land* and to fight againſt the Infidels, *Hoveud. Rival.* &c.

And under the Name and Habit of a Broom-man, our Pilgrim perform'd this Penance, and took the *Sobriquet* of *Plantageneſt* from wearing a Stalk of Broom, or Plant of *Geneſt*; this is generally receiv'd, but the Time and Reaſon neither ſet down nor rendred by any of our Heralds and Antiquaries, *French* or *Engliſh*; for the time when he performed this, I obſerve 'twas about the Year of our Lord One Thouſand certainly. But for the particular Reaſon this Count had to chuſe the *Geneſt* Plant, or Broom-ſtalk, before any other Vigetable or Thing, I ſhall lay down that Opinion which is my own, noting for a Circumſtance by the way, that the Broom in Hieroglyphical Learning is the Symbol of Humility; and the Poets, particularly *Virgil* the beſt of Poets, gives it the Epithet of *humilis*, *humiles Geniſta*; and the Etymologiſts derive it from *Genu* the Knee, the Part moſt apply'd, and as it were dedicate to the chief Act of Reverence, Kneeling; to which the Natural Philoſophers ſay, there is ſo Mutual a Correſpondency, and ſo Natural a Sympathy between *Genu* and *Geniſta*, that of all other Plants or Vegetables, it is moſt comfortable and Medicinable to the Pains and Diſeaſes of the Knees. *Pliny* a great Maſter amongſt them ſaith, *Geniſta tuſcæ, cum*, &c. *Genua dolentia ſanat.*

Leon. Fuſchius.

Pliu. lib. 24. cap. 9.

But the moſt conſiderable Reaſon is, as I conceive it, from the uſe he was conſtrain'd to make of the Twigs of Broom when he came to be ſcourged at *Jeruſalem*, the Place neceſſitating the uſe of them to that purpoſe, being (as *Strabo* relates) a Stony, Sandy and Barren Soil, only natural and grateful to the *Geneſt*, as the Watry and Moiſt to the Birch, Willow and Withy, of which there cou'd be none there for that reaſon. And from hence it muſt moſt conjecturally take the beginning of that Honour, which afterward his Princely and Noble Poſterities continued for their Sirname, who became Dukes and Princes in ſundry places, and ſome of them Kings of *England*, *France*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and (as the People of that Age verily believ'd by their obſervation) were the more Proſperous and Happy for his ſake.

Strabo, lib. 16.

Du Haillon.

For the continuance of the Name, ſome (who pretend to ſee further and better in the Dark than others as clear ſighted) would have it taken of late time, and not uſed by the Kings and Princes of *England*, of the *Angeume* Race. But there are many Proofs to be adduced againſt them: Let us look into Mr. *Brook*'s Genealogies of *England*, we ſhall find nothing more obvious and frequent in the Deductions of thoſe Princes of the Houſe of *Anjou*, than the Addition and Sirname of *Plantagenet*, *Edm. Plantagenet*, *Geo. Plantagenet*, *John Plantagenet*, *Edw. Plantagenet*, *Lyonell Plantagenet*, *Humphrey Plantagenet*, &c. In the *French* Hiſtorians and Antiquaries, *Ion de Tillet*, *Girard du Haillon*, *Claude Paradio*, & *Iean Baron de la Hay*, we ſhall often meet with *Geoffry Plantagenet*, *Arthur Plantagenet*, *Richard Plantagenet*, and diverſe the like, all of the firſt Age, when the *Angeume* Princes firſt became *Engliſh*, and ſome before. Mr. *Cambden* alſo in his *Immortal Britannia*, mentioneth ſome very ancient; as *Richard Plantagenet*, *John Plantagenet*, &c. And witneſſeth, that the forenamed *Geoffry Plantagenet* uſed to wear a Broom-ſtalk in his Bonnet, as many Nobles of the Houſe of *Anjou* did, and took it for their chief Sirname. It might be added, that theſe Earls of *Anjou* were deſcended out of the Great Houſe of *Saxony* in *Germany*, which hath brought forth many Kings, Emperors and Dukes; and that they were of Kindred and Alliance to the ancient Kings of *France*, and ſundry other Princes. But I will cloſe here for the High Nobility of King *Richard*, as the good old Poet did for another Heroical Perſon,

In his Catalogue of Honour.

——*Deus eſt utroque Parente.* Ovid.

Deus i. Rex a King.

By either Parent Born a God.

and come to the other Matters of his Private Story; And firſt for his Birth and Native Place, which was in the Caſtle of *Forthringay*, or as ſome write, rhe Caſtle of *Birkhamſteed*, both Caſtles and Honours of the Duke his Father, about the Year of our Lord 1450, which I diſcover by the Calculation of the Birth, Reign, and Death of King *Edward* his Brother, who was Born about 1441, or 1442. and Reigned Two and Twenty Years, Died at the Age of One and Forty, *Anno* 1483. The Dutcheſs of *York*, their Mother, had Five Children betwxt them, ſo that *Richard* could not be leſs than Seven or Eight Years younger than King *Edward*, and he ſurviv'd him not fully Three Years.

This *Richard Plantagenet*, and the other Children of *Richard* Duke of *York*, were Brought up in *Yorkſhire* and *Northamptonſhire*, but lived for the moſt part in the Caſtle of *Midelham* in *Yorkſhire*, until the Duke their Father, and his Son *Edmond Plantagenet*, Earl of *Rutland*, were Slain in the Battle of *Wakefield*. *Ann.* (*c*) *Dom.* 1461, upon which the Dutcheſs of *York*, their Mother, (having cauſe to fear the Faction of *Lancaſter*, which was now grown very exalting and ſtrong, and of a Mortal Enmity to the Houſe of *York*) ſecretly convey'd her Two younger Sons, *George* and *Richard Plantagenet* (who was then about ſome Ten Years old) into the *Low-Countries*, to their Aunt the Lady *Magaret* Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, Wife of *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* and *Brabant* and Earl of *Flanders*. They continued at *Utrich*, the Chief City then in *Holland*, where they had Princely and Liberal Education, until *Edward* Earl of *March* their Eldeſt Brother had reveng'd his Father's Death, and taken the Kingdom and Crown (as his Right) from *Henry* VI.

(*c*) He was Slain the 30th of *December*, 1460, as by *Thins* Hiſtory of *Protectors* is to be ſeen in *Holinſhead*, pag. 1080.

when

when he call'd Home his Two Brothers, and enters them into the Practice of Arms, to ſeaſon their Forwardneſs, and Honour of Knighthood, which he had beſtowe'd upon them; and ſoon after inveſts *George* in the Dutchy of *Clarence* and Earldom of *Richmond*, which Earldom he the rather beſtow'd upon him, to darken the young Earl of *Richmond Henry Tudor*. *Richard* had the Dukedom of *Glouceſter* and Earldom of *Carliſle*, as I have read in an old Manuſcript Story, which Creation the Heralds don't allow: But whether he was *Comes* thereof after the ancient *Roman* underſtanding, that is Governour; or *Comes*, or Count, after the common taking it by us *Engliſh*, or others, that is, for a ſpecial Titular Lord, I will not take upon me to determine, but affirm I have read him *Comes* Carliolenſis.

Lib. Manuſ. in quarto apud D. Rob. Cotton. Comes, i. Præſes.

And after the Great Earl of *Warwick* and *Salisbury*, *Rechard de Neville*, was reconciled to the King's Favour, (*d*) *George* Duke of *Clarence* was married to the Lady *Iſabel*, or *Elzabeth*, the Eldeſt Daughter of that Earl, and *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter* to the Lady *Anne*; which Ladies, by their Mother the Lady *Anne de Beauchamp*, Daughter and Heir of Sir *Richard de Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, were Heirs of that Earldom. But *Anne*, altho' the yoanger Siſter, was the better Woman, having been a little before married to *Edward Plantagenet* Prince of *Wales* and Duke of *Cornwal*, only Son of King *Henry* the Sixth, and was now his Princeſs and Dowager, by whom Duke *Richard* had a Son call'd *Edward*, created Prince of *Wales* when his Father came to the Crown.

The Employment of this Duke was for the moſt part in the North, as the Country of his Birth, ſo more naturally affected by him; according to the Poet.

—— *Natale ſolum dulcedine cunctos Mulcet.* Ovid

Sooth'd with Sweet Charms, all love their Native Soil.

And there lay his Appanage and Patrimony, with a Great Eſtate of the Dutcheſs his Wife, of which the Seigniory of *Penrith*, *vulgò Perith*, in *Cumberland* was part where he much reſided, and Built or Repair'd moſt of the Caſtles, all that Northern Side generally honouring and affecting his Deportment, being Magnificent (to apply Sir *Thomas Moore*) ſomething above his Ability, which he expreſt moſt in his Hoſpitality. And ſurely, if Men are taken to the life beſt from their Actions, we ſhall find him in the Circle of a Character (not ſo commaculate and mix'd, as Paſſionate and Purblind Pens have daſh'd it) whilſt we ſquint not at thoſe Virtues in him, which make up other Princes abſolute: His Wiſdom and Courage had not then their Nicknames and Calumny as now, but drew the Eyes and Acknowledgment of the whole Kingdom towards him; and his Brother had a ſound Experience of his Fidelity and Conſtancy in divers Hazardous Congreſſes and Battles, through which he had faithfully follow'd his Fortune, and return'd all his Undertakings ſucceſsful: As

Cambden in Cumberland.

Sir *Will. Haward.*

Purblind *Quaſi* Partblind.

at *Barnet*, where he entred ſo far and boldly into the Enemies Army, that Two of his Eſquires, *Thomas Parr* and *John Milwater* being neareſt to him were ſlain; yet by his own Valour he quit himſelf, and put moſt part of the Enemies to flight, the reſt to the Sword. With the like Valour he behaved himſelf at the Battel of *Exon*, *Doncaſter*, *St. Albans*, *Blore-heath*, *Northampton*, *Mortimer's Croſs*, and *Tewkesbury*. And it was then confeſt a very conſiderable Service to the State, his taking of the Famous Pirate *Thomas Nevill*, alias *Faulconbridge*, Earl of *Kent*, (*e*) with whom comply'd Sir *Richard de Nevill* Earl of *Warwick*, a near Kinſman to the Earl of *Kent* his Natural Father, which held him up in the better Eſteem, and whetted him to any Attempt. For this haughty Earl, who had drawn him from the Houſe of *York* (to which he had done Valiant Service not long before) to the Party of *Henry* the Sixth and his *Lancaſtrian* Faction; and fearing what Forces and Aid King *Edward* might have from beyond Sea, provides a warlike Fleet for the Narrow Seas, of which this *Faulconbridge* was appointed Admiral, with Commiſſion to Take or Sink all Ships he met, either of the King's Friends or Subjects, who did not underact it, but made many Depredations on the Coaſt, and put many to the Sword becoming an Enemy the more conſiderable, King *Edward* finding (as the Caſe ſtood then with him) his Attempts by Sea wou'd be of too weak a proof to ſurprize him, which the Duke of *Glouceſter* contrived by an Advertiſement he had of his Private ſtealth into ſeveral of the Parts, ſometimes where he had recourſe to ſome Abetters of that Faction, and coming to Shore at *Southampton*, by a ready Ambuſh ſeiz'd and apprehended him, from whence he was convey'd to *London*, ſo to *Middleham* Caſtle, and after he had told ſome Tales, put to Death (*f*). And while he continued in the Northern Parts, he Govern'd thoſe Countries with great Wiſdom and Juſtice; preſerving the Concord and Amity between the *Scots* and *Engliſh*, tho' the Breaches were not to be made up with any Strength and Continuance, the Borders living out of the Mutal Spoiles and Common Rapines, ever prompt for any Cauſe that might beget Brauls and Feuds. And in the laſt Year of the Reign of the King his Brother, the Quarrels grew ſo outragious and hoſtile, that nothing cou'd compoſe them, but the Sword and Open War, ariſing from an unjuſt detaining the Tribute, as *Polidore* writeth.

1482.

The Baſtard *Faulconbridge.*

An Army ſent into *Scotland* under the Duke of *Glouceſter.*

King *Edward* took it very ill at the Hands of *James* IV. King of *Scotland*, that he refuſed to pay the Tribute whereunto he was bound by Covenant; and therefore reſolv'd by Arms to compel him to it: But King *Edward* being diſtracted with a Jealous Care and Watching of *France*, neglected that Buſineſs of *Scotland*, and in the mean time *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, Brother to King *James*, pretending earneſt Buſineſs in *France*, makes *England* in his way, and inſtigates King *Edward* to put on Arms againſt his Brother, promiſing to return ſhortly out of *France*, and raiſe a Power in *Scotland* for his Aid: Here-

1482.

(*d*) This is ſo erroneous, that the Earl of *Warwick* was at Open Variance with the King, and had prevailed on the Duke of *Clarence*, who was Poor, by Offers of this Match to forſake King *Edward*'s Intereſt, and joyn with the Earl againſt his own Brother; upon which the Duke went over with him to *Calais*, married his Daughter, returned with him to *England* and expell'd his Brother the Kingdom. *Habington's Edward* IV. *p.* 48.

(*e*) This *Thomas* was never Earl of *Kent*, but Baſtard Son of *William Nevill* Earl of *Kent*, who was Lord *Faulconbridge* before King *Edw.* IV. created him Earl of *Kent*.

(*f*) This Story is told quite another way by *Habington*. *Faulconbridge* came to *London* with his Forces, Attacked the City, was forc'd to retire, got into *Sandwich* with 900 Men, fortify'd the Town, and yielded it at laſt on Terms of Pardon, brought by this Duke of *Glouceſter*, which were violated, and *Nevill* being apprehended at *Southampton*, was Executed, tho' he pleaded That his Name was particularly inſerted in the *Sandwhich* Pardon. The Duke of *Glouceſter* did not apprehend him. *Hab.* 109.

upon

1482. upon the King reſolv'd it, and ſent the Duke of *Glouceſter* with a good Army into *Scotland*, who march'd Maſter of the Field near to *Berwick*, having a little before ſent Sir *Thomas Stanley* to Beſiege it, and ſoon after took it himſelf. But the Duke of *Albany* failed him, and had underhand ſtruck up a Peace with his Brother of *Scotland*; yet *Richard* of *Glouceſter* accompliſh'd the Expedition very honourably and happily: Thus *Polidore.*

Anno 24. Edw. 4.

But to Enlarge what he reporteth deſertively, and abridgeth; King *Edward*, notwithſtanding that Negligence (noted by him) levied Strong Forces (the King of *Scotland* being as vigilant in that Buſineſs) and made the Duke of *Glouceſter* his General, under whom went Sir *Henry Piercy* Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Stanley*, after Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Lovell*, the Lord *Grey* of *Greſtock*, the Lord *Scroope* of *Bolton*, the Lord *Fitzhugh*, Sir *William Parr* of *Roſe*, a Noble and Valiant Gentleman, Father of the Lord *Parr* of *Roſe*, *Kendal* and *Fitzhugh*, and Grandfather to Sir *William Parr* Earl of *Eſſex* and Marqueſs of *Northampton*, Sir *Edward Woodville* Lord *Rivers* Brother to the Queen *Elizabeth*, with many other of Eminency and Noble Quality.

The Duke march'd firſt with his Army to the Borders and Frontiers of *Scotland*, giving the Overthrow to ſuch as reſiſted; then made up to the Strong Town of *Berwick*, which at that Inſtant the King of *Scotland* poſſeſs'd by the Surrender of *Henry* VI. and had the like Succeſs with thoſe Troops of the Enemies he met and found about the Town. After a ſhort Siege, the Beſieged upon Summons and Parley, finding themſelves too weak to make good the Oppoſition, were eaſily perſwaded to be quiet, and ſafely rendring the Town and Caſtle upon very ſlender Conditions, as is recorded in the Chronicle of *Croyland*. Having placed a Governour and Garriſon in the Town, he continued his March towards *Edenborough*, with a Purpoſe to Beſiege and Sack it, but was met in the Half way by Ambaſſadors from thence, who, after a Favourable Audience and Acceſs craved, in the Name of their King and Nation implore a League, or at leaſt a Truce between the Kingdoms, offering ſo Fair Conditions for it, that the General, after a Deliberate Conſultation, granted to Suſpend or Intermit all Hoſtile Proceedings, with a Fair Entertainment to their Perſons, and a Publick Edict throughout the Army, That no *Engliſh* ſhould offer any Violence or Offence to any *Scot* or their Goods; and by this Provident Truce, that Ruddy Storm, which ſeem'd terrible to impend, was diverted and made a Calm Preface to the Famous League, afterwards concluded by him when he was King and *James* the Fourth of *Scotland*. But whilſt theſe Employments ſtaid him there, News arriv'd of King *Edward*'s Death, and was mutter'd very doubtfully by ſome who had confidence and ground to ſuppoſe it haſten'd by Treachery. The Nobles at *London*, and in the South Parts ſpeedily call the Duke Home by their Private Letters and Free Approbation, to aſſume the Protection of the Kingdom, and Two Princes committed unto him by the King. *Rex* Edwardus *IV. Filios ſuos* Richardo *Duci* Gloceſtriæ, *in tutelam moriens tradidit*: as *Polidore* teſtifieth.

Chron. *Croy.*

1483.

The doubtful Death of King *Edw.* 4.

vid. lib. 4. The Duke of *Glouceſter* made Ld. Protector.

The Army and Affairs of thoſe Parts diſpos'd, he came to *York*, where he made a few Days ſtay to pay ſome religious Offices and Ceremonies to the Manes and Exequies of the Deceaſed King, ſo haſten'd to *London*, having in his Train (beſides his own ordinary Retinue) Six Hundred Voluntary Gentlemen of the North Parts, brave Horſemen and gallantly mounted; upon the Way he diſpatch'd certain Segual Meſſengers to the Young King (who was then at *Ludlow*-Caſtle in *Wales*) to provide for his Honourable Conduct to *London*, where he arriv'd not long after the Lord Protector, and was Magnificently Receiv'd and Lodg'd at the Biſhop's Palace: His Brother the Duke of *York* was then with the Queen Mother in the Palace at *Weſtminſter*, who out of a pretended Motherly Care (rather indeed her Policy) would not let him ſtir from her to ſee the King, who had deſired his Company, but inſtantly takes Sanctuary with him in the Abby. The Lord Protector ſollicites her by ſome Noblemen to ſend or bring him to the King; which ſhe peremptorily ſtood againſt, until Cardinal *Bourchier* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was made the Meſſenger; who ſo gravely and effectually perſwaded with her, that ſhe delivered him the Duke: After ſome Days reſpite in *London-Houſe*, the King, according to Ancient Cuſtom, was to remove Court to the *Tower* of *London*, the Caſtle Royal and Chief Houſe of Safety in the Kingdom, until the more weighty Affairs of the State, and ſuch Troubles (if any happen'd) as often intercedes the alterations of Reigns, were well diſpatch'd and compoſed (ſome threatning Evils of that kind being diſcover'd and extinguiſh'd before the Protector came to *London*); and until all things proper to his Coronation were in Preparation and Readineſs, the Lord Protector ſtill being near unto him with all Duty and Care, and did him Homage, as Honourable *Philippe de Comines, le Duc de* Glouceſter *avoit fait homage à ſon Nepheu Comme à ſon Roy & ſouverain Seigneur*; but this Teſtimy, being avouch'd by one who loved not the Protector, may leave more credit; who ſays, When the Young King approach'd towards *London*, the Lord Protector, his Uncle, rode bare-headed before him; and in paſſing along, ſaid with a Loud Voice to the People, *Behold your Prince and Sovereign*; to which the Prior of *Croyland*, who lived in thoſe Days, reporteth Richardus, *Protector nihil reverentiæ, quod capite nudato, genu Flecto aliove quolibet corporis habitu in ſubdito exegit, Regi Nepoti ſuo facere diſtulit aut recuſavit*: And why ſhould theſe Services and his Conſtancy be judg'd leſs real to the Son than to the Father, his Care and Providence looking pregnantly through all Turns that concern'd him and his State; and therefore timely removed ſuch of Danger as were vehemently ſuſpected for their Ambition and Inſolent Aſſuming Power and Authority not proper to them, and ſo ſtood Ill Affected to their Prince, and Turbulent Maligners of the Government. And thus his Strict Juſtice to ſome, begat the Envy of others, as it fell out in the time of King *Edward* between thoſe of the Blood Royal (with whom the ancient Barons ſided) and the Regiſts, who being ſtubborn, haughty, and incompatible of the others Nearneſs to the King, ſtir'd up Competitions and Turbulencies among the Nobles, and became ſo inſolent and publick in their Pride and Outrages towards the People, that they forc'd their Murmurs at length to bring forth Mutiny againſt them: But finding the King's Inclination gentle on that ſide, they ſo temper'd it, as they durſt extend their Malice to the Prince of the Blood and Chief Nobility; many times by Slanders and Falſe Suggeſtions, privately incenſing the King againſt them, who ſuffer'd their Inſinuations too far, whilſt his Credulity ſtood abuſed, and his Favour

1483.

Phil. *de Comines in Lud* 11.

Sir *Thomas Moore.*

Chronic. *Abbat.* Croy.

The Inſolency of the Queen's Kindred.

1483. vour often alienated from thoſe, whoſe Innocence could underſtand no cauſe for it. The Engines of thoſe Intruſions and Supplantations were the *Greys*, the *Woodvills*, and their Kinſmen, who held a Strong Belief, to have better'd their Power with the Young King their Kinſman, and then they might have acted their Rodomontades and Injuries in a higher ſtrain, remov'd the Prince of the Blood, and ſet up what Limits they pleas'd to their Faction and Power during the Minority of the King, and after too, whilſt the Queen Mother could Uſurp or hold any Superintendency upon the Sovereignty, or her Son. Theſe things, and the Miſchiefs that ſeem'd to ſuperimpend the State, equally pois'd and conſulted by the Lord Protector, and others of the Principal Nobility, it was reſolv'd, to give a timely Remedy or Period to them; all which Sir *Thomas Moor* acknowledgeth, and confeſſeth the Nobles of the Kingdom had reaſon to ſuſpect and fear the Queen's Kindred would put their Power more forward when their Kinſman came to be King, than in his Father's time, altho' then their Inſolencies were intolerable. And this Author further acknowledgeth, there had been a long Grudge and Heart-burning between the King and Queen's Kindred in the time of K. *Edward*; which the King, altho' he were partial for the Queen's Faction, was earneſt to reconcile, but could not: And after he was dead, the Lord *Grey*, Marqueſs *Dorſet*, the Lord *Richard Grey*, and the Lord *Rivers*, made full account to ſway the Young King: and having learn'd it was beſt Fiſhing in a Troubled Stream, threw all occaſions of Diſſentions amonſt the Great Men of this Kingdom, that ſo, whilſt the other Nobles were buſie in their own Quarrels, they might take an opportunity to Aſſault and Supplant where they hated. And for proviſion towards the Deſign, the Marqueſs had ſecretly gain'd a Great quantity of the King's Treaſure out of the *Tower*, and the *Woodvilles* made Good Preparations of Arms; of which ſome were met with by the Way, as they were convey'd cloſe pack'd in Carts. It was therefore high time for the Protector and Ancient Nobility to look circumſpectly about them, and faſten on all occaſions that might prevent ſuch growing Treacheries, which could be no way but by taking off their Heads. Which being reſolv'd, the Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, the Lord *Richard Grey* their Uncle, Sir *Anthony Woodville* Lord *Rivers*, and ſome other of that Kindred and Faction were Apprehended, and at *Pomfract* Executed: (only the Marqueſs, by ſome Private Notice given him, fled and took Sanctuary). At the ſame time the Lord *Haſtings* (who much favour'd the Queen and her Party, eſpecially the Marqueſs, therefore the more to be ſuſpected dangerous) was Arreſted for High Treaſon, and in the *Tower* upon the Green had his Head chopt off; an Act of more ſtrange and ſevere Appearance than the other, having the eſteem of a Good Subject, and generally ſuppos'd much Affectionate to the Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham*. And Sir *Thomas Moor* reported, that the Protector was moſt unwilling to have loſt him, but that he ſaw him joyning with their Enemies, and ſo his life had ill requited Them and their Purpoſe: this was a Dilemma; but what that Purpoſe was, and what they had in Agitation at that inſtant, is not diſertly ſaid, only from other Places of the Story. And thoſe which follow Sir *Thomas Moor*, it may be conceiv'd, they doubted him for his Affectation of the Sovereignity, and ſome Practice againſt the King and his Brother, for thoſe be the Charges they preſs upon him, altho' tis neither Said nor

Sir Thomas Moor, in *Edward* 5. *Richard* 3.

Lord *Haſtings*.

Sir *Thomas Moor*.

Made Good by any Direct and Juſt Proof. But admit he was now grown Jealous of him, and ſent Sir *William Catesby*, a Man in great credit with the Lord *Haſtings*, to ſound what Opinion he held of that Title and Claim he might lay to the Crown, who (preſuming upon *Catesby*'s Gratitude and Truſt that had been advanced by him) without Circumſtance, and even with Indignation expreſs'd an utter Miſlike thereof, and engag'd Himſelf, his Uttermoſt Power and Ability againſt it, peremptorily adding, "He had ra- "ther ſee the Death and Deſtruction of the Pro- "tector and Duke of *Buckingham*, than the Young "King depriv'd of the Crown: Which Reply, *Catesby* (being more juſt to his Employment than honour to his Point) returns the Protector, who laid hold upon the next Occaſion to ſeize his Head, which is the greateſt and bloodieſt Crime that brings any Proof againſt him; and yet not ſo clear, but that there may be ſome other State Myſtery or Fraud ſuſpected in it. Let us leave it upon that account, and but conſider how much more we forgive the Fames of *H.* I. *E.* III. *H.* IV. *E.* IV. *H.* VII. becauſe they had their Happy Stars and Succeſs; and then, *Proſperum ſcelus virtus vocatur*, there is Applauſe goes with the Act and Actor. *Julius Cæſar*, was, and ever will be reputed a Wiſe and a Great Captain, altho' his Emulation coſt an infinite quantity of Excellent Humane Blood, and his Nephew *Oct. Auguſtus* never ceas'd Proſcribing, Baniſhing and Maſſacring, until he had diſpatch'd all his Proud Emulators: *Julius Cæſar* thought it, *Crimen ſacrum vel crimen Regale*; or, *Crimen ſacrum Ambitio*: Whoſe Rule was,

Cic. *lib.* 3. *de Offic.* & Suet. *in vitâ* Julii Cæſaris.

Si violandum eſt juſt, regnandi gratia
Violandum eſt, aliis rebus pietatem colas.

If Right for ought may e'er be violate,
It muſt be only for a Sovereign State.

Drawing it from that Rule (tho' *Apocrypha*) in *Euripides*,

Eurip. *in* Phœniſſ.

Εἴπερ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν χρὴ τυράννιδος πέρι
Κάλλιστον ἀδικεῖν τ' ἄλλα δ' εὐσεβεῖν χρεών.

Si injuſte agere oportet, pro tyrannide (aut Regno) pulcherrimum eſt injuſte agere, in altis pietatem colere expedit.

And *Antonius Caracalla*, alledged the Text to juſtifie the Killing of his Brother *Geta* his *Collegue* in the Empire. *Polynices*, the Brother of *Eteocles*, was of the ſame Religion, and ſaid, A Kingdom could not be bought at too high a Rate, put in Friends, Kindred, Wife and Riches: *Via ad potentiam eſt tollere Æmulos & premere Adverſaries*, which the great Maſter of Axioms allowed, hath been countenanced by many great Examples of State-reaſon, and Policy in all times, even ſince the *Ogygian* Age. For an old Obſervation, and general in all foreign Countries ſaith,

Axiom Pol. lit.

———— *Regnum furto*
Et fraude ademptum antiquum eſt ſpecimen imperii.

Senec. *in Trag.*

By Fraud or Theft to ſeize a Crown,
Is the old Game, long ſince to Princes known.

So King *Atreus*, by his own Experience could ſay;

——*Us*

1483. ——— *Ut nemo doceat fraudis & sceleris vias, Regnum docebit.*

Dominion teaches every Wicked Art.

But what those Ages call'd Valour, Wisdom and Policy, in those great Scholars of State, who with Credit practised their *Artes Imperii*, and Rules of Empire, comes not under the License or Warrant of our Christian Times; yet we may speak thus much for *Richard* (to those who cry him so deep an Homicide) that he had either more Conscience or less Cruelty than they attribute to him, that by the same Act of Power could not secure himself of others he had as Just cause to fear; especially *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*, his Nephew *Richmond*, and the subtle Doctor *Morton*, who was extreamly his Enemy, and the Chief Instrument that secretly mov'd against him. And altho' the King had no certain notice which way his Engins wrought, yet he knew enough to suspect him for, and to remove him from the Council-table unto the Custody of the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Man he had reason to suppose nearest to his Trust, though his Expectation leaned on a broken Reed there; for the Duke was now secretly in his Heart defected from the King, and become Male-content: *Morton* but touch'd his Pulse, and knew how the Distemper lay, which he irritated into such Sparklings as gave him Notice where his Constitution was most apt and prepared; yea, so subtilly mastered it, that he had leave to steal from *Brecknock* Castle to *Ely*, so for good store of Coin found safe passage into *France*, whither his desires vehemently carried him, in hopes to fashion the Earl of *Richmond* to his Plot; and under pretence of a *Lancastrian* Title, to stir him to take up Arms and invade *England*, with the Assurance of many mighty Friends here, which would make the Design of an easie and quick dispatch; nor forgot he how much Artificial and Eloquent Perswasions add to the Blaze of Ambition, knowing the Earl's Temper like other Mens in that, and observing him with a kind of pleasure listen, he gave such a studied glosse and superlation to the Text, that the Earl was now so full of Encouragement and Hope for the Invasion, that their purposes spread as well into *England* as in *France*. The Protector having also certain Intelligence of some particular Designs, disposed himself in his Actions more closely, and knew what Friends and Confederates had engag'd themselves to *Richmond*, who yet kept a Face of Love and Fidelity towards him, as did the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Countess of *Richmond*, who appear'd in this Instant an earnest Suitor to reconcile her Son into favour; and that the King would be pleased to bestow on him any of King *Edward* the Fourth's Daughters. But this took not the Vigilancy of his Eye from him and his Party, the Cause being of Greater Danger and Apprehension now, than in King *Edward*'s time; for the Earl had drawn unto him many of the *English* Nobility and Gentry; and some Foreign Princes had in favour to him promised their Aids. But in the time of King *Edward*, his Title and He was so little understood by his Blood of *Lancaster*, and the better judging-sort of the *English* Nobility and Gentry, King *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France*, *Francis* the Second Duke of *Brittain*, and other Foreign Princes look'd very slightly upon it. And yet, as *John Harding* observ'd, the King might be Jealous of him, being given out for and Heir of the House of *Lancaster*, and Nephew to *Henry* the Sixth: With this he consider'd, that some Foreign Princes stood not well-affected to him; or that some at home, envying his House and Posterity, would catch at any Spark to trouble his Peace and kindle a Sedition; therefore he had good reason to think, that as his Liberty might make these Beginnings more popular, so their Ends more dangerous and ingreatful (the Vulgar tasting all things by the Ear, and judging by the Noise) which he sought early to prevent.

Artes imperii.

1483.

For *Philip Comines* reports, When he first came to know this Earl, he was then a Prisoner in *Brittain*, and told him, He had been either in Prison, or under Strict Command from Five Years old, which is not unlikely; for I find him but young when he was committed to the Custody of Sir *William Herbert*, Lord of *Ragland*-Castle in *Monmouthshire*, where he continued not long; for *Jasper* Earl of *Pembrook*, who was Uncle unto him (being then in *France*, whither he had fled after the Overthrow of the *Lancastrians* at *Tewksbury*) (as *John Stow*) having advertisement that his Nephew was under Sir *William Herbert*'s Custody, with whom he had Alliance and Friendship, came secretly out of *France* into *Wales*, and at *Ragland*-Castle found only the Lady *Herbert*, her Husband being with the King; in whose Absence, the Earl practised so cunningly with her, that he got his Nephew from thence, and convey'd him to his own Castle of *Pembrook*, (the Young Earl's Native Place) presuming upon the Strength of it, and the Peoples Affection, but over-wean'd in his Opinion and Hope: For so soon as the King receiv'd notice of the Escape, Sir *William Herbert* was commanded to levy Forces and make towards them, a Man of a Wise and Valiant Disposition, descended from *Herbertus*, who was Chamberlain and Treasurer of the Kings, *William Rufus* and *Henry Beauclerk*, and was created Earl of *Pembrook* afterward: From this Noble *Herbertus* are descended the *Herberts*, Earls of *Pembrook* and *Montgomery*, and many other *Welsh* Gentlemen of that Sirname and Family.

The flight of *Richmond* with his Uncle *Pembrook*.

The Earl of *Richmond* born in *Pembrook*-Castle.

The Two Earls being inform'd of his Approaches and Strength, distrusting their own, fled by Night, and posted to the Port of *Timby*, where they kept close until a fit Opportunity offer'd them Transportation for *France*, intending to see the Court there, where the Earl of *Pembrook* had not long before receiv'd a very favourable Entertainment. But a violent Storm diverted their Course, and run them upon the Coasts of *Little Brittain*, which fell out as a Sad Disaster, and Cross to them and their Design for a long time after, the Duke of *Brittain* being no Friend to it; but at the Port of St. *Maloes* they must Land. What Success they met with in this Flight (and other Noble Englishmen which follow'd the Unlucky Party of *Henry* VI. being constrain'd when he was overthrown by *Edward* IV. to fly) will fall into our Discourse hereafter: There is this Memorial in the Stories of *Brittain*.

This Flight of theirs was in *An.* 11 *Ed.* IV. *John Stow.*

Plusieurs du Seigneurs d' Angleterre *qui tenoyent la partie du Roy* H. *VI. sen fairent par mer hors du Royaulme & entr' autres le Conte du* Pembrook *faisant sauuè un jeune Prince de* Angleterre *nommé* Henry *Conte du* Richmond.

Whilst these Earls made some stay in St. *Maloe* to refresh themselves, *Francis* the Second Duke of *Brittain* had notice of their Landing, who sent as speedily a Command to the Governour to Arrest them both into Safe Custody; an Act, as it appear'd, both Strange and injurious, being Subjects to a Prince with whom the Duke had League. But for a better Gloss, he had found a considerable

Earl of *Richmond* Prisoner in *Brittain*.

1485 rable Clause to detain the Earl of *Richmond* until he had receiv'd Satisfaction of him for Usurping and Holding the Title and Estate of *Richmond*, belonging to the ancient Dukes of *Brittain*, (whose Heir and Successor he was) though dissei'sed by the space of Thirty Years, now he wou'd expect either Restitution or Compensation for it; and the better to assure himself, he conveys them with a good Guard to the Castle of *Vanes*, where himself often resided, continuing a more cautious and strict Eye upon the Earl of *Richmond*, as Nephew to *Henry* VI. and he that laid Claim to the Title and Crown of *England* by the Blood of *Lancaster*: For which he made their Imprisonment more honourable, as *Philip Comines* saith, *Le Duc les traitté doucement pour Prisonniers*. And *Jean Froisard* calls it, *Prison Courtoise*; for the Duke had well considered what Expectation and Use he might raise by them, and knew the News cou'd not be distasteful to the King of *England*, whose Throne had been threatned so much by the Earl of *Richmond*'s Liberty; and therefore, from hence he hop'd an answerable Benefit, and to contract the King in a Firm Amity and Acknowledgment unto him; nay, which is further, (if we may believe *Jac. Nyerus*) he thought by this occasion to bear the Reins so hard upon King *Edward*, as that he shou'd not dare to make any Breach with him, *propter* Henricum Richmondiæ *Comitem non audebat* Anglus *ab amicitia* Brittani *discedere*.

The last D. of *Brittain*, who was Earl of *Richmond*, and possessed of the Earldom, was *John de Mountfort*, who flourished *Anno Dom.* 1440. and had Sons but not Earls of *Richmond*, as *Robert Glou.* writeth, and now this *Francis* I. renew'd the Claim which was about 30 Years after *John de Montfort* Duke of *Brittain*.

Jac. Nyerus *in Annal* Bland. *lib.* 17.

Nor was this Author much mistaken, for the King would have accorded to any reasonable thing to purchase the Earl into his Hands; and it was no little Perplexity to him when he heard of their Flight, but was the better calm'd when he understood where they were, the Duke of *Brittain* being his Friend and Allie, in whom he supposed so near an Interest (set off by some other Conditions) that he saw a Fair Encouragement to demand and gain them both; *whereas, had* they fal'n into *France*, he must have expected the greatest Disadvantage cou'd have been contrived out of such an occasion. For *Lewis*, tho' he were then in Truce and League with him, was meerly a Politician, and studied only his own Ends, yet fears him as a King famous for his Prowess and Victories, and as ably supply'd in his Coffers for all Undertakings: But (which did equally quicken the Hate, as well as Fear of *France*) had threatned to enter it with Fire and Sword, for the Re-conquest of the Dutchy of *Normandy* and *Aquitaine*, the Counties of *Poictou* and *Turain*; wherefore we may believe that bears the credit of an Oracle, which good *Ennius* said:

King *Edward* treatech for the delivery of *Richmond*.

Ennius *apud* Cic. *in Offic.*

——— *Quem metuunt oderunt,*
Quem oderunt, periisse expetunt.
——— Whom Men Fear they Hate,
And whom they Hate they seek to Ruin.

And doubtless in his Heart he was favourable to any Chance that might have Ruin'd or Infested *England*, and cou'd have wish'd the Earl of *Richmond* and his Title under his Protection. King *Edward* seasonably prevented this, that such Attempts, tho' at first they appear'd but like the Prophet's Cloud, might not spread after into a Spacious Storm. And to prevent all underhand Contracts with the Duke of *Brittain*, dispatch'd Letters unto him, further interpreted by a Rich Present, and Richer Promises. The Duke receives both with as Honourable Complement, protesting none cou'd be more ready to do the King of *England*'s Commands than he. But where he treated for the Delivery of the Earls, he hop'd to be lawfully excused, being an Act would cast a Strain and Scandal, not only upon his Credit and Honour, but upon all Princely and Hospitable Privileges; and cou'd appear no less than a mere Impiety, to thrust such distressed Persons as fled to their Protection, into the Arms of their Enemies; and it was his Opinion, if any Malice or Violence shou'd be acted upon them, the Guilt must reflect on him. But that the King might believe he was forward to come as near his Desires, as in honour cou'd be, he engag'd himself to keep so careful and vigilant a Watch upon 'em, that they shou'd have no more Power to Endanger him, than if they were in strict Prison. This being return'd, tho' not agreeable to the King's Hope and Wishes, yet bearing such a Caution of Honour and Wisdom, he remain'd satisfied; and so it paused for the space of Eight Years, (as I conjecture) for the King made this Demand in the Twelfth Year of his Reign. 1472. all which time he was very intent to preserve the League with good Sums of Money and costly Presents. In the Twentieth of his Reign, 1480, he receiv'd Intelligence, that the Earl of *Richmond* had stirr'd up Fresh Embers and New Friends in the *French* Court to blow them; and that the *French* King had dealt, by the Sollicitation of the Earl of *Pembrook*, and others, privately to get the Earl of *Richmond*, and offer'd Great Sums to the Duke of *Brittain*. This gave new Disturbance, and the King must now, by the best means he cou'd, renew his former Sute to the Duke of *Brittain*; for which Employment he intrusts Doctor *Stillington* Bishop of *Bath*, his Secretary, a Man of a Wise, Learned and Eloquent Endeavour, of good Acquaintance and Credit with the Duke of *Brittain*, who gave him an Honourable and Respective Entertainment. The Bishop (after he had prepared him by the Earnest of a very Rich Present) tenders the Sum of his Employment, not forgetting what he was now to Act and what to Promise on the King's Part: And (for a more glorious Insinuation) tells him how the King had elected him into the Noble Society of St. *George*'s Order (as the most honourable Intimation he cou'd give of his Love) to qualify all Exceptions too and Jealousies, assures him, the King had no Intent to the Earl of *Richmond*, but what was answerable to his own Worth, and Quality of the King's Kinsman; having declared a Propensity and Purpose to bestow one of his Daughters upon him. The Duke well mollified and perswaded, deliver'd the Earl by a strong Guard to the Bishop at St. *Maloes* Port: a Change of much Passion and Amazement to him, whose Sufferings took hold upon the affable Disposition of the Noble *Peir de Landois* Treasurer to the Duke, who had the Earl in Charge and Conduct, to St. *Malo*. He urges the Cause from him of his so altered and present Condition, with Protestation of all the Aid he could. The Earl thus fairly and happily provok'd (and perceiving the sparkles of his Sorrow had hapt into a tender Bosom) freely exposed himself, and with such an overcoming Countenance of Tears and Sighs, fram'd his own Story, and press'd *Landois*, that it so wrought upon his Temper he perswaded the Earl to put on clearer hopes, assures him there should some means be found to shift the Tempest; thereupon writes a sad Relation to the Duke, to move his Compassion and Favour, and knowing the Baron *Chandais*, (a Great Man in credit with him) well affected to the Earl by a long and reciprocal Affection, he repair'd to his House near St. *Moloe*, and prevail'd with him to use his

1483.

Hist. de Brit.

Dr. *Stillington* sent for *Richmond*.

King *Edw.* IV. sends for *Richmond*.

1483. Power with the Duke for returning the Earl; who posted to *Vanes*, where the Court was then, and took the Duke at such an Advantage, by suggesting his Credulity abused, and cunningly drawn into this Contract by the King, that there was a Post dispatch'd to stay the Earl. In that interim, *Landois* had not been idle, to find a way to let the Earl Escape into the Abby Church of St. *Malo*, where he claim'd the Benefit of the Holy Asyle, which was easily contriv'd, by Corrupting his Keepers. But the Duke to stand clear of the King's Suspicion, sent over *Maurice Brumell* to satisfie him, that the Earl according to promise was sent to St. *Malo*, there deliver'd to his Servants deputed, whose negligence let him escape; and that he had demanded him of the Convent, who deny'd to render him without Security and Caution; and that he should be continued a Prisoner in *Vanes* with as much Courtesy as formerly. Now being it was fall'n into those Strict and Peremptory Terms, and within the Contumacy of such Lawless Persons, where he could not use Power, he yet faithfully protested no suit from the *French* King, or any other, should draw him from his former Promise: All which he religiously perform'd, whilst King *Edward* liv'd, the space of Twelve Years, (after *Philip de Comines*) in which circle of time, it may with admiration be observ'd, thro' what Changes and Interchanges of Hazards, Dangers and Difficulties he was preserv'd. Soon after King *Edward*'s Decease, King *Richard* renew'd and continu'd the Treaty by Sir *Thomas Hutton* of *Yorkshire*, receiving the same Satisfaction in answer, but was fail'd in the performance, and so dishonourably, that it then appear'd the Duke had kept in with *Edward*, more for Fear than for Love or Honour (the Name of *Edward* and the Earl of *March*, being, indeed, accounted terrible, where his Victorious Sword was drawn) which Breach of the Duke was not left unpunish'd (at least as that Age then gues's'd) by a Divine Revenge; for having married *Margaret*, Daughter and Co-heir of *Francis de Mountford* Duke of *Brittain*, she dying without Issue, he married *Margaret* Daughter of *Gaston de Foix* King of *Navarre*, by whom he had One Daughter *Anne*, married to the *French* King *Charles* VIII. Thus Duke *Francis* died without Issue Male, and the Dutchy being swallow'd up and drown'd in the Lillies or Crapands of *France*, and with his Family of *Brittain* irrecoverably lost and absorped. Thus much for the Jealousie and Fears of these Two Kings †.

1483.

K. *Rich.* reneweth suit to the Duke of *Brittain* for the E. of *Richm.*

E. IV. Fulmen belli, ut Seleuc. *Rex inde* κεραυνὸς, *i. fulmen dictus.* Claud. Paradin.

But

† The Stile, Condition and Authority of Duke *Richard*, while he was only Protector, and his acknowledged Obedience to his Nephew King *Edward* V. will appear by this Letter taken out of the Original Journal Book. And the formal Manner of his taking the Kingdom from his said Nephew, will be plainly seen by some Instructions given to certain Commissioners sent to the Lord *Dynham* Lord Deputy of *Calais*, from the same Journal. The Duke's Letter was as followeth.

" *Richard* Duc of *Gloucester*, Brother and Uncle of Kinges, Protectour and Defensour, gret Chambreleyn, Constable " and Admiral of *England*: To our right wellbeloved *Robert Pemberton* Squier, Greting. And on the King our So- " verayn Lords behalve, we charge you that Incontinent, upon the sight hereof, yee do entre into the Lordshipps of " *Wennyngton*, and all other the Lands and Tenements to the same appertenyng, within the Countees of *Bedford* and " *Northampton*; of which we by these presents graunt and committe unto you the Rule and Keeping, and the Resseit of " the said Lordships, Lands and Tenements, during Our pleasseur: And wol therefore that ye so take upon you, and " see that al the Goods and Cattalles now being within the same, be put in suerte in our Behoove; and to make unto us " a true Inventory of the same in goodely hast: Discharging, in the Kinges Name and ours, al th' Officers of the same: " And that this be not failed, as ye wol have oure good Lordship. Yeven under oure Signet at the Cittee of *London*, " the XIX day of *May*, *Anno primo Regis* Edwardi *Quinti*.

The Instructions are as follow.

These be the Articles of Instructions geven to the L. *Mountjoie*, Maister *John Cook* Archdekyn of *Lincoln*, and Sir *Tho. Thwaytes* Kt. aunswering to the Lettre of the Lord *Dynham*, late direct unto the Kinges Grace, as then Protectour of *England*. Which Lettre resteth in four principal Poyntes.

" The first Article remembred the Othe which they of *Calais*, perteynyng to any of the thre Jurisdictons; that In- " continent upon the knawlege of the Death of King *Edward* IIII. (whom God assoil) comen unto them, made holy toge- " dre upon a Book, to be true unto King *Edward* V. his Son, as to their Liege Lord, and to kepe the Town, Castell and " Marches of *Calais* trusty to him: And to suffer no Man with Power to entre into the same, except the Kinges Persone, " or the *Hastings* then being the Kinges Lieutenant, and not without due Payment to be made to the Souldiers and " other Officers of al that to them shal be found due, for the save keeping of the said Town and Marches.

" As to that Article, it shal move beside, that howbeit suche othe of Ligeaunce was made sone upon the Deth of the " said King *Edward* IIII. to his Sone, not only at *Calais*, but also in divers places in *England* by many gret Astates and " Persones, being than ignorant of the verraye sure and true Title, which oure Soverayn Lord that now is King *Rich-* " *ard* the III. hath and had the same tyme to the Crowne of *England*; that Othe notwithstanding now every good " true *English* man is bound, upon knowlage had of the said verraye true Title, to depart from the first Othe so igno- " rantly given to him, to whom it apperteyneth not, and thereupon to make his Othe of newe, and owe his Service " and Fidelite to him, that good Lawe, Reason, and the concorde assent of the Lordes and Commons of the Royalme " have ordeigned to reigne upon the People, which is our said Soverayn Lord Kinge *Richard* III. brother to the said Kinge " *Edward* IIII. late deceassed, whom God Pardon: Whose sure and true Title is evidently shewed and declared in a Bil " of Petition, which the Lordes Spirituels and Temporells, and the Commons of the Land solempnely porrected unto " the Kinges Highness at *London* the XXVI day of Juyn. Whereupon the Kinges said Highnes notably assisted by wel " nere al the Lords Spirituel and Temporell of this Royalme, went the same day unto the Palais at *Westminster*, and " ther in such Roial Honourable apparrelled within the gret Hal ther toke Possession, and declared his Mind, that the same day " he wold begin to reygne upon his People. And from thence rode solempnly to the Cathedral Churche of *London*; " and was received ther with Procession, with gret Congratulacion and acclamacion of al the People in every place, and " by the weye that the King was in that day. The Copie of the which Bil the King wil to be sent unto *Calais*, and ther " to be redd and understanded rogredre with these presentes; Desiring right effectuously al maner persones of the said " three Jurisdictions, what astate, degre or condition they be of; and also them of *Guysnes* and *Hammes*, to make ther " Feithes and Othes to him, as to thair Soverayn Lorde; like as the Lordes Spirituels and Temporells, and many other " Noblemen in gret numbre, being in *England*, frely and of goode hert, have done, for ther partes: And that the said " Towne of *Calais*, al Castells and Fortresses, being within the said Marches, they wil saufly kepe unto the behoove of our " said Lord King *Richard* the III. and them not deliver to any Persone, but by his Commandement onely, *&c.* J. S.

These Resolutions of dethroning K. *Edward* V. and of making *Richard* King were very suddenly taken, or else the Players of this Game carryed on their Business very secretly to amuse the People. For the Day of *Edward*'s Coronation was set, which was to be the 21st Day of *June*. And all solemn Preparation was making for that Purpose, til near the said Day King *Edward* with the Advice and Order of his Uncle *Richard* the Protector, appoints and summoneth the Gentlemen that were to be knighted at his Coronation, sending to each of them a Letter to this Tenor, *viz.*

" To *Otes Gilbert* Esq; Trusty and Welbeloved, We Grete you well. And by the Advice of our deares Unkle, " the Duke of *Gloucester* Protector of this Our Royalme during our young Age, and the Lords of our Councel, we " write unto you at this time, Willing and ne the less charging you, to prepare and furnish your self to receive the " Noble Order of Knighthood at our Coronation: Which by Gods Grace we intend shall be Solempniz'd the one and " twentieth Day of this present Month at our Palace of *Westminster*; Commanding you to be here at our Tower of *Lon-* " *don* four Days afore our said Coronation, to have Communication with our Commissioners concerning the Matter: not " failing hereof in any Wise, as ye intend to please us, and as ye will answer. Yeven the 5 Day of *June*.

Semblable

1483. *Semblable Letters were writ to* John Speke, ——— Beaumont, Edward Courtney, Will. Carraunt, Tho. Arundel, Will. Bolney, Alex. Creſſenger, John Clopton, Hen. Haydon, John Wynkfeld, Chriſtoph. Willoughby, Ph. Colthorp, ——— Beddyngfeld, Tho. Lewknor, Will Barkley, John Stanley, ——— Grevyle, Will. Birmygham, Tho. Butteler, *of* Beawſey, John Beron, Will. Trowtbeck, ——— Mylbourn, *the Lord* Dormund, *the Lord* Stourton, ——— Cornwal *Lord of* Burford, Nevyle, *Son and Heir of the Lord* Bergaveny, John Breny *of* Stamford, *the Lord* Grey *of* Ruthyn, John Gefford, Will. Cheney *of* Shepey, Rob Whyte *of* South-Warneborow, Gervace Cliſton *of* Oddiſake, Nic. Lile, Will. Barkely *of* Beverſton, Henry Vernon, Nic. Mountgomery, *and twelve more, one whereof was* Henry Solet *Alderman of* London. J. S. 1483.

But now to the Progreſs of our Story, where the Barons and Commons with one General Diſlike, and an Univerſal Negative Voice, refuſed the Sons of King *Edward*, not for any Ill Will or Malice, but for their Diſabilities and Incapacities; the Opinions of thoſe Times too held them not Legitimate, and the Queen *Elizabeth Gray*, or *Woodvill*, no lawful Wife, nor yet a Woman worthy to be the King's Wife, by reaſon of her extream unequal Quality. For theſe and other Cauſes, the Barons and Prelates unanimouſly caſt their Election upon the Protector, as the moſt worthieſt, and neareſt, by the experience of his own Deſervings, and the ſtrength of his Alliance, importuning the Duke of *Buckingham* to become their Speaker, who accompanied with many of the Chief Lords, and other Grave and Learned Perſons, having Audience granted in the Great Chamber at *Baynard*'s Caſtle, (then *York*-Houſe) thus addreſs'd him to the Lord Protector:

Bp. *Morton*, Sir *T. Moor*, *Hollingſhead*, *Grafton*, *Stow*, *Hall*. *Virgil*, &c. Parliam.

The Duke of *Buckingham* to the Protector in the behalf of the 3 Eſtates.

"SIR, May it pleaſe your Grace to be inform'd, that after much Grave Conſultation amongſt the Noble Barons; and other Worthy Perſons of this Realm, it ſtands concluded and reſolv'd, That the Sons of King *Edward* ſhall not reign; for who is not ſenſible, how Miſerable a Fortune, and Dangerous Eſtate that Kingdom muſt be in, where a Child is King, according to the Wiſe Man, *Væ tibi terra cujus Rex eſt Puer.* But here, Sir, there is Exception of further conſequence againſt them, That they were not born in lawful Marriage, the King having then another Wife living, Dame *Elizabeth Butler*: Beſides the great Diſhonour and Reproach he receiv'd by diſparaging his Royal Blood, with a Woman ſo far unmeet for his Bed. Theſe Conſiderations have reſolutely turn'd all their Eyes and Election towards your Grace, as only worthy of it, by your ſingular Virtues, and that Intereſt in the Crowns of *England* and of *France*, with the Rights and Titles, by the High Authority of Parliament, entail'd to the Royal Blood and Iſſue of *Richard* Duke of *York*, whoſe lawful begotten Son and Heir you are; which, by a Juſt Courſe of Inheritance and the Common Laws of this Land, is divolv'd and come to you. And unwilling that any Inferiour Blood ſhou'd have the Dominion of this Land, are fully determin'd to make your Grace King; to which, with all Willingneſs and Alacrity, the Lords and People of the Northern Parts concur. And the Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the City of *London*, have all allow'd, and gladly embraced this general Choice of your Grace; and are come hither to beſeech you to accept their Juſt Election, of which they have choſen me their unworthy Advocate and Speaker. I muſt therefore again crave leave, in the behalf of all, to deſire your Grace will be pleaſed, in your Noble and Gracious Zeal to the Good of this Realm, to caſt your Eyes upon the growing Diſtreſſes and Decay of our Eſtate, and to ſet your happy Hand to the redreſs thereof; for which, we can conceive no Abler Remedy, than by your undertaking the Crown and Government, which we doubt not ſhall accrew to the Laud of God, the Profit of this Land, and your Grace's Happineſs.

The common publiſh'd Stories have *Eliz. Lucy*, but that is falſe.

This Speech of the Duke is recorded by Dr. *Morton*, Sir *Thomas Moor*, and other Chronicles and Hiſtorians, to which the Protector gave this Reply:

The Anſwer of the Lord Protector to the 3 Eſtates.

"MY moſt Noble Lords, and my moſt Loving Friends, and Dear Country-men, Albeit I muſt confeſs, your Requeſt moſt reſpective and favourable, and the Points and Neceſſities alledg'd and urg'd true and certain, yet for the Entire Love and Reverend Reſpect I owe to my Brother deceaſed and to his Children, my Princely Couſins, you muſt give me leave, more to regard mine Honour and Fame in other Realms; for where the Truth and Certain Proceedings herein are not known, it may be thought an Ambition in me to ſeek what you voluntarily proffer, which would charge ſo deep a Reproach and Stain upon my Honour and Sincerity, that I wou'd not bear for the World's Diadem: Beſides, you muſt not think me ignorant (for I have well obſerv'd it) there is more difficulty in the Government of a Kingdom, than Pleaſure; eſpecially to that Prince who wou'd uſe his Authority and Office as he ought. I muſt therefore deſire, that this (and my unfeigned Proteſtations) may aſſure you, the Crown was never my Aim, nor ſuits my Deſire with yours, in this; yet I ſhall think my ſelf much beholding unto you all in this Election of me, and that Hearty Love I find you bear me, and here proteſt, that for your ſakes it ſhall be all one, whether I be your King or no; for I will ſerve my Nephew faithfully and carefully, with my beſt Counſels and Endeavours, to defend and preſerve him and his Kingdom; nor ſhall there want readineſs in me, to attempt the Recovery of that Hereditary Right in *France*, which belongs to the King's of *England*, tho' of late negligently and unhappily loſt.

There the Protector became ſilent and thought it not ſafe in his Diſcretion or Policy, to open all the Diſguſts he had of the Sovereignity, for that wou'd have been Matter of Exprobration of the Barons, and touch'd too near the Quick, tho' he had well obſerv'd, by ſundry Experiences of the Leading Times, and Modern too, the inconſtant ebbing and flowing of their Diſpoſitions, how variable and apt they were to take up any occaſion of Change, purſuing their Kings (if once ſtirr'd) ſo implacably, that many times they never left without Death or Depoſing. Examples he had in the Reigns of King *Edward* his Brother, and *Henry* VI. not long before that in the time of *Richard* II. and his Grandfather *Edward* II. more anciently the Extream Troubles and Diſtreſs of King *John*, and *Henry* III. all by the Barons, being dreadful Warnings and inſolent Monuments of their Haughtineſs and

1483. Levity; and this was *Alta mente repoſtum* with the Wiſe Prince.

But the Duke of *Buckingham*, thinking the Protector ſet too ſlight a Conſideration upon ſo Great a Concernment, and the Affection tender'd by himſelf and the Nobility (and overhearing ſomething he privately ſpake to the Lord Mayor and Recorder, tending to his miſlike) for an Epilogue or Cloſe to his former Oration, he thus freely adds.

The bold and round Concluſion of the Duke of *Buckingh.*

" SIR, I muſt now, by the Priviledge of this " Employment, and in the Behalf of thoſe " and my Country, add ſo much Freedom unto " my Duty, as to tell your Grace, It is immoveably reſolv'd by the Barons and People, That " the Children of King *Edward* ſhall not Reign " over them. Your Grace hath heard ſome " Cauſes; nor need I intimate, how theſe E- " ſtates have entred and proceeded ſo offenſively " to other Men, and ſo dangerouſly to themſelves, as is now too late to recal or retire. " And therefore, they have fixt this Election " upon you, whom they think moſt able and " careful for their Safety: But, if neither the " General Good, the Earneſt Petitions of the " Nobility and Commonalty, can move you, " we moſt humbly deſire your Anſwer and " Leave to Elect ſome other that may be worthy " of the Imperial Charge; in which (we hope) " we ſhall not incur your Diſpleaſure, conſidering the Deſperate Neceſſity of our Welfare " and Kingdom urges it. And this is our laſt " Suit and Petition to your Grace.

The Protector touch'd by this round and braving Farewel, which made him very ſenſible: For (as Sir *Thomas Moor* diſertly confeſſeth) the Protector was ſo much moved with theſe Words, that otherwiſe of likelihood he wou'd never have inclined to their Suit: And ſaith, That when he ſaw there was no remedy, but that he muſt either at that Inſtant take the Crown, or both he and his Heirs irrecoverably let it paſs to another; peradventure, one that might prove an Enemy to him and his, eſpecially if *Richmond* ſtept in; betwixt whom and this Prince, the Hatred was equally extream: Therefore it behoved the Protector to collect himſelf; and fixing his Conſideration upon the effect of that Neceſſity they laſt urged, gave this Reply:

The Protector's Reply to the Duke's laſt Suit.

" MY moſt Noble good Lords, and moſt " loving and faithful Friends, the better " ſenſe of your Loves and moſt Eminent Inconveniences inſinuated by your Noble Speaker, " hath made me more ſerious to apprehend the " Benefit of your Proffer and Election. And " I muſt confeſs, in the Meditation thereof, I " find an Alteration in my ſelf, not without " ſome Diſtraction when I conſider all the Realm " ſo bent againſt the Sons of King *Edward*. And " therefore being certain, there is no Man to " whom the Crown by Juſt Title can be ſo due " as to our ſelf, the rightful Son and Heir of " our moſt Dear and Princely Father, *Richard* " Duke of *York*: to which Title of Blood and " Nature, your Favours have joyn'd this of E- " lection, wherein we hold our ſelf to be moſt " ſtrong and ſafe: And having the lawful " Power of both, why ſhou'd I endure my pro- " ſeſs'd Enemy to Uſurp my Right, and become " a Vaſſal to my Envious Subject? The neceſſi- " ty of theſe Cauſes (as admitting no other " Remedy) urges me to accept your Offer; and " according to your Requeſt, and our own Right, " we here aſſume the Regal Preheminence of the " Two Kingdoms, *England* and *France*, from this " Day forward, by us and our Heirs, to Govern " and Defend the one, and by God's Grace and " your Good Aids, to Recover and Eſtabliſh the " other to the ancient Allegiance of *England*; " deſiring of God to live no longer than we in- " tend and endeavour the Advancement and " flouriſhing Eſtate of this Kingdom. 1483.

At which they all cry'd, *God ſave King* Richard: And thus he became King. But yet his Detractors ſtick not to Slander and Accuſe all that was ſaid or done in theſe Proceedings of State for mere Diſſimulation; by which Juſtice, they may as well cenſure (*At ſit Reverentiâ dictum*) all the Barons, worthy and Grave Commons, which had their Votes therein, which wou'd fall a moſt impudent and intolerable Scandal upon all the High Court of Parliament; for in ſhort time after, all that was alledg'd and acted in that Treaty and Colloquy was approved and ratified by the Court of Parliament, ſo that their Cavils only diſcover an Extream Malice and Envy. For it was not poſſible, therefore not credible, he cou'd upon ſuch an inſtant (as it were) by any Practice, attain to that Power and Credit, with all the Barons Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, to procure and perſwade them from the Sons of King *Edward*, ſo unanimouſly to become his Subjects, and put the Crown upon his Head with ſuch Solemnity and Publick Ceremonies. Whilſt theſe Matters had their current, the Northern Gentlemen and his Southern Friends joyn'd in a Bill Supplicatory to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, earneſtly expreſſing their Deſires for the Election of the Lord Protector, with the former Cauſes urg'd: Alſo That the Blood of the Young Earl of *Warwick* was Attainted, and his Title Confiſcate by Act of Parliament. This Bill was deliver'd to the Lords, aſſembled in the Great Hall at *Weſtminſter*, the Lord Protector ſitting in the Chair of Marble amongſt them, upon the 26th of *June*, ſome Six or Seven Days after he was Proclaim'd: The Tenour of the Bill was thus written in the Chronicle of the Abbey of *Croyland*: *Lib. Abb.* Croyland.

PRrotector eodem die, quo Regimen ſub Titulo Regii Nominis ſibi vendicavit (viz) 26° *die* Junii, *anno Dom.* 1483. *ſe apud Magnam Aulam* Weſtmonaſterii *in Cathedram Marmoream Immiſit & tum mox omnibus proceribus tam Laicis quam Eccleſiaſticis & Cæteris aſſidentibus, aſtantibus &c. oſtendebatur rotulus quidam, in quo per modum ſupplicationis in nomine procerum & Populi Borealis exhibita ſunt, Primum, quod Filii Regis* Edwardi *erant Baſtardi, ſupponendo, illum præcontraxiſſe matrimonium cum quadam Domina* Elianora Boteler, *antequam Reginam* Elizabetham *duxiſſet in Uxorem: Deinde quod Sanguis alterius Fratris* (Georgii *Scil.* Clarenſiæ *Ducis*) *fuiſſet Attinctus. Ita quod nullus certus incorruptus Sanguis Linealis ex parte* Richardi *Ducis* Eboraci *poterat inveniri, niſi in Perſona* Richardi *Protectoris, Ducis* Gloceſtriæ, *& jam eidem Duci ſuplicabant, ut jus ſuum in Regno* Angliæ *ſibi aſſumeret & Coronam acciperet.*

In *Engliſh* thus:

" THE Protector, that ſame Day, wherein he " took upon him the Government, under " the Royal Name and Title, being the 26th " of *June* 1483. ſeated himſelf in the Marble " Chair in the Great Hall of *Weſtminſter*; after " which, all the Lords, as well Temporal as " Spiritual, and others ſitting, or ſtanding by, " *&c.* a certain Writing was produc'd, wherein,

" by

1483. "by way of Humble Petition, in the Name of "the Gentry and Northern People, was repre- "sented, First, That the Sons of King *Edward* "were Bastards upon account of his having entred "before into a Contract of Marriage with the La- "dy *Eleanor Boteler*, before his Marriage with "Queen *Elizabeth*: And next, That the Blood "of the other Brother, *George* Duke of *Clarence*, "was Attainted. Insomuch, that none being "to be found that was undoubtedly of a Law- "ful and Lineal Descent from *Richard* Duke of "*York*, besides *Richard* the Protector, Duke of "*Gloucester*, they therefore Humbly Petition'd "the said Duke to take to himself his Right "unto the Kingdom of *England*, and to Ac- "cept of the Crown.

But the Barons were all accorded before this Bill came, (*b*) both Sides moving with an equal and contented forwardness; and in *July* next following 1483. was Crown'd and Receiv'd with as general Magnificence and Acclamations, as any King in *England* many Years before. For as a Grave Man writeth, (*i*) *Fuit dignissimus Regno, &c. non inter malos sed bonos principes Commemorandus*; That he was most worthy to Reign, and to be numbred amongst the Good, not Bad Princes. The Queen his Wife was Crown'd with him, and with no less State and Greatness, Accompanied him from the *Tower* to *Westminster*; having in their Train (besides the Nobility of the South Parts) Four Thousand Gentlemen of the North (*k*). Upon the 19th of *June* 1483. in the 25th Year of *Lewis* the *French* King, he was named King of *England*, the Morrow Proclaim'd and Rode with Great Solemnity from *London* to *Westminster*, where in the Seat Royal, he gave the Judges of the Land a Strict and Religious Charge for the Just Executing of the Laws; then departed towards the Abbey, being met at the Church Door with Procession, and the Scepter of King *Edward* deliver'd to him by the Abbot; so ascended to St. *Edward*'s Shrine, where he offer'd; the Monks in the mean time singing *Te Deum*: From thence he return'd to the Palace, where he Lodg'd until his Coronation.

Cambden.

Upon the 4th of *July* he went to the *Tower* by Water with the Queen his Wife, and the next Day * Created *Edward* his only Son, (about Ten Years old) Prince of *Wales*: † He Invested Sir *John Howard*, (who was made Lord *Howard* and Knight of the Garter, 17 *Edw.* IV.) in the Dukedom of *Norfolk*, in a favourable Admission of the Right of the Lady *Margaret* his Mother, Daughter of Sir *Thomas Mowbray*, D. of *Norfolk*, and an Heir General of the *Mowbrays*, Dukes of *Norfolk* and Earls of *Surrey*, descended from the Lord *Thomas Plantagenet* of *Brotherton*, a Younger Son of King *Edward* I. and Earl of *Norfolk*. This King also made him Marshal and Admiral of *England*; he was as rightfully Lord *Mowbray*, Lord *Segrave*, Lord *Bruce*, as Lord *Howard*, as I have seen him stiled by Royal Warrant in a Commission for Treaty of Truce with *Scotland*.

Monstrelet, Comines, Anglici Scriptores.

1483. Stile of the Duke of *Norf. Introcuit in Domo convers.*

His Eldest Son, Sir *Thomas Howard*, was at the same time Created Earl of *Surrey*, and made Knight of the Garter; *Henry Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham*, was made Constable of *England* for term of Life, but he claim'd the Office by Inheritance.

Sir *Thomas Moor* writes, That Sir *Thomas Howard* executed the Office of Constable that Day; *William* Lord *Berkley* was Created Earl of *Nottingham*, *Francis Lovel* Viscount *Lovel*, and Chamberlain to the King; the Lord *Stanley* restor'd to Liberty and made Steward of the Houshold (*l*), *Thomas Rotheram*, Chancellor and Archbishop of *Canterbury*, having been committed for delivering the Great Seal to the Queen Widow, receiv'd to Grace, and many Knights Addubb'd of the Old Order, and some of the New, or Habit of the *Bath*, whose Names I have set down, to shew what regard was had of their Family, and in those Times accused of so much Malignity.

Sir *Edmund De la Pool*, Son to the Duke of *Suffolk*.
George Gray, Son to the Earl of *Kent*.
William Zouch, Son to the Lord *Zouch*.
Henry Nevil, Son to the Lord *Abergaveny*.

Christopher Willoughby.	*Thomas Arundel.*
Henry Babington.	*Gervoise* of *Clifton.*
Henry Bainton.	*Edmund Beddingfield.*
Thomas Bullen.	*Thomas Leukenor.*
William Say.	*John Browne.*
William Enderby.	*William Berkley.*
Thomas of *Vernon*	*i.* another *William*
William Barkley.	*Berkley.*

The 5th Day of *July* he Rode from the *Tower* through the City in Pomp, with his Son the Prince of *Wales*, Three Dukes, and Nine Earls, Twenty Two Viscounts and Simple Barons, Eighty Knights, Esquires and Gentlemen not to be number'd; besides Great Officers of the Crown which had Special Service to do. But the Duke of *Buckingham* carried the Splendour

His Coronation.

(*b*) The Barons and Commons were so far from Choosing him, that they were afraid he wou'd not Crown his Nephew. This part of his History is all wrong. *Vid* Sir *Thomas Moor*'s Hist. of *Edward* V. and *Richard* III.

(*i*) Compare this Quotation out of *Cambden* with what that Author says of King *Richard* in his *Brit. sub Tit. Leicestershire*; speaking of *Bosworth*, *Here* Henry *Earl of* Richmond *encounter'd King* Richard *III. who had by most Wicked Means Usurp'd the Kingdom: He overcame and slew the Usurper, and freed* England *by his Valour from the Rule of a Tyrant.* Besides, he does not tell us where *Cambden* speaks so well of him.

(*k*) These Four thousand Gentlemen of the North, were (as *Hall* and *Grafton* relate it) 5000 *Fellows evil apparel'd and worse harnest, whom he sent for out of the North. They were mustred in* Finsbury, *and were the Contempt of the Beholders.*

* His Creation was not before *September* following, at *York*; as appears afterwards by the Chronicle of *Croyland*, and the Notes there. *J. S.*

† This Title this young Prince enjoy'd but a small time: For as he was Created about the 8th of *Septemb.* he was dead before the 21st of *July* the next Year, as may be collected from a Warrant of K. *Richard* to *Nicholas Leventhorp*, Receiver of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, order'd thereby to pay to *John Dawney*, late Treasurer of *Pomfret* 139*l.* 10 *s.* due to him for divers Provisions and Emptions by him made *for the Expence* (as the Warrant ran) *of our most Dear Son, whom God pardon.* Which last Words bespeak him now dead. This bare Date *July* the 21. *Anno* 2do. But before his Death, the King his Father heaped up all the Honour he cou'd upon him: He made the Lord *Prime*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* for Three Years; confirm'd his Title of Earl of *Sarum* anew to him; constituted Great Officers in his Houshold, whereof I find *William Herbert* was his Secretary, for which he had XL Mark assign'd him for his Salary yearly out of the Honour of *Pomfret*, *J. S.*

He was (if we may give credit to the King his Father's Patents to Create him Prince of *Wales*) of great hopes for his Excellent Parts and Disposition. The Words are, *Cujus optima indoles, ac praclarae, quibus pro suae aetatis Modulo singulariter praeditus est, naturae Dotes ingentem atq; favente Deo, indubitatam probitatis spem nobis portendunt.* i. e. Whose Excellent Wit and Remarkable Endowments of Nature, wherewith, his Young Age consider'd, he is singularly furnish'd, do portend to us great and undoubted hopes by the favour of God, that he will make a Good Man. K. *Rich* Journal *penes me.* J. S.

(*l*) For fear of the Lord *Strange*, his Son, who as 'twas said, was raising Forces in the North.

1483. of that Day's Bravery, his Habit and Caparisons of Blew Velvet, Embroider'd with Golden Naves of Carts burning, the Trappings supported by Foot-men, habited costly and suitable. On the Morrow, being the 6th of *July*, all the Prelates, Miter'd in their Pontificalibus, receiv'd him at *Westminster*-Hall towards the Chapel; the Bishop of *Rochester* bare the Cross before him, the Cardinal and the Earl of *Huntingdon* follow'd with a pair of Gilt Spurs, and the Earl of *Bedford* with St. *Edward*'s Staff for a Relick. After the Procession, the Earl of *Northumberland* bears a Pointless Sword naked, the Lord *Stanley* the Mace of the Constableship (but waited not for Constable) the Earl of *Kent* bare the Second Sword naked with a Point upon the Right hand of the King, the Viscount *Lovel* another Sword on the King's Left Hand with a Point. Next came the Duke of *Suffolk* with a Scepter, the Earl of *Lincoln* with a Ball and Cross, then the Earl of *Surrey* with the Sword of State in a rich Scabbard in Place of the Constable of *England*, the Duke of *Norfolk* on his right hand with the Crown: after him immediately, the King in a Sur-coat and Robe of Purple, the Canopy born by the Barons of the Five Ports, the King between the Bishop of *Bath* and *Durham*, the D. of *Buckingham* bearing up his Train, and serv'd with a White Staff for Seneschal or High-Steward of *England*.

Bourchier Archbish. of *Canterbury*.

Swords born.

Signifying Mercy.

Signifying Justice to the Temporalty.

Justice to the Clergy

Peace.

Monarchy

In the Front of the Queen's Train, the Earl of *Huntington* bare the Septer, Viscount *Lisle* the Rod with the Dove, the Earl of *Wiltshire* her Crown, and next to him follow'd the Queen her self (in Robes like the King) between Two Bishops. the Canopy born by Barons of the Ports, upon her Head a Coronet set with Precious Stones; the Lady *Margaret Somerset*, Countess of *Richmond*, carried up her Train, follow'd by the Dutchess of *Suffolk*, with many Countesses and other Ladies. In this manner the whole Processsion pass'd through the Palace, and enter'd the West Door of the Abby, the King and Queen taking their Seates of State, staid until divers Holy Hymns were sung, then ascended to the High Altar shifting their Robes, and putting on other open and voided in sundry Places for their Anointing; which done, they took other Robes of Cloth of Gold, so return'd to their Seats, where the Cardinal of *Canterbury* and the other Bishops Crowned them, the Prelate putting the Scepter in the Left Hand of the King, the Ball and Cross in his Right, and the Queen's Scepter in her Right Hand, and the Rod with the Dove in her Left; on each Hand of the King stood a Duke, before him the Earl of *Surrey* with the Sword as aforesaid; on each Hand of the Queen stood a Bishop, by them a Lady kneeling, the Cardinal said Mass, and gave the Pax; then the King and Queen descending, were both housled with one Host parted between them at the High Altar: This done, they Offer'd at St. *Edward*'s Shrine, where the King laid down St. *Edward*'s Crown and put on another, so return'd to *Westminster*-Hall in the same State they came, there dispersed, and retired themselves for a Season. In which Interim, came the Duke of *Norfolk*, Marshal of *England*, mounted upon a brave Horse, trapp'd with Cloth of Gold down to the Ground, to submove the Press of People and void the Hall. About Four of the Clock, the King and the Queen sat to Dinner, the King at the Middle Table of the Hall and the Queen on his Left Hand; on each side a Countess attending her, holding a Cloth of Plaisance (or rather of * Essuyance) for her Cup: On the King's Right Hand sat the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and all the Ladies were plac'd on one side of a Long Table in the middle of the Hall against them, at another Table the Lord Chancellor and all the Nobles; at a Table next to the Cup-board, the Lord Mayor of *London* and the Aldermen, 1483.

* Towel or Napkin that wait on the Cup.

Behind the Barons of the Kingdom sat the Barons of the Ports; there were other Tables for Persons Quality. After all were seated, came the Lord Marshal again, the Earl of *Surrey*, Constable (*Pro illa vice tantum*) the Lord *Stanley* Lord Steward, Sir *William Hopton*, Treasurer of the Houshold, and Sir *Thomas Piercy*, Controuler; they serv'd the King's Board with one Dish of Gold and another of Silver. The Queen was serv'd all in Gilt Vessels, and the Cardinal Archbishop in Silver Dishes.

As soon as the Second Course was served in, Sir *Robert Dimock*, the King's Champion, makes Proclamation, That whosoever wou'd say, King *Richard* the Third was not lawfully King, he wou'd Fight with him at all Gutterance, and for Gage thereof threw down his Gauntlet; then all the People cry'd, *King* Richard, *God save King* Richard; and this he acted in three several parts of the Hall; then an Officer of the Cellar brought him a Gilded Bowl with Wine, which he drank, and carried the Cup away as his ancient Fee: After that, the Heralds cry'd *Largess* thrice, and return'd to the Scaffold. Lastly came the Mayor of *London* with the Sheriffs, with a Voider, serving the King and Queen with Sweet Wines, who had each of them a Cover'd Cup of Gold for their Reward: By which time the Day began to give way to the Night, the King and Queen departing to their Lodgings.

And this is a Brief and True Relation of his Coronation, testified by all the Best Writers and Chroniclers of our Stories, publick and allow'd, which may confute the Boldness of that Slander, that says, He was not rightfully, and authentically Crown'd, but obscurely and indirectly crept in at the Window. But all Times have Detractors, and all Courts their Parasities; and many that have admired Princes to their Graves, even there have turn'd from them, with Ingratitude and Murmur. Soon after this the King dismissed, and sent Home all the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, with a straight Charge and Direction to them, the Judges of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, with all other Magistrates and Officers in general and particular, for the Equitable and Just Government of their Jurisdictions and Circuits: And it is observ'd, those Times were under as happy an Expectation of Law and Justice, as those, either before or after more flatter'd; which *John Hide* (a Learned Man, and Doctor of Physick) implies in a Manuscript Poesy of his. *Moor. Grafton. Polidore. Hall. Croyland. Hollingshead. Stow*, &c.

——— *Solio juris rectique Minister,*
Ille sedens alto, tali sermone profatur;
Moses *Concilio soceri persuasus* Jethro,
Solus quod Populi nequiit componere lites,
Constituit populi præfectos atq; Tribunos;
Sic cum me præcelsa premant fastigia Regni,
Ardua magnarum teneatis munera rerum;
Et primum, à vobis pravos secludite motus
Æquis Justitiæ trutinis appendite causas;
Ob paupertatem miseros ne spernite cives,
Nec vota in cassum fundat Pupillus in auras,
Denig; largitio, nè vos Corrumpat iniqua, &c.

Then seated on his Throne he thus begun,
As *Moses* was by *Jethro*'s Counsel won,

Along

1483. Alone unable to sustain the weight
Of Publick Rule, and judge in each Debate,
To choose a Court of Elders for the State.
So I, elected to the Pond'rous Crown,
On you lay half the Uneasy Burthen down.
First then, Let Vicious Passions be suppress't,
And banish Love and Hatred from your Breast.
In equal Scales impartial Justice weigh,
Nor to the Poor oppress'd Relief delay;
Let not defrauded Orphans Sue in vain,
Nor be Debauch'd with Baits of proffer'd Gain.

All things thus in a Happy Presage and Good Order, the King, with the Queen, departed from *London*, and makes *Windsor* the first Gest in his Progress for some few Days: From thence to his Manner of *Woodstock*, then to the University of *Oxford*, where the Muses Crown'd their Brows with fragrant Wreaths for his Entertainment. Next he visited the Circular City of *Glouceſter*, and gave the Citizens (for the Love and Loyalty they express'd, in Holding the Castle and Town so constantly against Queen *Margaret* and the Forces of *Henry* the Sixth, for him and his Brother the King) large Priviledges and Immunities.

And here the Duke of *Buckingham* takes his leave for *Brecknock*, constantly disposed and affected in all outward appearance. The King making small stay any where, (save at *Coventry*) until he came to the goodly and ancient City of *York*, the Scope and Goale of his Progress, which receiv'd him with all Honour and Festivity, and was there the second time Crown'd by Dr. *Rotheram*, Archbishop of that See, in the Cathedral Church, and his Son invested in the Principality of *Wales*, as the Prior of *Croyland* reporteth; *Eodem die quo* Richardus *Coronatus est Rex in Ecclesia Metropolitana* Eboracensi, *mox Filium* Edwardum *in Principatum* Walliæ *cum insigniis virgæ aureæ &c. evexit, & Pomposa & sumptuosa festa & convivia ibi fecit* ‖

Chro. M. S. in Quar. apud D. Ro Cotton and Rob. Fabian. Richard the Bastard of the Duke of Glouceſt. Capt. of Calais.

And indeed, it was a Day of Great † State; for (as *Polidore* saith) There was then Three Princes in *York* wearing Crowns, the King, Queen and Prince; in acclamation whereof, there was Stage Plays, Turnaments, and other Triumphal Sports, as Sir *Thomas Moor* relates. At this Time the King Knighted *Richard* of *Glouceſter* his Base Son, who was after Captain of *Calais*, and many Gentlemen of those Parts *. But (albeit this was an Intermission, as it were, of all Busie and Serious Agitations) yet the King, still where he travell'd had a Just Regard to the Administration and Execution of Justice and the more Facinorous Malefactors: And surely these respective Inclinations of his had their Solemn Affections and Desires naturaliz'd in him, witnessed by the Scope and Integrity of those Just Laws which after follow'd. 1483.

The Progress thus spent, he returns to *London*; and having consulted some Matters of State, declares his first Resolution for the Tribute detain'd by *France*, which he had formerly by a Friendly Message demanded, but now sends Stout Menaces and Threats for it. The *French* wou'd not have it call'd a Tribute, but a Pension, as *Philip de Comines* insinuates, though it had been rais'd and paid to King *Edward* IV. in lieu of the Dutchy and Countries of *Aquitaine*, *Normandy*, *Poictou* and *Maine*, *&c.* whereof the *French* had deseiz'd the Crown of *England*, which King *Edward* IV. forc'd *Lewis* to acknowledge, and to covenant and agree, That he, his Heirs and Successors, shou'd pay unto the Crown of *England*, the Sum of Fifty Thousand Crowns, with caution and security to be paid in the City of *London*; or after *Iean Tillet* and *John Maierus*, Seventy Five Thousand Crowns to be paid into the *Tower*; with which the *French* King also granted, in the name of Annual Pension, Sixteen Thousand Pounds to some Noblemen and others of special credit with the King. As to Sir *Thomas Gray*, Marques of *Dorset*, *William* Lord *Hastings*, Chamberlain to the King, Doctor *Thomas Rotheram*, Bishop of *Lincoln* and Lord Chancellor of *England*; *John* Lord *Howard*, Sir *John Cheyney*, Master of the Horse; Sir *Thomas Mountgomery*, Mr. *Challoner*, and to the Master of the Rolls: The chiefest of these had Two Thousand Crowns a piece *per Ann.* Besides which Pensions, he gave Rich Presents, and sent Rewards to such Lords as stood most for this accord. *Eugueraunt de Monstroulet* avoucheth, That the Lord *Howard* and the Master of the Horse, were the chiefest of the Mediators in it: his reason is, that they were the Men most in favour with King *Edward*. *Iean Tillet*, with *Philip de Comines* tells us, The Lord *Howard* in less than Two Years, had the value of Twenty Four Thousand Crowns in Plate, Coin and Jewels, over and above his Annual Pension; the Lord *Hastings* at one time to the value of Two Thousand Marks in Plate, besides his Pension. And if their own Stories speak truth, *Richard de Nevil*, the Great Earl of *War-*

1483.

John Maierus. Iean Tillet. De Tillet saith That this Tribute or Pension 75000 Crowns or *Escu's & chacun Escu valant, trois sous.*

‖ *i. e.* That same Day wherein *Richard* was crown'd King in the Metropolitan Church of *York*, he advanced his Son *Edward* to the Principality of *Wales*, with the Ensigns of the Golden Rod, *&c.* and there celebrated most splendid and sumptuous Feasts.

† In order to this Solemnity, the King sent from *York* the last Day of *August*, to *Piers Curteis*, Keeper of his Wardrobe; in these Words:

By the KING.

" We wol and charge you to deliver to the Bringers hereof for Us the Parcels following, that is to say, First One Doublet of Purple Sattin, lined with *Holland* Cloth, and enterlined with Buske. One Doublet of Tawny Sattin, lined in " likewise: Two short Gowns of Cremysyn Cloth of Gold, the one with Droppis, and that other with Netts, lined with " green Velvet. One Cloak with a Cape of Violet ingrained; the Bow lined with black Velvet. One Stomacher of Purple " Sattin; one Stomacher of Tawny Sattin. One Gown of green Velvet, lined with Tawny Sattin. One yard and three " Quarters Corse of Sike [Silk] meddled with Gold, and as much black Corse of Silk, for Our Spurs. Two Yards and an " half and three Nayls of white Cloth of Gold for a Crynelze for a Borde; five yards of black Velvet for a lining of a Gown " of green Sattin: One Plakard made of part of the said two yards and one half and two Nayls of white Cloth of Gold lined " with Buckram. Three pair of Spurs short, al gilt; two pair of Spurs long white, parcel gilt. Two yards of black Buckram, " for amending of the lining of divers Trappers. One Banner of Sarcenet of our Lady; one Banner of the Trinity: One " Banner of St. *George*. One Banner of St. *Edward*: One of St. *Cuthert*: One of Our own Arms, al Sarcenet. Three " Coats of Arms beaten with fine Gold, for Our own Person. Five Coat Armours for Heraulds, lined with Buckram: " Forty Trumpet Banners of Sarcenet: Seven hundred and forty Pensils of Buckram. Three hundred and fifty Pensils " of Tarter: Four Standards of Sarcenet with Boars: Thirteen thousand Quinysans of Fustian with Boars. And these " Our Letters, *&c.* J. S.

* He knighted also *Gaufridus de Saſiola* Ambassador from the Queen of *Spain*, being present at this Solemnity; by putting a Collar of Gold about his Neck, and striking three times upon his Shoulders with his (the King's) Sword, and agreeable Words added, and by other Marks of Honour according to the *English* Custom. In testimony whereof the King gave him his Letters Patents, dated at his Court at *York*, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the King's Court being present, in the Act of the said Prince *Edward*'s Creation, on the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, which was the 8th Day of *September*, 1483. J. S.

wick,

1483. *wick*, had of the Kings of *France* much more than any other *Engliſh* Nobleman, which the Chronicle of *Brittain* ſeconds. And doubtleſs, King *Richard* had ſtill compell'd him to continue it, had not Eruptions of State and Tumultuary Practices fatally deterr'd his Sword: For as Kings have vaſter Limits, they have higher Bounds than others. If our Vulgar Paths be rugged, theirs are ſlippery, and all their Mighty Reſolutions and Ambitions have their Fate and Circle; hither they muſt, and no further; yet as envious as Fortune ſhew'd her ſelf, he brought King *Lewis* to Terms of Fair Promiſes and Mediation for time of Payment, as *Comines* obſcurely implies.

1484. The Q Mother & K *Richard* reconcil'd

This Year the King kept a very Magnificent Chriſtmas at *Weſtminſter*, and was reconciled to the Queen Dowager, who left Sanctuary, * and to congratulate the King's Favour ſent her Five Daughters to Court, where they were receiv'd with all Princely Kindneſs.

The Parliament of *Rich.* 3.

On the Three and Twentieth Day of *January*, in the Firſt Year of his Reign, he ſummon'd a Parliament to be holden at *Weſtminſter*, in which (after the enacting of many Good Laws) the Marriages of King *Edward* were debated, that with the Lady *Gray* adjudg'd unlawful, and her Children illegitimate, there being proof of a former Contract and Marriage with the Lady *Elianor Talbot*, Daughter of the Old Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and Relict of the Lord *Butler* of *Sudeley*, then and long after living, and all that had been inferr'd by the Duke of *Buckingham*, or contain'd in the Bill ſupplicatory, demonſtrated, was again conſulted, and Judgment given againſt that Marriage, and Incapacity of the Children alſo of the Earl of *Warwick* and his Siſter, the Lady *Elizabeth Plantagenet*, all decreed and confirm'd by Act of Parliament; ſo that here to tax ſo general an Aſſent, were to ſay there was not one Honeſt nor Juſt Man in that High Court, and what greater Scandal to the whole Kingdom?

1484.

There was likewiſe notice taken of the Earl of *Richmond*'s Pretence to the Crown, by a Title deriv'd from the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, who was at that time in *France*, labouring to engage the King and the Duke of *Brittain* in the Quarrel. Oh! the infinite Windings and Perplex'd Sleeps we labour through, to get that we muſt bid Goodnight to To morrow; and yet the True and Rightful *Lancaſter* had no Finger in it, for this Earl was not then granted to be of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, until the Pope by his Bull had given him that Stile, and himſelf (after he was King) by his Prerogative aſſum'd it. In this Parliament he was attainted of High Treaſon, and with him *John* Earl of *Oxford*, *Thomas* Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, *Jaſper* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Lionel* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, *Peirce* Biſhop of *Exeter*, the Lady *Margaret* Counteſs of *Richmond*, *Thomas Morton* Biſhop of *Ely*, *Thomas Naudick*, by the ſtile of *Thomas Naudick* of *Cambridge*, Conjurer, *William Knevet* of *Buckingham* ſmear'd with the ſame Pitch, *George Brown* of *Beechworth*, *Thomas Lukenor* of *Tratton*, *John Guilford*, *John Fogg*, *Edward Poinings*, *Thomas Fieries* of *Cherſtmonceux*, *Nicholas Gainsford*, *William Clifford*, *John Dorrell*, with others of *Kent* || and the Weſt Country. There was further enacted for the approbation and confirming the True and Lawful Title of King *Richard*, this Clauſe or Sentence:

The Friends & Confederates of the Earl of *Richm.*

" It is declared, pronounced, decreed, con-
" firm'd and eſtabliſh'd by the Authority of this
" preſent Parliament, That King *Richard* III.
" is the true and undoubted King of this Realm, (*a*) The
" as well by Right of Conſanguinity and Here- Sons of K.
" tage, as by Lawful Election and Coronation, *Edward* living in *Jan* and *Feb.* after
" *&c.* And in a place of the Roll of this Parli- the Death
ment, † there are Arguments to be gathered, of their
that the Two Sons of K. *Edward* were living Father.
in the time of this Parliament, which was at

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* This cannot be true, for ſhe was certainly in Sanctuary in *March* following with five of her Daughters, *viz. Elizabeth*, *Cecil*, *Anne*, *Katharine* and *Bridget*: nor could this Queen, which was now undervalued by the Name of Dame *Jane Gray*, be perſwaded to leave the Sanctuary by any Entreaty hitherto. Inſomuch, that the King on the Firſt Day of *March*, in the preſence of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, ſolemnly ſwore upon the Goſpels, " That if ſhe would come to him out of the Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*, he would provide for her " and for her Daughters, as his Kinſwomen; and that they ſhould be in no danger of their Lives; and that he would al- " low her 700 Mark a Year; and her Daughters 200 Mark apiece for their Portions in Marriage, and would take care to " marry them to Gentlemen. And to this his Oath he ſet his Sign Manual, as may be ſeen more at large in certain Notes in the Third Book. For he had left this Queen in a very bare condition, having poſſeſt himſelf (and that by Act of Parliament) of all her Caſtles, Seignories, Mannors, Lands, Tenements, Farms, Fee-Farms, Franchiſes, Liberties and other Hereditaments, made over to her at any time, either by Confirmation, State or Act of Parliament, all from the 1ſt day of *May* laſt, to be utterly void, annull'd and of no ſtrength nor effect in Law; Thus roughly had King *Richard* dealt with her. And this was done by an Act of Parliament that ſat after *Chriſtmas*, when this Author relates ſhe left the Sanctuary, and the King was reconciled to her. J. S.

|| This Inſurrection of the Gentry in *Kent* was ſtrong, ſo that ſoon after it was over, King *Richard* himſelf haſted thither in Perſon; and a ſevere Proclamation was ſet forth for the Taking of thoſe concerned in it; and Who, and of what Quality they were, and what the Rewards were of ſuch as ſhould take them, the enſuing Proclamation will diſcover.

" The King, our ſovereign Lord, remembring that many and divers of his True Subjects of this his County of *Kent*, " have now late been abuſed and blinded by Sir *John Gilford*, Sir *Thomas Lowkenor*, Sir *William Hawte*, Knts. *Edward* " *Ponyngs*, *Richard Gilford*, *William Cheney*, *Thomas Penys*, *Will. Brandon*, *John Wingfeld*, *Anth. Kene*, *Nic Gaynsford*, *John* " *Iſly*, *Rauf Tikhill*, *Anthony Browne*, *John Pympe*, *Rob. Brent*, *Long Roger*, *Richard Potter*, *Richard Fiſher*, Sir *Markus Huſſen* " Prieſt, and others the King's Rebells and Traitours, which imagyned and utterly conſpyred the Deſtruction of the " Kyng the Soveraign Lords moſt Royal Perſon, the Subverſion of his Royalme, and the Common-wele of the ſame: " And many of his ſaid Subjects of this his County of *Kent*, when they knew and underſtood their ſaid conſpired Trea- " ſons, left and forſook them, and as his true Subjects ſithence have well and truely behaved themſelves. For the which " the Kynges Grace ſtandeth, and wol be to them good and gracious ſoveraign Lord; and willeth and deſyreth al his " ſaid true Subjects to put them in their effectual Devoirs to take his ſaid Rebels and Traitours; and graunteth that he or " they that ſhall hap to take the ſaid Sir *John Gilford*, &c. *Renold Pimroe*, &c ſhal have for each of them 300 Mark, or 40 *l.* " of Land. And for ever each of the other after named 100 *l.* or Ten Mark of Land; and great Thanks of the Kynges " Grace; and over this, the Kynge woll it be known, that if any Perſon harbour, lodge, comfort, ſuccour or kepe " within his Houſe, or otherwiſe ayd or receive wyttingly any of the ſaid Traitors, and diſcloſe them not, nor bring them " to the Kynge in al good haſt poſſyble after thys Proclamation, that then he or they ſo harbouring, ayding, comforting, " ſuccouring or lodging them, or any of them hereafter to be taken and reputed as the Kynges Rebels and Traitours. " And alſo, that no Man preſume, after this Proclamation, to keep any Goods or Cattals of the ſaid Traitours; but them " utter and ſhew to the Kynges Commiſſioners, in this hys ſaid County of *Kent*, aſſign'd and appoynted. And they " that ſo truly wil ſhew it ſhal be wel rewarded, and they that do the contrary ſhal be puniſhed according to the Law. J. S.

† The Author would have done much towards the Credit of what he drives at in his Hiſtory, to have ſpecified this place of the Roll, and the Words thereof, whence ſuch Arguments might be gathered. For all Hiſtory relates the Murthers to be committed before this time. *J. S.*

1483. the leaſt Nine Months after the Death of their Father, and ſix Months after King *Richard*; which will import thus much, That if King *Richard* then, lawfully and quietly poſſeſs'd of the Crown, ſuffer'd them to live ſo long, there is no reaſon why he ſhou'd after make them away, for their Lives cou'd not rectify their Blood or Tjtles, nor their Deaths advantage him; neither can Baſtards be dangerous or prejudicial to the True and Titular Lord, or Lawful Proprietary, be he Prince or Subject; witneſs Foreign Countries, and *England* it ſelf, which holds Baſtards uncapable of Heritage, Honour or Offices. In the Month of *February*, towards the end of this Parliament, the King in his Providence to eſtabliſh the Regal Fortune and Succeſſion in the Prince his Son, and to faſten the Affection of the Nobility and the People unto him with the Crown, procures them to meet him in the Pallace at *Weſtminſter*, and there (*Interiori Canaculo*, as mine Author ſaith) tendred by the Duke of *Norfolk* unto them, an Oath of Fealty and Allegiance in writing, to be taken to the Prince of *Wales*; which they took and ſubſcrib'd moſt willingly: The Occaſion of this, was his Jealouſy of that New League ſtruck up between the Earl of *Richmond* and the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was now diſcover'd more apparently, and the reſt of the Engagement. To oppoſe and ſuppreſs them therefore, and ſtifle the Confederacy before it ſhould grow more threatning; the King makes a Commiſſion by Letters Patents, in the Name of the Vice-Conſtable of *England*, unto Sir *Ralph Aſhton*; a Copy whereof (the Preſident being unuſual, and the Office great) I have tranſcrib'd *verbatim* from the Records in the Chapel of the * Converts.

Vice-Conſtable of *England.*

* That is the Chapel of the Rolls.

Vice-Conſtabulario Angliæ *Conſtituto.*

REX dilecto & fideli ſuo, Rudolpho Aſhton *Militi, ſalutem. Sciatis, quod nos de fidelitate, circumſpectione, & probitate, veſtra plenius confidentes, aſſignavimus deputavimus & ordinavimus vos hac Vice Conſtabularium noſtrum* Angliæ, *ac Commiſſionarium noſtrum, dantes & concedentes vobis tenore præſentium poteſtatem & authoritatem generalem, & mandatum ſpeciale, ad audiendum & examinandum ac procedendum, contra quaſcunque perſonas de crimine læſa noſtræ regiæ majeſtatis ſuſpectas & culpabiles tam per viam examinationis teſtium quam aliter prout vobis melius viſum fuerit ex officio veſtro; nec non in cauſis illis judicialiter & ſententialiter juxta caſus exigentiam & Delinquentium demerita omni ſtrepitu & futura Judicii appellatione quacunque remota, quandocunque vobis videbitur procedendum, judicandum & finali executione de mandandum cum omnibus etiam clauſulis, verbis, & terminis ſpecialibus ad executionem iſtius mandati & authoritatis noſtræ de jure vel conſuetudine requiſitis, quæ etiam omnia hic expreſſa habemus, aſſumpto vobiſcum aliquo tabellione fide digno, qui ſingula conſcribat unà cum aliis quæ in præmiſſis vel circa ea neceſſaria videbuntur ſeu qualitercunq; requiſita; mandantes & firmiter vobis injungentes, quod aliis quibuſcunq; prætermiſſis circa prædicta quoties & quando opus fuerit intendatis, cauſaſque antedictas audiatis, examinetis, & in eiſdem procedatis ac eas judicetis & finali executione ut præfertur demandetis. Damus etiam omnibus & ſingulis quorum intereſt in hac parte tenore præſentium firmiter in mandatis, quod vobis in præmiſſis faciendis pareant, aſſiſtant & auxilientur in omnibus diligenter, in cujus, &c. Teſte Rege apud Covent. 24. Die Octobris, Anno Regni Primo; per ipſum Regem ore tenus.*

Patents de anno 1 Ri. 3. *part.* 1. *mem.* 2.

In *Engliſh* thus. 1483.

To the Vice-Conſtable of England *Conſtituted.*

"THE King to his beloved and faithful "*Ralph Aſhton* Kt. greeting. Know, that "We fully confiding in your Fidelity, "Wiſdom, and Integrity, have aſſign'd, deputed, "and ordain'd you at this time our Vice-Con"ſtable of *England*, and our Comiſſionary, Gi"ving and Committing to you by the tenor "of theſe Preſents, Power and Authority ge"neral, and our ſpecial Command, to Hear, Exa"mine and Proceed againſt all Perſons whatſo"ever, ſuſpected or guilty of the Crime of "High-Treaſon againſt Us, either by way of "Examination of Witneſſes, or otherways, as "ſhall ſeem to you moſt expedient and ſuita"ble to your Office: As alſo in theſe Cauſes, "judiciouſly and ſententially, according to the "Exigency of the Caſe and Demerit of the "Delinquent, without all Noiſe or Appeal, "when you ſhall think fit, to Proceed, Deter"min and Commit to Final Execution, with "all Clauſes, Words, and ſpecial Terms by "Law or Cuſtom required to the Execution "of that our Command and Authority, as if "here particularly expreſs'd; taking unto your "Aſſiſtance ſome Publick Notary of known Fi"delity, who may commit to Writing all theſe "things, with what elſe ſhall in or about the "Premiſſes ſeem neceſſary, or any manner of "way requiſite; Commanding and ſtrictly In"joyning you, That all other Affairs whatever "being laid aſide, you apply your ſelves to the "foreſaid, how often, and at what time it "ſhall be neceſſary; and that the above-named "Cauſes you Hear, Examin, and in the ſame "Proceed and them Determin, and commit to "final Execution as ſaid is. We alſo by the "tenour of theſe Preſents ſtrictly command all "and every one in this Part whom it may "concern, to obey you in performing the Pre"miſſes, and that they aſſiſt and diligently help "you in all Things. In Confirmation, *&c.* Wit"neſs the King at *Covent.* the 24th Day of *O*"*ctober*, and Firſt Year of his Reign; Taken "from the Mouth of the King himſelf.

What Succeſs this Commiſſion, and new Office had, I find not reported; but it might come too late, or the new Officer forget what he was to execute, for the Faction loſt none they could Corrupt or Win; yet ſurely, the Inſtitution of it was very Politick and Important, as a plain Image and Pourtraict of the Office and Authority of the Great or High Conſtable of *England*, which, in the Execution of a Wiſe and Valiant Perſon, is of a high and great uſe.

Having made mention of theſe Offices, it ſhall not be a Parergue, between theſe Acts, to inter- add the reſt of this King's Officers, both Chief and Other's; at the leaſt, ſuch as were of Honour or Dignity: I have before named the High-Conſtable, the Great Marſhal, High Admiral, Lord Chamberlain, the reſt were Sir *John Wood* the Elder, Lord Treaſurer the Firſt Year, and Sir *John Touchet*, Lord *Audley* during the reſt of his Reign: Dr. *Ruſſel* Biſhop of *Lincoln* had the Great Seal, *Thomas Barrow* was Maſter of the Rolls, (which Place *Henry* the Seventh continued to him, and made him a Privy Counſellor) *John Kendal* was Principal Secretary, Sir *William Hopton* Treaſurer of the

Other Officers of K. *Richard* 3.

1483. Houſhold. Sir *Thomas Peircy* Controuler, after him Sir *John Buck*, *John Gunthorp* Keeper of the Privy Seal, Sir *William Huſſey* Chief Juſtice, *Thomas Tremaine* and *Roger Townſend* the King's Serjeants, *Morgan Kidwel* Attorney General, *Nicholas Fitz William* Recorder of *London*.

Treaties for League and Commerce with *Flanders*, &c. *In Theſauro Scaccarii*, 1 R 3.

For Matters of Treaty, betwixt this King and Foreign Princes, I have ſeen a Memorial of one for Intercourſe and Commerce, between him and (*m*) *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Eſtates of *Flanders*, who in the Record are call'd *Membria Flandriæ*: Theſe Princes and States had each of them their Commiſſioners to Treat and Determin the Affairs, which I find they diſpatch'd with Approbation of the Princes their Maſters.

In Rolls *Anno* 1 R.

There was alſo a Commiſſion about theſe Times, to Hear and Redreſs the Complaints made to the King, by the Subjects of the King of *France* and of *Denmark*, which was well expedited.

1484.

Anno Regni 2. That Treaty of Peace and League with *Scotland*, (began before) was continued, and finiſh'd by Commiſſioners ſent from *James* IV. King of *Scotland*, and by other Commiſſioners Delegate for the King of *England*; thoſe for *Scotland* were *Colin* Earl of *Argile*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, *N.* Biſhop of *Aberdene*, the Ld. *Liſle*, the Lord *Dromonde* of *Stobhall*, Mr, *Archibald Quhitlaw*, Archdeacon of *Lodion* and Secretary to the King, *Lion* King at Arms, and *Duncan* of *Dundas*; they came to *Nottingham* in *September*, *Anno Dom.* 1484, and were honourably receiv'd in the Great Chamber of the Caſtle, the King ſitting under his Royal Cloth of State; Mr. *Archibald Quhitlaw*, ſtepping before the reſt, addreſt a very Eloquent Oration unto him in *Latin*, which reflected upon the Praiſe of Martial Men and Art Military, including much to the Honour and Praiſe of King *Richard*. This Treaty aim'd partly at a Truce and Peace, partly at a Marriage between *James* the Prince of *Scotland* and the Lady *Anne*, Daughter of *John de la Poole*, Duke of *Suffolk*; and Niece to King *Richard*.

Argile in Record.

Commiſſioners for the King of *England*, were *John* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *Richard* Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, *John* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, Mr. *John Gunthorpe Cuſtos privati Sigilli*, Sir *Thomas Stanley*, Lord *Stanley*, Sir *N.* Ld. *Strange*, Sir *N.* Lord *Powis*, Sir *Henry* Lord *Fitzhugh*, Sir *Humphry* Lord *Dacres*, Mr. *Thomas Barrow* Maſter of the Rolls, Sir *Richard Ratcliffe*, *William Catesby*, and *Richard Salkeld*: The other for the Treaty of Alliance and Marriage, were *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *York*, *John* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *John* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *John* Duke of *Norfolk*, *William* Earl of *Nottingham*, *John Sutton*, Lord *Dudly*, *N.* Lord *Scroope* of *Upſal*, Sir *William Huſſey*, Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench; Sir *Richard Ratcliffe*, and *William Catesby*: But the Succeſs of that, and many other Good Intendments, were interpoſed by the Inconſtancy and Contraſte of the Times. The Lady *Anne de la Poole*, upon the breach thereof, (reſolving to accept no other Motion) forthwith took a Religious Habit in the Monaſtery of *Sion* (*n*).

1484.

The Lady *Anne de la Poole* a Nun.

There was another Treaty of Peace and Truce in this Second Year, between him and the Duke of *Brittain*, or at the leaſt given out for Peace, yet was indeed but a Part and Pretext of the Treaty: For the main Negotiations on the King's ſide, was, how to get the Earl of *Richmond* out of his Cuſtody into his own, or be as well ſecur'd of him there as his Brother King *Edward* was: And for this Treaty, the chief Negotiators were the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and Sir *Thomas Hutton* for the King, the Biſhop of *Leon* and others for the Duke. The Treaty began *Anno Dom.* 1484. and was finiſh'd and ratified in the Year following: but the Duke violated his Part immediately, by giving Aid to the King's Enemies.

Treaty with the Duke of *Brittain*.

Ib. in Scac.

In the ſame Year there were Letters made (which are yet extant in the Treaſury of the *Exchequer*) that moved a Peace and Truce between King *Richard* and *Charles* VIII. King of *France*; wherein it muſt be underſtood, the Tribute before mention'd was Articled.

Treaty with the King of *France*.

Alſo in this Year, and the Year before, there was a private Treaty, which we muſt not paſs by, for the Marriage of the Lady *Elizabeth* with King *Richard* himſelf: What the Succeſs of it was and how far it proceeded, will more aptly preſent it ſelf in another place.

Treaty of Marriage of King *Richard* with the Lady *Eliz.*

We are now to take notice of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Revolt, for this was the Preparative and Fourrier of the reſt: And to give it the more taking Feature and ſpecious Pretence, it muſt be given out, That the Cauſe was the Reformation of an Ill Government and Tyranny, under which Species (for Treaſon is ever fairly palliated, and ſeldom wants the form of ſome Plea, tho' at the Bar) they muſt take up Arms againſt the King. And here (as ſome Rivers deriv'd from the Sea, cannot ſuddenly looſe their taſte of ſaltneſs) they diſcover'd their ancient Taint and Inconſtancy, which the Prince wiſely ſuſpected from the firſt. For the Duke of *Buckingham* (how Affably ſoever he trim'd his Countenance) it ſhou'd ſeem departed Malecontent from Court, yet made not that general publick pretended Cauſe of the King's Crimes all his Quarrel, but challeng'd him by ſome private Grudges, * as denying to give or reſtore to him the Earldom of *Hereford* and Conſtableſhip of *England*

Revolt of the Duke of *Buck.*

The Duke of *Buck.* firſt riſeth in Rebellion.

The Quarrel of the Duke of *Buckingh.* againſt the King.

(*m*) This cannot be true, for *Philip* D. of *Burgundy* died in *June* 1467. according to *Comines*, and his Son, *Charles* Ten Years after him. To *Charles* ſucceeded *Anne* his Daughter, married to *Maximilian* Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, who in right of his Wife was ſtiled Duke of *Burgundy* till the Year 1485, when he was choſen King of the *Romans*, and 'twas 1492. before his Son the Arch-Duke *Philip* ſucceeded him in the Sovereignty of the *Netherlands*, as Duke of *Burgundy*, Eight Years after King *Richard*'s Death. ——— *Phil. de Com.*

(*n*) *Thin*, in his Account of all the Dukes in *England* ſince the Conqueſt, ſays *Anne de la Poole* was by King *Richard*'s procurement, married to the Duke of *Rothſay*, the *Scots* King's eldeſt Son. ——— *Hol.* p. 1236.

* King *Richard* had extreamly obliged this Duke, to keep him faſt to him; ſo that he had little reaſon to be malecontent. While he was Duke of *Glouceſter* and Protector of the Realm, and of the Perſon of his Nephew *Edward* V. he procured for the Duke almoſt all the Government and Authority of *Wales*, and other bordering Counties: For he had the Office of Conſtable of all the King's Caſtles, and the Office of Steward of the ſaid Caſtles and Divours Manours, Royalties, Lands, Lordſhips, *&c.* in the Counties of *Salop*, *Hereford*, *Somerſet*, *Dorſet* and *Wilts*: To have without making Account or rendring any thing to the King. To him alſo *Edward* V. granted the whole Overſight and Government of his Subjects in thoſe Counties, and a Power and Authority for the ſecuriry of his Perſon and Kingdom, and Conſervation of Peace in thoſe Parts, to call them together, and to Array and Arm them. To the ſaid Duke the King alſo gave the Office of Chief Juſtice and Chamberlain in South and North *Wales* for term of Life. He conſtituted him Conſtable of the Caſtle and County of *Carmerden*, of the Caſtle and County of *Cardigan*, of the Caſtle of *Aberſtwith* in *Cardigan*, the Caſtle of *Denevey* in Sonth *Wales*, and the Caſtle and Town of *Tynbych* in the County of *Pembroke*, the Caſtle and Lordſhip of *Kilgarrum* in South *Wales*, and the Caſtle and Town of *Llanſtephan* there; the Lordſhip of *Walleuyns* Caſtle in the County of *Pembroke*: the Caſtle and Lordſhip of *Weſt Haverford* in South *Wales*. He alſo gave, granted and conſtituted

1483. ſtituted the ſaid Duke to be Conſtable, Steward and Receiver of the Caſtle, Lordſhip and Manour of *Usk*, the Caſtle and Manour of *Carlion*, the Caſtle, Lordſhip and Manour of *Dynos*; the Caſtle and half of the Lordſhip and Manour of *Ewyas Lacy*; the Caſtle Lordſhip and Manour of *Beltb*; and the Caſtles, Manours and Lordſhips of *Clifford*, of *Ragener*, of *Melenueth*, of *Mountgomery*, of *Dynbygh*, of *Elbel*, of *Nerberch*, of *Wigmore*, of *Holt*, of *Branfeld*, with a great number more in *Wales* and the Marches of *Wales*, which were in the Hands and Poſſeſſion of the Earl of *Pembroke* before 1485.

Again by another Patent, the King conſtituted the ſaid *Henry* Duke of *Bucks*, Conſtable, Steward and Receiver of the Caſtle, Manour and Town of *Monmouth*; and al Caſtles, Towns Lordſhips, Manours, Lands, Tenements, which were Parcel of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter* in South *Wales*, He was alſo conſtituted Keeper or Chief Foreſter of the Foreſt and Chaſe of *Hodenake*, with all the Profits, Commodities, *&c.* And to put in all manner of Officers, Bailiffs, *&c.* Still further there was another Grant to him from *Edward* of *Gowerlands* in *Wales*, and to have the Rule, Government and overſight of them as the preſent Officers turn'd out to admit the Duke.

Beſides ll theſe large Grants from *Edw.* V. *Richard* when he came to reign added, moſt royally, further Favours to him; For he had made him, Firſt of all Great Chamberlain of *England*, *June* 28. afterwards he made him Steward of the Honour of *Tutbury*, in the County of *Derby* and *Stafford*; alſo of the Caſtle, Town and Lordſhip and Manour of *Newcaſtle under Tine*; the Lordſhips and Manours of *Worksworth* and *Aſhborn*, and all the Caſtles, Lordſhips and Manours, *&c.* in the ſame County, parcel of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*: Alſo the Office of Conſtable of the Caſtle of *Tutbury*, Maſter Foreſter of the Chaſe of *Nedewood* and of *Duffeld Firth*; and the ſame Duke to be Superviſor of the Honour aforeſaid, and of the ſame Caſtles, Manours, Lordſhips, Towns, Lands and Tenements, Foreſts, Chaces, Parks and Warrens in the County aforeſaid, with the Appurtinences, parcel of the ſaid Dutchy: Alſo Maſter of the Game ‖ of he ſame Foreſts, Chaces, Parks and Warrens aforeſaid; alſo Chief and Great Steward of the Honours aforeſaid, and other Premiſſes, for the term of the ſaid Duke's Life, with the Fees, *&c.* anciently due and accuſtomed thereto; and an 100 *l.* of lawful Money for the term of his Life, out of the Revenues aforeſaid, by the Hand of the Receiver. Alſo, the Office of the Steward of the Lordſhip of *High Peak*, and to be Maſter of the Foreſt, and Surveyor of the Foreſt there. And alſo to be Conſtable of the Caſtle of *Donington* in the County of *Leiceſter*, and Steward of the ſame Caſtle, Lordſhip and Manour, parcel of the ſaid Honour of *Tutbury*. And alſo to have Power and Authority, during his Life, to make from time to time, all Bailiffs, Foreſters, Parkers and other Officers and Miniſters ‖ *Deductus.*

To the ame Duke, K. *Richard* granted alſo the Office of Conſtable of all the Caſtles, and of Steward of all the Caſtles, Lordſhips, Manours, Lands, *&c.* in the Counties of *Salop* and *Hereford*, which were then vacant, and which hereafter ſhou'd be vacant; and alſo the Superviſorſhip of all the King's Subjects there.

To the ſame Duke was alſo a Grant by Letters Patents to be Conſtable, Steward and Receiver of the Caſtle, Manour and Town of *Uske* in the *March* of *Wales*; and of all other Caſtles, Lordſhips, Manours, Towns, Lands, *&c.* which were Parcels of the Earldom of *March* in North *Wales*, South *Wales*, and March of *Wales*: And alſo to be Keeper or Chief Foreſter of the Foreſt and Chace of *Treweke*, and all other Foreſts and Chaces, parcel of the Earldom aforeſaid in North *Wales*, South *Wales*, and March of *Wales*, for term of Life. And again, to the ſame Duke, the Office of Chief Juſtice and Chamberlain in South and North *Wales*, for term of Life; giving further Power and Authority to make, exerciſe and execute all ſingular things belonging to thoſe Offices.

Further by another Patent K. *Richard* granted to *Henry* D. of *Bucks*, the Offices of Conſtable, Steward and Receiver of the Caſtle, Manours and Towns of *Monmouth* and *Kidwelly* in South *Wales*; and of all other Caſtles, Lordſhips, Towns in North and South *Wales*, and Marches of *Wales*, Parcel of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*; and the Office of Maſter Foreſter and Maſter of the Game within all the Foreſts, *&c.*

And laſtly, he had granted him the Stewardſhip of the Town of *Cheſterfield*; and of the Manour and Lordſhip of *Scarſedale* in the County of *Derby*, for term of Life. *J. S.* Journ. of K. *Rich.* III.

England (for they went together a long time) which he alledg'd belong'd to the Partage that fell to his Great Grand-mother the Lady *Anne* Daughter and Heir of *Thomas Plantagenet*, alias *Woodſtock*, created by King *Richard* II. Duke of *Glouceſter* and Earl of *Buckingham*, and of his Wife *Elianor*, Daughter and Co-heir of *Humphry de Bohun* Earl of *Hereford* and Conſtable of *England*: Which Claim, had he codſiderately look'd upon, could not rightly revolve to him, but rather was for the King's Part; for *Humphry de Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, of *Eſſex* and *Northampton*, Lord of *Brecknock* and Conſtable of *England* (in the time of King *Edward* III, and the laſt Earl of the Family of the *Bohuns*) had by the Lady *Jane* his Wife, Daughter of *Richard Fitz-Allen* Earl of *Arundel*, two Daughters and Heirs *Elianor* and *Mary*: *Elianor* was married to the ſame *Thomas Plantagenet*, alias *de Woodſtock*, youngeſt Son of King *Edward* the Third, Duke of *Glouceſter* and Earl of *Buckingham*: *Mary*, the ſecond Daughter, was married to *Henry Plantagenet* Duke of *Lancaſter*, and after King of *England*, by the Name of *Henry* the Fourth, and the Earldom of *Hereford* fell to his Wife; in favour whereof, he was created D. of *Hereford* by K. *Rich.* II. and the Earldom (now a Dutchy) and the Rights thereof remain'd in the King, and in the King's Heirs and Succeſſors until the Death of K. *Hen.* VI. who died without Iſſue, and then all the Eſtate of *Lancaſter* (eſpecially that of the Royal Family of *Lancaſter*) eſcheated to King *Edward* IV. and from him it came to King *Richard*, as Heir to his Brother and all his Anceſtors. But the D. of *Buckingham* pretended Title to that Earldom by his ſaid Grandmother *Anne*, who was one of the Daughters and Heirs of the aforeſaid Lady *Elianor* (Wife of *Thomas de Woodſtock* Duke of *Glouceſter*) and the Wife of *Edmond Stafford* Earl of *Stafford*, and Grandfather to this *Henry* Duke of *Buckingham*, who the rather preſum'd

The Title of the Earldom of *Hereford*, and Conſtableſhip of *England*.

to make this Claim, becauſe the Iſſue of the other Siſter *Mary* being extinct, he took himſelf alſo to be her Heir.

But King *Richard* reliſhing ſomething in this, near the Diſpoſition and Inclination of *Bullingbroek*, anſwer'd, "That the Earldom of *Hereford* "was of the Inheritance of *Henry* IV. who was "alſo King of *England* (tho' by Tort and Uſurpation) and will you, my Lord of *Buckingham*, claim to be Heir of *Henry* the Fourth? "You may then haply aſſume his Spirits, and "lay claim to the Crown by the ſame Titles.

This was as bitter as ſhort, and doubly ill taken; Firſt, becauſe it came with a Repulſe: Next, becauſe it ſeem'd to proceed from a Suſpicion, and as a tax of his Loyalty, and begets another pretence of Exception in the Duke's Boſom, which he call'd a breach of Promiſe in the King, for not joyning the Prince his Son in Marriage with the Lady *Anne Stafford* his Daughter: But all thoſe Colours were but to give Complexion to the Face of his Defection; the true Cauſe was well divined and found out by the King, his Ambition and Aim to be Sovereign, rais'd by an overweening of that Royal Blood he ſuppoſed to be in his Deſcent from the ſaid *Thomas de Woodſtock*, &c. Son of a King; and yet he was not reſolutely dertermin'd to make his Claim to the Crown this way, nor to attempt the Kingdom by Arms, until thoſe Embers which (as it were) lay but luke-warm in his Thoughts, were quicken'd and reviv'd by the Animation of ‖ Dr. *Morton* Biſhop of *Ely*, then a Privy Counſellor, tho' he ſtood in ſome Umbrage and Diſgrace in the Court with the King, for his Practices againſt him, and was at this time in the Cuſtody of the Duke of *Buckingham* as a Priſoner; (*n*) more expreſly, for that being a Privy Counſellor, he had given ſecret Advertiſement to the Earl of *Richmond* of what paſs'd in the ſecret Counſels of the King; to this Advantage

‖ *Morton* Bp. of *Ely*. (*n*) A great Miſtake, he was never a Privy Councell to K. *Rich.* he was ſeiz'd before *Rich.* Election the very day the Ld *Haſtings* was murder'd, and kept in the *Tower* till the D. of *Bucks* had himſent to *Brecknock* Hol.

1483. vantage he applies that which he had wittily drawn from the Duke's Diſcontent and Paſſionate Diſcourſes at time paſt. By which, perceiving the Glance of his Ambition, and that deriv'd from the great Opinion of his Royal Blood, he pregnantly tickles and feeds that Humour, until he had ſooth'd him paſt his own Strength or Retirement; for his ſecret Drift was, to apt and prepare the Duke to a Rebellion at any hand, tho' not to ſet his own Title on foot, yet lays open the Advantge of the preſent times to it, propoſing flat Uſurpation and Tyranny againſt the King Regnant, and the ſtrong likelihood of his Depoſing. This liſts the Duke ſomething higher in his own Opinion. But coming to Pauſe, and perceiving *Richmond* was the Man they had aim'd at for this Great Blow (who had condition'd by Oath to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, for the Counteſs of *Richmond*, had by the Means of Dr. *Lewis*, conciliated the Friendſhip of the Queen Mother to that Alliance, and to draw as many of the Houſe of *York* into the Action as were at her Devotion) that many Potent Lords and ſome Foreign Princes had promiſed their Aids.) He began to retreat, and conceive he had taken the wrong Path to his Journey's end, for his Title and Claim muſt be nothing, if thoſe of *York* and *Lancaſter* were united: And that the Earl (who ſtood between him and his Aims) was not only reſolute to attempt, but ſtrongly aided for it, himſelf not able, upon ſuch an Inſtant, to raiſe a Power able to Encounter, much leſs give Check unto his violent Ambition, therefore concludes all againſt himſelf, and that it wou'd fall out far better to ſide with the Times; a Conſideration which doubtleſs wou'd highly ſtir a Spirit where ſo much Greatneſs of Opinion and Ambition was. And the Doctor diſcerning this Diſguſt, and that he was ſtartled in his Hope and Reſolution, to recover him an entire Man, and not let him ſtand by an idle Spectator in ſo meritorious an Action, he opens a private way of Honour and Satisfaction, ſuggeſting him the firſt and greateſt Man the Kingdom was to know next the King: And finding his particular Diſtaſtes to King *Richard*, of quickeſt Senſe and Argument to him, he freſhly urges (and as it were) refrigates each Particle, to the greatneſs of his Spirit and Diſcontent. The Duke replies not much at that time, but

Sir *Thom. Moore.*

buſy in his Thoughts leaves him, and preſently faſhions a Viſit to the Counteſs of *Richmond*, (a Lady of a politick and contriving Boſom) to know the credit of his Intelligence, which ſhe inſinuates, with Arguments ſo full of Circumſtance and Honour, beſides her Son's Indearment to him, their nearneſs of Blood, affirming the Duke's Mother a *Somerſet*, the reciprocal Affinity between her Father and his, and then the Bravery and Religion in the Cauſe, that the Duke now forſakes himſelf, and fully gives up his Reſolution and Promiſe to her: Thus prepar'd, he finds out the Lord *Stanley*, the Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, *Edward Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*, and his Brother the Biſhop of *Exeter*, Sir *John Bourchier*, Sir *John Wells*, *Robert Willoughby*, *Edward Woodvil*, *Thomas Arundel*, who had ſeverally rais'd Forces, and intended their Rendezvous near *Glouceſter*, ſo to march for *Dorſetſhire*, there to receive the Earl and the Duke with his *Welſhmen*: But the King was early in his Preparation, to prevent them before they could unite, or the Earl of *Richmond* arrive there, elſe they had faſtned a moſt dangerous Blow upon him *. And at this full ſtop, in theſe Progreſſes, methinks, we may obſerve, how uncertainly in our ſtrongeſt Valuations we are our own; and that our greateſt Confidences and humane Policies, are but heavy Weights hung at trembling Wires, while our Expectations are apt to be flatter'd and outgo themſelves, but are overtaken in their Succeſs and Fates, as was this Great Man's; for their Forces neither met by Sea nor Land, the *Engliſh* being ſcatter'd by a ſudden and huge Inundation that ſo dangerouſly overflow'd all Paſſages, they cou'd not joyn nor paſs the River *Severne*, while the ſuddenneſs and ſtrangeneſs of it ſtruck the Soldiers with ſuch Alteration, that moſt part of them forſook the Duke and left him to himſelf: The Earl of *Richmond* was as unfortunately met at Sea by a great Tempeſt, upon the Coaſts of *England*.

1483.

This *Margaret* Co. of *Richm.* was Daug. and Heir to *John Beaufort* D. of *Somerſet*, and *Marg. de Beaufort*, Mother of the ſaid D. of *Bucking.* was Daug. of *Edmond* D. of *Somerſet*; and thus were the E. of *Richmond* and the D. of *Buckingham* akin. *Rob. Glov. in Catal. &c.*

The Conſpirators with the D. of *Buck.* for the E. of *Richm.*

The King took the Advantage this Accident offer'd, and purſu'd the Duke, not only with a Galloping Army, but with Edicts and Preſcriptions that promiſed a Thouſand Pounds in Money (whereunto ſome Writers add, ſo much Lands as was worth One Hundred Pounds *per Ann.*) to any one that ſhould bring in the Duke, who was betray'd and brought to the King, then at *Salisbury*, by || *Humphry Baniſter*, of an eternal

The overthrow of the Duke of *Buckingham.* *Polid. lib.* 25.

||K. *Richard* ſharply reprehended *Baniſter* for betraying his Maſter, which argued a noble Mind.

* The King was now in the Month of *Octob.* at *Lincoln*, providing to go to meet the Duke his Rebel, and with ſuch Strength as he ſurely confided in. He was greatly incens'd againſt the Duke for ſo bad a Requital of the extraordinary Gifts and Honours he had beſtow'd upon him, which made him Stile the Duke, *The moſt untrue Creature living*, in a Poſtſcript under his own Hand, to a Letter to the Bp of *Lincoln* his Chancellor, now abſent and ſick; ordering him by ſome fit Officers of the Chancery, to ſend him the Great Seal, which he ſhould have occaſion to uſe. The Original is ſtill preſerv'd in the *Tower*, and friendly ſhew'd me by Mr. *Geo. Holmes*, Deputy Keeper of the Records. It ran to this tenor.

By the KING.

" Right Reverend Fadre in God, and Right truſty and welbeloved, We grete you wele, and in our hertieſt wyſe " thank you for the manyfold Preſentes that your Servantes in your behalve have preſented unto Us at this oure being " here: which we aſſure you we toke and accepted with good hert: and ſo we have cawſe. And whereas We by Goddes " Grace intend briefly to avaunce us towards our Rebel and Traitor the Duc of *Buckingham*, to reſiſte and withſtand his " malicious purpoſe, as lately by oure other Letters We certifyed you oure mynde more at large: For which Cauſe it " behoveth us to have our grete Sele here, We being enfourmed, that for ſuche Infirmities and Diſeaſes as ye ſuſteyne ne " may in your perſon to your eaſe conveniently come unto us with the ſame: Wherfore we wil, and natheleſs charge you " that forthwith upon the ſight of thies, ye ſaufly do the ſame oure grete Sele to be ſent unto us; and ſuch of thoffice " of oure Chauncery as by your Wiſedome ſhal be thought neceſſary, receiving theſe oure Letters for youre ſufficient Diſ" charge in that behalve. Yeven undre oure Signet at oure Cite of *Lincolne* the xii. day of *Octobre*.

Then follows the King's Poſtſcript under his own Hand, *viz.*

" We wolde moſt gladly ye came your ſelff, yf that ye may, and yf ye may not, we pray you not to fayle, but to a" complyſhe in al dyllygence our ſayde commaundemente, to ſende oure Seale incontinent apon the ſyght hereof, as we " truſte you with ſuch as ye truſte, and the Officers parteyning, to attende with hyt; praying you to aſcerteyn us of your " News ther. Here loved be God, is al wel, and trewly determyned, and for to reſiſte the Malyſe of him, that had " beſt Cawſe to be trew, the Duc of *Bokyngam* the moſt untrew Creature lyvynge. Whom with God's Grace we ſhal not " be long til that we wyll be in that parties, and ſubdew his Malys. Wee aſſure you there was never falſre Traitor pur" vayde for, as this Berrerr *Glouceſtre* ſhal ſhew you. *J. S.*

|| This Note of *Bucks*'s, is ſcarce agreeable with the Kings Gift to this *Rauf Baniſter*, (for ſo was his Chriſtian Name, and not *Humphrey*) and with the King's Commendation of his Service in his Letters Patents. For he gave him the Manour and Lordſhip of *Ealding* in *Kent*, late belonging to the D. of *Buckingham*. So the Letters ran, *Richard, &c.* " to al and ſingular the Offi" cers, *&c.* Wit ye, that in conſideration of the true and faithful Service, which our well beloved Servant *Rauf Baniſter*, " Eſq; now late hath done unto us, for and about the taking and bringing of our ſaid great Rebel into our Hands, we have " given unto the ſaid *Rauf* and to his Heirs male the ſaid Manour for ever. K. *Rich.* Journ. *J. S.*

Brand

1484. Brand, having liv'd by this Man's Service, and now thought treacherously to subsist by his Ruin. The Duke being examin'd, freely confess'd all, and for it lost his Head in the Field according to Marshal Law used by Armies, in *Nov. Ann. Dom.* 1484. *Ann.* 2 *Rich.* III.

The Duke executed by Marshal Law.

And here, if we view him in the Figure of his Ambition or Fate, we shall find Dr. *Morton* his *Caput Argol*, or the malignant Planet of his Fortune; who, as Sir *Thomas Moor* confesseth and affirmeth, by his Politick Drifts and Pride, advanced himself and brought the Duke to this Ruin. The rest fled, some into Sanctuaries, others into *Brittain* to the Earl of *Richmond*, and some into *Flanders*, all their Plots being now how to be safe. 1484.

And thus far King *Richard*, in the Voyage of his Affairs, had a promising Gale; we will therefore here cast Anchor a while, and clasp up this First Book with the Relation of his Better Fortunes.

BOOK II.

The ARGUMENT of the Second BOOK of the LIFE and REIGN of *RICHARD* III.

The Earl of Richmond *practiseth with Foreign Princes, and with the* English *Nobles for Assistance and Forces to make his First and Second Invasions of* England; *he came first to* Poole *with Ill Success, secondly to* Milford cum bonis avibus. *What Bastards are, and whereof they are capable, who be of the House of* Lancaster; *how* Lancaster *and* Beaufort, *or* Somerset *differ. Bastards of Kings must not take the Sirnames of the King or Kingdom. The Honourable Privilege of the Name of* Plantagenet. *Prince* Edward *and Queen* Anne, John de la Poole *Proclaim'd Heir of the Kingdom by* Richard *the Third. Bastards of* John *Duke of* Lancaster *made Legitimate and Capable of Offices, Honour and of Heritage by* Richard *II. and the Parliament. What the Legitimation of the Pope is. Arms and Names of Princes Bastards. The Nobility of King* Henry *VII. He affied not much in the Titles of* York *and* Lancaster. *The Pope giveth to him the Title,* De jure Belli, & de Domo *Lancastriæ. The greatness of the Title of* York; *of Counsel and Counsellors. The Prerogative of the King in Judgments and Controversies. The Earl of* Richmond *landeth at* Milford *Haven; his Entertainment there and in* Wales: *His Aptness for divers Wives: He marcheth to* Bosworth: *King* Richard *and he Fight;* Richard *is overcome and slain, also the Duke of* Norfolk *by the Earl of* Oxford (ut Creditur). *The Earl of* Richmond *is straight Crown'd King in the Field: The fatal Error of King* Richard: *King's lov'd Combat: The Titles of King* Henry *VII. Kings go not now to Wars: Cruelties committed upon the Body of King* Richard: *He was attainted of Treason, tho' against the Laws of Nature and of Royal Majesty, with many of his Followers and Servants: The Earl of* Surrey *how released out of Prison; his Genealogy from* Hewardus Walter de Buck, *and his Progeny.*

WE left King *Richard* the Third in the growth of a flourishing and promising Estate, and his Fate now, in the rise of a peaceful and prosperous Reign, of a calm and hopeful Presage: But Fortune, that lends her Smiles as Exactors do Money, to undo the Debtor, soon call'd for the Principal and Intereft from this Prince, to whom she was merely Novercal, and he might well call her, with the expert Heroes in *Euripides*, *Fortuna diurna*, *i. e.* Fortune of a Day's life; for in her best Mood, she is most slippery in her Favours, and tedious in her Mischiefs, as was aptly consider'd by a grave Man; *Fortuna adversas res cupido animo inducit, secundas parco*; She is mother but a little while, a Step-Dame a long time, and for ever to some; here then we are aggressing into the Turbulent and Luctual Times, which were towards the end and period of his Life and Reign; the Formal and final Causes happening from the Invasions attempted by the Earl of *Richmond*. I will begin the Second Book there, and may say Invasions, because he twice invaded the Kingdom, tho' by Error or Ignorance of our Vulgar Historians they are confounded and made one, which corruptly maims the Story, and conceals and pertermits some very remarkable Agitations; particularly, the true Cause of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Ill Success and Defeat is misunderstood, or not at all known. To come to it therefore more certainly, we must take notice of the First Preparation by the Earl of *Richmond*, who was resolv'd to advance his Claim that way, and unbosoms himself to the Duke of *Brittain*, his Possibility and Advantge by Friends, if he could raise but sufficient Strength to set him safely in *England*. The Duke gives him all good Wishes to his Undertaking, but opposes (against all Arguments of drawing him in) first, his Amity and League with *England*, which in Honour and Justice he was not to violate: Then his Wants by the long Civil and Cruel Wars with his Barons, that had so exhausted his Coffers, as durst he dispense with the former Cause, yet that might render him excused,

Eurip. in Hera.

Vale. Max. l. 7.

1484. excuſed, being unable to furniſh him, at leaſt in ſo ſhort a time as his Expedition required; beyond which Anſwer, for the preſent, the Earl thought not fit to preſs him. But having a prompt and ſtrong Affiance in his good Fortune, makes up to ſome of the Duke's moſt honourable and powerful Friends, to lay Siege that way to him by private Advantages; for by his ingenious Demeanour he had won the Inclinations of many Great Ones, being Maſter of a pleaſant acute Wit, which was well ſupply'd in him by the ſtrain of all Courtly Acts; to thoſe he had the help of the *French* Tongue, which he ſpoke excellently well; and, to give the more plauſible Acceſs and Influence, he was (as *Philip de Comines*, who knew him, teſtifies) a very Compleat and well Featured Gentleman which makes the Rule certain, and well animating;

Gratior eſt pulchro veniens e Corpore virtus.

The Beauties of the Mind more gracious are,
When as the Bodies Features are more fair.

In the number of thoſe Eminent Perſons he had gain'd during his Fair Impriſonment, more fortunately he had apply'd himſelf unto the Lady *Margaret* Dutcheſs of *Brittain*, Daughter of *Gaſton de Foix* (a Great Man in the Weſtern Parts of *France*, whoſe Anceſtors were well affected to the *Engliſh*) and Madam *De Bevier* the Dutcheſs, ſo far countenanced him in his Deſign, that ſhe became an earneſt Suitor unto the Duke her Husband, and prevailed both for his Liberty and Aid; for Caution and Pledge herein, he was only to kneel at the High Altar, before the bleſſed Sacrament, in the Cathedral Church of St. *Vannes*, there to make his Religious Vow, juſtly and truely to obſerve what Reſtitution he privately had promiſed to the Duke and Dutcheſs; which Proteſtation made, he had three Ships well rigg'd and furniſh'd with Men, Arms and Victuals, as my Author relates.

John Froiſard Paradin. Hiſt. de Brit. The Duke had by this Lady his Daughter and Heir *Anne*, who brought the Dutchy of *Britain* to *France*

Au Conte de Richmond *furent aux deſpens du duc trois groſſes Navires de* Britannia, *charges de gens de Armes, &c. & qui ſe miſent in mer.* *Hiſt. de Br.*

But, by the favour of this *Britiſh* Writer, the Earl ſtaid many Days at St. *Malo*, to receive and ſend Intelligence, and made it the beginning of *October*, 1484, before he came to St. *Poole* in *Dorſet*, where he lay ſome time at Anchor, to ſend his Boats a Shore as Explorers or Spies, for diſcovery of the Coaſts, where the King's Army or his Friends lay, who return'd without any particular Satisfaction, but that there was many arm'd Men about the Country. The Earl (who in all things was circumſpect, and cautiouſly timerous) reſolv'd immediately to looſe from thence; but the Night following, a terrible Tempeſt conſtrain'd them with all haſte to weigh Anchor and make into the Maine, the Storm and Darkneſs of the Night ſevering and diſperſing their Ships, ſome to the Coaſts of *Brittain*, but the Earl himſelf to the Coaſts of *Normandy*. And this was the ſucceſs of his Firſt Invaſion, which though it bore an inauſpicate Face, it proved of a friendly Event: For had he landed about *Poole*, or but ſtay'd till the King's Ships had come in, that lay waiting not far off, he had been a loſt Man every way; the King being not only active to meet their Contrivements, but had ſome advantage upon them, by the cloſe Intelligence of a Friend, and knew that the Forces of the Duke of *Buckingham*, with the Earl of *Devon* and others, were to meet near *Glouceſter*, and march in their full and united Strength to'ards the Sea-coaſts of *Dorſet*, there to receive the Earl; But the King encounter'd with the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Army, Beat him and cut of his Head, before any of the reſt cou'd come at him, daily putting the Ordinary Bands of theſe *Weſt Countries* in a ready Poſture for Guard of their Coaſts; and that if the Earl of *Richmond* or any of his *French* Forces came aſhore, they were to be Entertain'd courteouſly by them, pretending themſelves of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Army, who had Routed the King's Party, and were ſent thither to receive and conduct the Earl with his Men to *London*. This was the projected End: But 'tis of remarkable Note, to look into the various Paths of this Earl's Fortune, and how they brought him to his Journey's End, when they appear'd moſt doubtful and threatning, not only gave him Advantage by the good Succeſs of his Enterpriſes, but made the moſt adverſe Accidents ſerve as proſperous unto them; for was it not happy the Storm at *Poole* drove him from the Coaſts of *England*, and no leſs fortunate, that the Duke of *Buckingham* was defeated, whereas had the Duke atchieved that Day, the Earl of *Richmond* not being there, (who was to be preſent in Perſon, and General of the Field) we may with reaſon conjecture his Emulation and Policy would have accumulated the Honour and Fortune of the Conqueſt to his own pretended Title: ſuch Spirits like the Sea, where they intrude or win, making their Advantage their Right, and not eaſily ſurrender, ſo much is the Engagements of Ambition, too ſtrong for all Ties of Faith and Right.

1484.

The Example is obſervable in the Earl of *Richmond* himſelf; who altho' he knew the Children of the Duke of *Clarence* and others, had better Right to the Crown, yet once poſſeſs'd wou'd not reſign, no not to his own Son whilſt he could hold it; nor did he want his Preſidents, as all Men know, who know any thing. And to take all Relations in our way that may be level with our Story, betwixt this and his Second Invaſion, ſome other Paſſages offer themſelves, as an Interim and not impertinent to ſupply the Reader's Obſervation.

The Death of the King's dear and only Son (at leaſt Legitimate) who died in the Caſtle of *Middleham* in *Yorkſhire*, in the Month of *April*, *Anno Dom.* 1484. gave ſuch a paſſionate Charge upon the Nature and Affections of the King and Queen (being then in the Caſtle of *Nottingham*) that as mine Author ſaith, *Subitis doloribus inſanire videbantur.* The death of *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, Son of *Richard* 3. Chron. *Croyland.* *Ibidem.*

Yet the King being a Man of an equal Moderation to his Courage, puts it into the Scale of his other worldly Encounters; and as it was ſaid of *Julius Cæſar*, That he ſoon paſs'd the Death of his only Daughter *Julia* (moſt precious in his Affection) *Et tam facile dolorem hunc, quam omnia vicit*; ſo King *Richard* temper'd his Grief and Buſineſs ſo together, that the One made him not unſenſible, nor the other negligent; but as the Prior of *Croyland* telleth, did all things gravely and diſcreetly as before. *Seneca.*

Rex Richardus *nihilominus tamen ſuam partem defenſione vacaverit:* Altho' the Queen cou'd not hold ſo proportion'd a Temper over her Grief, the Tenderneſs of her Sex letting it break upon her in a more paſſionate manner, and with ſuch an Impreſſion, that it became her Sickneſs paſt recovery, languiſhing in Weakneſs and Extremity of Sorrow, until ſhe ſeem'd rather to overtake Death, than Death her; which was not long after the Prince's, and added not a little to the King's Sufferings and Sorrows, (tho' traducing

1484. traducing Spirits have charged him with ſhortning her Life by Poiſon or ſome other Practice, which are preſtigious and black Comments, falſly plac'd in the Margent of his Story, and may more nearly touch the Credit of the Author's than his, if we judiciouſly take a view of him and his Actions; and look upon the indulgent and active Care for his Country, which he gave a conſtant and ſincere Expreſſion of, inſtantly after his Son's Death, when by the Deliberation and Conſent of the Barons, he was induſtrious to think of a Succeſſor, and to nominate ſuch an One, whoſe Blood and Worth might make him equally Heir to the Crown and the Peoples Affection, (with the higheſt approbation of the Kingdom) and none more near to either than Sir *John de la Poole* Earl of *Lincoln*, Son and Heir of *John de la Poole* Duke of *Suffolk*, and of the Lady *Ellizabeth Plantagenet*, Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*, the Siſter and Heir of this King *Richard*, who was declared and proclaim'd Heir apparent to the Kingdom. This was a || *Contrecarre* to the Faction of *Richmond*, and, indeed, what greater Affront could thwart them, if thoſe of the Houſe of *Lancaſter* or *Beaufort*, were next Heir to the Crown, (as the Pretenders affirm'd for the Earl of *Richmond*) who would likewiſe have him to be *Caput gentis Lancaſtriæ, & Princeps Familiæ*, tho' they could ſcarcely prove him (not without queſtion I am ſure) *Membrum illius Familiæ*, until he came to be King, for it was a Queſtion in thoſe Times, and much diſputed, whether the *Beauforts* or *Somerſets* were of the Houſe of *Lancaſter* or no? Moſt true it is, the Children of the Houſe of *Lancaſter* being lawfully Born, and after *Henry Plantagenet* Duke of *Lancaſter* had conquer'd and depoſed *Richard* II. were to be held Princes of the Blood Royal, and Capable of the Crown in their natural and due order. But thoſe of *Beaufort* or *Somerſet* were, as the Vulgar hath it, *Filii Populi*, or as the Imperial Juris-conſults ſay, *liberi vulgo quæſiti*, who by the old *Greeks* were term'd Ἀμητορες *i. e. ſine Patre*, the Doctors of the Spiritual Law, drawing the *Originem* of ſuch Children *ab illicito & damnato coitu*, of the polluted adulterous Bed (and ſo thoſe *Beauforts*, three Males and one Female, begotten by *John* of *Gaunt* as he believed) according to the Laws were to be reputed, the Children of Sir *Robert Swinford*, begotten upon *Katharine* his Wife in his life time, who was Daughter of Sir *Payen Rovet*, a *French* Man, dwelling in *Beauforts*, and was *Guyen* Herald to the Duke of *Lancaſter*. His Dutcheſs *Dona Conſtantia* (a moſt noble and Virtuous Lady, Daughter of *Don Pedro* King of *Caſtile*) was living alſo in the time he kept this *Katharine* and had thoſe *Beauforts*, who were Sirnamed ſo from the Place of their Birth, a Town of his own in *Anjou*. But to Note *tranſitu*, how obnoxious this Duke made his Frailties, that (thinking to put a ſmoother Face upon his Sin) gave it but the ſame Bluſh, by making this *Katharine Swinford* his Dutches, againſt the liking of the King and all his Noble Friends, and direct Tenor of the Common Laws, which pronounce Marriages between ſuch as have lived in Adultery unlawful: Nay, to make him the more Marvaile and Smiling Diſcourſe of the Court, the Glaſs of his Age was turn'd to his laſt Year, when he ſacraficed theſe ſcatter'd Embers of his Deſires and Paſſion. But he obtain'd thoſe Children to be legitimated: Firſt, by the Pope *Urbanus* the Sixth; next by the Charter of King *Richard* II. and had both theſe Indulgences afterward enlarg'd and confirm'd by Parliament. Yet neither theſe four Legitimate Children, *nec qui naſcebantur ab illis*, were permitted to the Princely Familiar Title of *Lancaſter*, ſo long as that Name flouriſh'd, much leſs of *Plantaganet*, for that was the peculiar Sir-name in chief of the Kings of *England* and Princes of the Blood Royal, ſince the time of the Second *Henry*, Son of the Empreſs *Mitilda*, the firſt Founder of that Name in the Royal Family of *England*. Of which Honour were Partakers the Princely Family of *Wales*, of *Brotherton*, of *York*, of *Lancaſter*, of *Clarence*, of *Woodſtock*, of *Glouceſter*, &c. And there are yet ſome Noblemen in *Portugal*, who deſcended from *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*, and are call'd and written *de Lancaſtro*, others of the like Origin and Title may do as much. Neither would King *Henry* IV. *Henry* V. nor King *Henry* VI, all Kings of the *Lancaſtrian* Race indure to let the Lineage of *Beaufort* (tho' they reſpected them as Kinſmen, and advanced them to many Honours) aſſume the Sirname of *Lancaſter*, holding it an Arrogation and Uſurpation of Royalty and Royal Rights, wherein they follow'd their Anceſtors, who deviſed other Names for their Baſe Children; as *Fitz-Roy*, *Oxenford*, *Fitz-Herbert*, *Clarendon*, *Fitz-Henry*, *Longuee ſpee Cornwal*; and ſo they continued the Name of *Beaufort* and *Somerſet* until the Earl of *Richmond* came, and this was in imitation of the Kings of *France* as I conceive: For within the reach of my Obſervation, ſince the time of *Hugh Capet*, they never vouchſafed any of their Baſe Sons to be capable of the Crown of *France*, or to have the Adven (as they call it) nor the Sirname of *France*; but the Illegitimate Daughters may take the Sirname *France* or *de France*; becauſe they can make no Claim to the Crown by a pretended Permiſſion of a Salick-law, which *John de Tillet* witneſſeth.

1484. Parl. *Anno* 20 *Rich.* II.

La troiſieſme lignée a du tout rejectè, les Baſtards non ſeulement de la Coronne mais auſſi de l'aduen, & Surnom de France, *qui Conceſſion eſt permis aux Baſtards de Roy, &c.*

Arms of Baſtards of the Kings of *England.*

And as the Baſtards of the Kings of *England* had other Names, ſo they took differenc'd Arms or elſe were permitted to bear their Mother's (if of any Family). If tolerated to bear the Arms of *England*; then they were Diverſify'd in a checking, debaſing and rebating manner, with Baſtons, Bends, Siniſter Bars, Bordures, Marks of Baſeneſs, Obſcurity and Novelty, which any new Gentleman might bear, ſuch as the Learn'd call'd *Filios terræ & novos Homines*; and we vulgarly, Upſtarts. But to object againſt the uſe of this in *England*, the Example of *Hamelin* is brought in; and to credit it, his Arms forg'd by ſome weak and negligent Heralds, who call him *Hamelin Plantagenet*; when the truth is, this *Hamelin* (Baſe Son of *Jeoffery Plantagenet*, Earl of *Anjou*) was ſimply call'd *Humelin*, and his Son *William* took the Sirname of his Mother Dame *Iſabel de Warren*, Daughter and Heir of *William de Warren* Earl of *Surrey*, which their *Poſteri* continued; as *Joannes de Warrena* the Firſt, and *Joannes de Warrena* the Second, both Earls of *Surrey*; and *Iſabella de Warren* and *Elianor de Warren*, &c. mention'd in the Charters and Records, but never *Plantagenet*, which is acknowledg'd by our beſt Heralds and Antiquaries; Mr. *William Cambden* hath theſe words, Iſabella *Filia ſola* Gulielmi *de* Warrena *Comitis* Surriæ Hamelinum *Nothum* Galfredi Plantageneti, *&c. Titulo Comitis* Surreiæ *maritum exornavit*. Hamelinus Gulielmum Surriæ *Comitem genuit, cujus poſteri a ſcito* Warrenorum *Nomine eundem Titulum geſſerunt*. And that the Baſe Son of King *Edward* IV. was commonly call'd *Arthur Plantagenet* proves nothing neither, well conſidered: For in the Times

Don Duart de Lancaſtro a Noble Gentlem. of *Portug.* avers'd himſelf deſcended from the D. of *Lancaſter*. *Valodolid*. The peculiar Sir-names of the Baſtards of the ancient Kings of *England*.

Cham. in Surr.

John Earl of Lincoln and after Duke of *Suffolk* proclaim'd Heir apparent.

|| A Counter Strength

John Sariſburienſis Ep. 85.

Sir *Thom. Walſin* in *Rich.* II.

He married her in the Year 1693, and died *Ann.* 1399.

1484. Times when this *Arthur* lived, the Name of *Plantagenet* being only left in the Houſe of *York*, (the *Lancaſtrian Plantagenet* being more extinguiſh'd) had not the former Honour and Reputation, but was darken'd and ſetting, rather drawing a Contempt and Hate to them that bare it, the White Roſe daily fading and withering; and ſo malignant was their Planet then, that, as a learned Gentleman hath further obſerved, *Thomas Gainsford.* It was not ſafe in that time to be a *Plantagenet*; therefore, the Permiſſion of thoſe Times can be no Warrant for the Objections, nor the Ignorance of the Poetical Heralds, who have ſtrain'd this Fable of *Hamelin*. Yet farther, not only giving him and his *Poſteri* a falſe Sirname, but aſſign'd him by the like Fabulous Art, a Shield of familiar Enſigns, the Arms of *France* border'd with an Orle of *Normandy* or *Guyen*; which he, nor yet any of the Antique Lineage of *Anjou* or their Progeny ever bear, or could by juſt Title bear, either ſimply or compounded, or the Progenitors of our *Engliſh* Kings the Lillies of Gold in an Azure Field, until King *Edward* claim'd the Crown of *France*, and aſſum'd them in the Right of Queen *Iſabel de Valoys* his Mother, who was the firſt that bare them quarterly with the Arms of *England*.

Scarboucle, falſly call'd Carbuncle. But the Arms of the ancient Earls of *Anjou* were a Scarboucle, (that is, a Golden Buckle of a military Scarf or Belt, ſet with Precious Stones) not a Carbuncle or more precious Ruby, for the Term is erroneous and abſurd, if conſider'd: The Princes of *Anjou* bare this Scarboucle in a Shield party *per* Chief, Argent and Gules; and the Heirs of this *Hamelin* (who took the Sirname of *Warren*) bare alſo the Arms of the Houſe of *Warren* in their Shields and Capariſons, but bare the Scarboucle of *Anjou* for their Creſt, as they were deſcended out of that Houſe, as I have ſeen upon a Seal of *Joannes de Warrena* Earl of *Surrey*, at a Charter, dated 20 *Edw.* III. *Ann. Dom.* 1346. *apud Dom. Rob. Cotton*, which hath given me occaſion to ſpeak thus much to cure the Blemiſh that miſtake hath thruſt into Hiſtory, ſuch Abſurdities having their Infection, and paſſing by an Age or two upon the eaſy and common Judgments, after grow up for tall and undeniable Truths: For ſome merely reading the Complexion of things, as they do Men by their outſides, or as Boys Poetry, with tickled Faith; through ſuch wide Ears and Obſervations, crept in that Paraſitiſm on the one ſide, and Pride and Uſurpation on the other ſide, that made the Houſe of *Lancaſter* and the *Beauforts*, alias *Somerſets*, all one; which (whilſt the Houſe of *York* flouriſh'd) were held to differ as much as Royal and Feudal, Soveraignity and Suzeraignity; for their Modeſty at firſt was very well pleaſed with that of *Beaufort*, and it ſeem'd Honourable enough until the Children of *John de Beaufort*, the eldeſt Brother (being Earl of *Somerſet*) aſſumed the Name of their Fathers greateſt Honour and Earldom for their Sirname, and the reſt following, quite left the Name of *Beaufort*, and made the other Hereditary. From this *John de Beaufort*, Earl of *Somerſet* and Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, deſcended *Henry* Duke of *Somerſet*, Father Natural to *Charles Somerſet*, created Earl of *Worceſter* by King *Henry* VIII. And 'tis worth the noting, that this Duke *Henry* left the Faction of *Lancaſter* to follow *Edward* IV. The firſt *Beauforts* legitimated by the Pope, and *Richard* II. have no other Sirnames but *Beaufort* in either of the Inſtruments Apoſtolical, nor any Words to give or emure them to any Capacity of Royal Title, or State of Soveraignty in the Crown, only purged them by the Pope's Spiritual Power from the

Difference between the Houſe of Lancaſt. and Somerſet.

The Earls of Worceſter from whom.

foulneſs of Baſtardy, allowing them as Children legitimate and lawfully born, but gives 'em no other Title than *Joannes de Beaufort Miles*, Henricus *de* Beaufort *Clericus*, Thomas *de* Beaufort *Domicellus*, Joanna *de* Beaufort *Domicella*, and more the Pope cannot do. As the Doctors of *Sorbone*, and ſome of the beſt Canoniſts hold, who peremptorily affirm, That the Pope cannot make Baſtards capable to inherit the Hereditary Lands of their Father; neither can give them power to conſtitute Succeſſors or Heirs, or hold Offices, Dignities, or Titles, without the Prince's ſpecial Diſpenſation, to which the Civil and Imperial Laws agree, and is authentick in *England*, as a learn'd and eminent Judge reports, tho' others think it of too ſevere a nature, and moderately agreeable to Reaſon and Law (the Law much obſerving Reaſon) That Baſtards being honeſt and worthy Men (the rather if they be avow'd by their Fathers) may be admitted to Honours, Dignities, Titles, Feuds and other Ornaments of Rewards and Virtue. Of this Indulgence and Connivence, we have Examples in *England* by two worthy and deſerving Men, (flouriſhing this Age) who, tho' Baſtards, held the greateſt Offices in *England*. So *Rich.* II. in the Charter for the Legitimation of the *Beauforts*, wou'd have Men of Deſert (and avow'd by their Fathers) capable of Advancement and Honours. The Tenor of which Charter and Confirmation of it by Parliament I ſhall exhibit, as it is taken out of the Archives and Tower Records, opening the way by a ſhort Advertiſement, That in this Act of Parliament there is an Induction to the Charter, made by Dr. *Edmond Stafford*, Brother to the Earl of *Stafford* and Bp. of *Exeter*, Lord Chancellor of *England* in the 20th Year of *Richard* II. which intimateth, That Pope *Urbanus* VI. at the earneſt Requeſt of the King, vouchſafed to legitimate theſe *Beauforts*, the Baſe Sons and the Daughter of the Duke of *Guyen* and *Lancaſter*: That the King alſo, having power to legitimate and enable Baſtards in the ſame kind, and in as ample manner as the Emperor hath or had, for ſo he preſs'd and avow'd in the Act, was pleas'd at the Humble Requeſt and Suit of the Duke their Father, to make them not only legitimate, but alſo capable of Lands, Heritages, Titles, Honours, Offices, Dignities, *&c.* And that the King, for the more Authority thereof, crav'd the Allowance and Favourable Aſſent of the Barons in Parliament, which was granted: The Charter runs thus;

1484.

The Civil and Imperial Law againſt Baſtards. Sir Edw. Cook.

Dr. Steph. Gardiner. Sir Thomas Egerton Chancellor of Eng.

Charta Legitimationis Spuriorum *Joannis* Ducis *Lancaſtriæ.*

RIchardus *Dei Gratia Rex* Angliæ, Franciæ, *Dominus* Hiberniæ, *Chariſſimis Conſanguineis noſtris, Nobilibus viris* Joanni *de* Beaufort *Militi*, Henrico *de* Beaufort *Clerico*, Thomæ *de* Beaufort *Domicello & Nobili Mulieri* Joannæ Beaufort *Domicellæ præclariſſimi Patrui noſtri Nobilis viri* Joannis *Ducis* Aquitaniæ & Lancaſtriæ Germanis *natis & liegis noſtris ſalutem.*

Nos pro honore & meritis, &c. Avunculi noſtri, proprio arbitratu & meritorum ſuorum intuitu vos, quia magno probitatis ingenio, ac vitæ ac morum honeſtate fulgetis, & ex regali eſtis proſapia propogati, &c. hinc eſt quod Joannis, *&c. Avunculi noſtri genitoris veſtri precibus inclinati vobis (cum (ut aſſeritur) defectum natalium patimini) hujuſmodi defectum & ejuſdem qualitates quaſcunque abolere præſentes, vos haberi volumus, pro ſufficientibus, ad quoſcunque ho-*

nores

1484. *nores, dignitatis præeminentias, ſtatus, gradus, & officia, publica, & privata, tam perpetua quam temporalia, atq; Judicialia & Nobilia, quibuſcunque nominibus nuncupentur, etiem ſi, Ducatus, Principatus, Comitatus, Baroniæ vel alia feuda fuerint, etiamſi mediate vel immediate, à nobis dependeant ſeu teneantur præfici, præmoveri, eligi, aſſumi & admitti, illaque recipere proinde libere ac licite valeatis, ac ſi de legitimo thoro nati exiſteritis, quibuſcunq; Statutis, ſeu conſuetudinibus regni noſtri* Angliæ *in contrarium editis ſeu obſervatis quæ hic habemus pro totaliter expreſſis, nequaquam obſtantibus, de plenitudine noſtræ regalis poteſtatis & de aſſenſo Parliamenti noſtri tenore præſentium diſpenſamus, voſque & quemlibet veſtrum natalibus reſtituimus & Ligitimamus, Die Feb. Anno Regni* 20 R. 2

Which in *Engliſh* is as follows;

A Charter of Legitimation of the Baſtards of John *D. of* Lancaſter.

" RICHARD,, by the Grace of God, King " of *England* and *France*, and Lord of " *Ireland*; To Our moſt Dear Couſins, the il- " luſtrious *John Beaufort* Kt. *Henry Beaufort* " Clerk, *Thomas Beaufort* Gent. and *Joanna* " *Beaufort* Gentlewoman, of Our moſt renown- " ed Uncle, the Noble *John* Duke of *Guienne* " and *Lancaſter*, Children German and Our " Lieges, Greeting. We for the Honour " and Merits, *&c.* of Our Uncle, out of Our " own Good Pleaſure, and in conſiderati- " on of his Deſerts, becauſe you are conſpicu- " ous for your Virtuous Inclinations, and Ho- " neſty of Life and Manners, and deſcended of " Royal Progenitors, *&c.* Hence it is, that " mov'd by the earneſt Entreaties of Our Un- " cle your Parent, to remove from you (for " (as is ſaid) there is a Defect in your Birth) this " Defect and all its preſent Conſequences, We " will that you be and be reputed Capable, " to be preferred, promoted, elected, aſſumed " and admitted to any Honours, Dignities, " States, Degrees, Offices Publick and Private, " as well perpetual as temporary, and judicial " and noble, by what Appellations ſoever di- " ſtinguiſhed, whether Dukedoms, Principali- " ties, Earldoms Baronies and Feuds, whether " mediately or immediately depending or hold- " en of Us, and them to take hold of, and en- " joy as freely and rightfully, as if you had been " born in lawful Matrimony, all Statutes and " Cuſtoms of Our Kingdom of *England*, to the " contrary enacted or obſerved, as if they were " here mentioned at length, notwithſtanding; " with which, out of the Fulneſs of Our Royal " Power, and with Conſent of Our Parliament, " by the Tenor of theſe Preſents We diſpence, " and you, and every one of you, to Birth Re- " ſtore and Legitimate. ——— Day of *Feb.* " in the 20th Year of Our Reign. R. II.

Here we find large Graces Honours and Priviledges conferr'd upon thoſe *Beauforts*; for the King calls then *Conſanguineos ſuos*, and not only confirms their Ligitimation, but makes them (by the help of the Parliament) capable of Baronies, Earldoms, Dukedoms, and Principalities; enableth them for all Offices publick and private, temporary and perpetual, to take hold of and enjoy all Feuds, as well noble as other, all Lands and Seigniories Hereditary, as lawfully, firmly and rightfully, as if they had been born in lawful Matrimony, but yet confers no Royal Title nor Intereſt in the Crown, at the leaſt, to the obſervation of thoſe who allow not the Claim of the *Beauforts* and *Somerſets*, and ſay, that to reach that, there muſt be Words of a higher intent, Words of Empire, Majeſty and Soveraignity; ſuch as *Regni (ſumma poteſtas; Corona; Sceptrum, Diadema, Purpura, Majeſtas*, and the like: Neither of theſe, nor any importing their extent, being in this Grant, ſo no Title to the Crown or Soveraignty cou'd paſs to them. 1484.

Principatus Princeps.

To which the other Side replies, That there is a Word in the Charter that comprehendeth Empire, Reig , and Soveraignty; that is, *Principatus*; where of the King and Parliament make the *Beauforts* capable, *Principatus* being the State of *Princeps*, a Title of the moſt abſolute Soveraign Power; for the *Roman* Emperors in their greateſt Height, were call'd *Principes*, therefore *Princeps* is thus defined; *Princeps eſt penes quem ſumma Reip. poteſtas eſt, & qui primus omnium dominatur*; and *Principatus* and *Dominatus* are uſed as Synonomies. But it is conceiv'd an Error now, to take *Principatus* for *Regnum*, or *Supremus Dominatus*, being the word *Principatus* long before, and in the Age of *Richard* II. alſo ever ſince, hath been reſtrain'd to the Eſtate of *Primogenitus* and Heir apparent, not only of Kings, but alſo of Dukes and Marqueſſes, as well Feudal as Soveraign. And the next King *Henry* IV. a wiſe, diſcreet, and wary Prince, though he was much inclin'd to thoſe *Beauforts*, (as being his Natural Brethren by the Paternal ſide, and willing to advance them all he cou'd) yet he diſcover'd clearly enough by that certain Charter, in which he entail'd the Crown ſucceſſively to his Four Sons, and to the Heirs of their Bodies, that he reputed not the *Beauforts* to be *Lancaſtrians* or near the Crown: Neither is there the leaſt Clauſe or Mention to leave any Remainder therein to them: Firſt, he intail'd the Crown to his eldeſt Son *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, after him to the Heirs of his Body; If they fail, then to *Thomas* of *Lancaſter* his Second Son, and to the Heirs of his Body, ſo to his Third Son *John* of *Lancaſter*, and to the Heirs of his Body. Laſtly, to the Fourth Son *Humphrey*, and to the Heirs of his Body, for ſtill, and for every Eſtate: The words are, *Poſt ipſum ſucceſſive Heredibus ſuis de ipſius corpore legitime procreandis*, which is all, and implicatively an expreſs Excluſion of the *Beauforts*. This Charter was confirm'd by Act of Parliament holden at *Weſtminſter* the Two and Twentieth Day of *December*, in the Eighth Year of *Henry* IV. and ſeal'd with his own Signet. Upon the Dexter ſide of that, hung the Seals of ſundry Lord's Spiritual; on the Left ſide, the Seals of the Lords Temporal Witneſſes. And albeit, the Earl of *Richmond* cou'd not ſo well and rightly bear the Name of *Beaufort* or *Somerſet*, being a *Teudor* by his Father, and ſo to be Sirnamed, or of ſome other *Welſh* Name (if there were any in his Family) by his Mother he was deſcended from the *Beauforts*; for the Lady *Margaret*, Counteſs of *Richmond*, was Daughter and Heir to Sir *John de Beaufort* Duke of *Somerſet*, (*p*) and Grand-child to *John* of *Gaunt*, by *Katharine* the Wife of *Otho de Swinford*, which *John de Beaufort*, was created D. of *Somerſet* by *Henry* V. His Wife was the Daughter and at length the Heir of Sir *John Beauchamp*

The Charter of *H.* 4. for inailing the Crown.

This Charter I ſaw in the Hands of Sir *Robert Cotton*, and from it took theſe Summary Notes

The Nobleneſs & Family of *Hen.* E. of *Rich.*

Glovers 1413.

(*p*) She was Daughter to *John* Duke of *Somerſet*, Grand Daughter to *John* Earl of *Somerſet*, and Great Grand Daughter to *John* of *Gaunt*. See *Cambel. Sub tit. Somerſetſhire*,

1483. of *Bletſo*, and the Widow of Sir *Oliver St. John* when he married her: But the Earl of *Richmond*, by his Grandmother *Katharine* Queen of *England*, was deſcended from the Kings of *France*; and I have ſeen him in a Pedigree (drawn after he was King) deriv'd from the ancient Kings and Princes of *Brittain*. *Polidore* ſaith, he was *Ex fratre Nepos* to King *Henry* VI. who call'd him Nephew, and he the King, *Avunculum noſtrum* (our Uncle) inſtead of *Patruum*, as it is in the Records of Parliament, *Ann.* 1 of *Hen.* VII. but not his Nephew, as we erroneouſly now take it, that is his German younger Brother's Son, for then he had been a true Maſculine Iſſue of the Houſe of *Lancaſter* and Royal Blood of *England*.

Polid. lib. 25.

So K RII call'd *John of Gaunt Avunculum noſtrum*, Rec. in *Tower*: But that was the fault of the barbarous Lat. Clerks, notknowing the difference between *Patruus* & *Avunculus*.

But he was Nephew to him by his Brother Uterine, *Edmond Teudor* Earl of *Richmond*, the Son of *Owen Teudor* or *Meridock*, and of Queen *Katharine*, Daughter of *Charles* the Sixth King of *France*, which the *French* well knew, and gave him the better Eſteem for it, but thoſe Honours were obſcure Additions to him that muſt not go leſs than for a Prince of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and ſo of *England*, which paſs'd with ſuch vulgar credit in *France*, that *Du Tillet* miſtook *John* Duke of *Somerſet*, Father of *Margaret* Counteſs of *Richmond*, for the true and lawful Son of *John de Gaunt*, &c. by his firſt Wife *Blanch Plantagenet*, Daughter and Heir of the Earl (*q*) and Earldom of *Lancaſter*. *Philip de Comines*, Lord of *Argent*, had better intelligence of his Pedigree and Title, which he gives us thus.

In his Book *Le Recueil des Rangs, &c.* Part. 2 (*q*) 'twas the Duke and Dutchy of *Lancaſter*.

Il n'avoit croix, ny pile, ne null droit (Come je croy) a la Coronne d' Angleterre: And this expreſſes, he had no great Opinion of either, tho' he was then King when this was writ. But let us ſuppoſe him lawfully deſcended from that D of *Lancaſter*, his Claim muſt ſtand excluded whilſt the Houſe of *York* ſurvived; for *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *York* and King of *England* Deſignat, by Act of Parliament holden 39 Year of King *Henry* VI. to whom theſe Titles of Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwal*, Earl of *Cheſter*, and Protector of *England* were given by the Three Eſtates in that Parliament, deſcended from the Daughter and Heir of the Second Son of King *Edward* III. (For as before, ſo ſtill I leave the Infant *William* of *Hatfield* without the Catalogue) and King *Henry* IV. and his Progeny, deſcended from the Third Son; and King *Henry* VI. being the beſt of the Houſe of *Lancaſter* then living, did acknowledge in that Parliament the Title of *Richard* Duke of *York*, the only lawful and juſt Title; ſo conſequently next and better than that of *Lancaſter* or any other; and before any *Beaufort* or their Heirs, the Iſſue of the two Daughters of *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*; *Philip* and *Katharine* (married to the King of *Portugal* and *Caſtile*) were to be prefer'd if Foreign Titles be not excluded by Parliament. But the Earl of *Richmond* meaſuring his own Heighth by the Advantage of a Tumultuary and Indiſpoſed Time, and finding his *Lancaſtrian* Pretence began to have a popular Retinue he was now incompatible of any others Precedency and Propinquity: For thoſe Great Ones that led him by the Hand into the Action, laid the Line by their own corrupted Hopes and Fears of the Succeſs, therefore wou'd not let the Fortune of their Expectation faint in him. Biſhop *Morton* ſteer'd much in the courſe of their Affairs, and was a great Oracle to the Earl, who was noted too Partial and Credulous, eſpecially where he believ'd the Perſons of any Honeſty, Virtue, or Learning, for which his Fame yet bears ſome Stains of *Morton*, *Dudley*, *Empſon*, *Bray*, *Urſewike*, *Knevett*, &c. for there be two Extreams obſerv'd in the Counſels of Princes, one, when the Prince is ſubject to follow the Counſels of Evil Men; the other, when the Prince is too opinionated to conſult with Counſel; ſuch an one as was *Charles* the Hardy D. of *Burgundy*, ſo opinionated and overweening of his own Wiſdom and Judgment, that he underthought all Mens elſe; which wide Conceit of his hath left this Monument. 1484.

Phil Plantagenet, Lyonel Plant. D. of *Clarence*.

Carolus *pugnax aliorum Conſilia & Rationes (ne dicam) ſequi vix audire volebat, ignominiæ loco habens ab aliis diſcere, & judicavit, ſe proprio cerebro omnia Concillia habere recondita.* *Pe Hente. vus Joh. Megerur.*

And to give us yet a further Character of Bp. *Morton*, Sir *Thomas Moor* (ſometimes his Maſter) tells us, his beſt Inclinations were ſway'd to the dangerous Poſitions and Rules of Policy; and Dr. *John Hird* in his Metrical Hiſtory of *England*, brings him in an Ambodexter and Obſerver of Fortune, one while Yorkizing, another while Lancaſtrizing, thus delivering himſelf:

Si Fortuna meis faviſſet partibus olim,
Et gnato Henrici *Sexti diadema dediſſet,*
Edwardi *nunquam veniſſem Regis in aulam,*
Sed quia ſupremo ſtetit hæc ſententia Regi,
Henrico *auferre, ac* Edwardo *reddere Sceptrum,*
Tanta mea nunquam luſit dementia mentem,
Ut ſequerer partes Regis victi atque ſepulti,
Adverſus vivum, &c.

If ſmiling Fortune had any Party own'd,
And the Sixth *Henry*'s Offſpring had enthron'd;
I'd ne're have ſtruck to Royal *Edward's* Claim,
Nor fill'd his Court, aſſiſtant to his Fame:
But ſince all-potent Heaven had ſo decreed
Henry ſhou'd fall, and *Edward* ſhou'd ſucceed,
No ſtupid Madneſs cou'd my Mind miſguide
With a dead King prepoſt'rouſly to ſide
Againſt a living Victor——————

Which may be thought well ſaid by a mere Politician, but from a Friend it wants ſomething of a Chriſtian; for true Friendſhip and Piety will own us in the blackeſt Adverſity and Silence of the Grave, as the Divine *Arioſto* hath ſomething near obſerv'd in this elegant *Stanza*.

Arioſt. cant. 19.

Neſſun puo ſuper du chi ſia amato
Quando felice in ſula urota ſi ede;
Pere ch' ha iveri, & i finiti amici alato,
Chi moſtran tuti, una medeſſima fede,
Se poi ſi cang[illegible] in triſto il he'ſto ſtato,
Volta la turba adulatrice il piede,
Et quel di cuor' ama riman' forte,
Et amai l ſuo amico doppola morte.

No Man whilſt he was happy ever knew
Aſſuredly of whom he was belov'd,
For then he hath both feigned Friends and true,
Whoſe Faith ſeems both alike till they be prov'd;
But he is left of all the flattering Crew
When from his happy State he is remov'd:
But he who loves in Heart, remains ſtill one,
And loves his Friend when he is dead and gone.

Dr. *Morton's* Aims were drawn from other Rules, which with good Alacrity, made him Archbiſhop and Lord Chancellor of *England*, and put him the next Liſt into a Cardinalſhip, and then he ſtood on Tiptoes by the King according to the *Roman* marſhalling of States; for in the Pope's Liſt of Ranges and Preſence, his Holineſs is the firſt, then the Emperor, next a Cardinal, then

1485. then a King: And in this, Sir *Tho. Moore* notes the extremity of his Pride, to abuſe his Wiſdom and Piety, which otherwiſe might have kept Him and his Memory unſully'd in theſe Preferments, ſo much our Vices impoſtumate our Fames, Hypocriſie leaving the Scar but of a deform'd Cure upon it at beſt.

Fra. Goodwin in Catalogo Epiſcoporum.

But Dr. *Goodwin*, Biſhop of *Hereford*, preſents him nearer (as it were) in his Domeſtick Nature, and reports when Dr. *Morton* was Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he exacted and extorted a far greater Sum of Money from the Clergy of his Dioceſs than was ever before, and for his private Commodity (which he covetouſly ſought) brought certain Leams or bigger Ditches to his own Grounds about *Wisbitch*, from the River *Nine*, which was before Navigable, and of much publick Uſe, but hath ſince ſerv'd for little or none. And *John Stow* ſays, he was the ſtirrer up of thoſe great and grievous Taxes which rais'd the People to Arms and Rebellion. Theſe Notes of his Natural Diſpoſitions ſtuck like Wens upon the Face of his Religion, and from that Mind, whereby Affections juſtle Religion and Conſcience out, how hazardous may the Power and Council of ſuch be, to the Inclinations of a Wiſe Prince; but this Prelate made his ſo canonical and fitted them to the Times, and his Temper, that they deceived not his Expectation, but brought him home to his Ends, and to the Favour of a provident and wiſe Prince; that he was ſo, the World muſt juſtly avow; and in all his Actions, we may ſee him of a ſafe and contracted Wiſdom, govern'd by a moſt cautelous Spirit; as great a Husband of thoſe Virtues he had, as of his Glory; not too Modeſt (if I be not much miſtaken) to hear of either; of both which he hath left us pious Taſtes. But the moſt ſurviving addition of Memory, is that great Example of Majeſty and her Sex, Qu. *Elizabeth*, who was ſaid to be like this King her Grandfather, as well in compoſition of Qualities, as Favour and Lineaments, that ſhe was his lively and perfect Image; and to uſe an even Hand in the Extention of Himſelf and his Power, it muſt not be denied, (how far off ſoever he was at firſt) after the Crown yielded to him, he was the true Proprietary of all the Rights and Titles which carried it, or had dependency thereon, and to colleague all in a full and perfect ſtrength, the Title of *York* was confirm'd to him by Marriage of *Elizabeth Plantagenet*, eldeſt Daughter of *Edward* IV. Prince or Head of that Family, to whom the Title of *Lancaſter* inſtantly eſcheated as he was King, which before was in controverſie or *in nubibus*, or * Abbeyance (as our Lawyers ſay) for no Man being a Subject, how Capital and Chief a Judge, or of what Judicatory Power ſoever, could give a Definitive Sentence, in any ambiguous Cauſe or Act of the King: But the King himſelf which is an ancient and authentick Paragraph in the Laws of *England*, as learned Judge *Bracton* affirmeth.

Job. Stow.

Q. *Elizab.*

* In delay or diſpute ſuch as Lawyers uſe, a term borrow'd from another Creature.

Brac. *lib.* 2. *cap.* 16.

De Chartis, & de factis regum non poſſunt Juſticiarii diſputare, nec ſi diſputatio oriatur, poſſunt eam interpretari, ſed in dubois & obſcuris, & ubi aliquà dictio contineat duos intellectus, Domini Regis erit expectanda interpretatio & voluntus, &c.

The reaſon is given in the Books of the Civil and Imperial Laws peremptorily, *quia de principali Judicio non eſt diſputandum.* So that Controverſy, whether the *Beauforts* or *Somerſets* were of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, or capable of the Crown or no, cou'd not be determin'd until there came a competent Judge, a King, and King of *England*, who by that Vertue and Power decreed to himſelf, the Title of *Lancaſter*, with all the Royal Apurtenances confirm'd by the Pope, as proper to him, and then the Writers, both *Engliſh* and *French*, had ſome colour to ſay he was *De la ligne de* Lancaſtre, *& caput gentis regalis & Princeps Familiæ* Lancaſtrienſis. 1485.

But the Chancellor *Morton*, by a more happy and plauſible Inſinuation, term'd the Marriage an Union of *York* and *Lancaſter*, and not improperly, nor without a very favourable acceptance to the King, (at leaſt in the beginning of his Reign) though after (as may be obſerv'd) he thought thoſe Attributions but ſmall Wyers to hold the Weight and Conſequence of his Crown; nay, ſo ſlender was his Affiance, (or rather none at all) in his Titles of *York* and *Lancaſter*, much leſs of *Somerſet*, that he ſeem'd tacitly to wave and quit them, and ſtuck to that of his Sword and Conqueſt; for the more publick Vote and Knowledge whereof, there was at his Coronation, Proclamations made with theſe Titles, Henricus *Rex* Angliæ *Jure Divino, Jure Humano, & Jure Belli, &c.* which the Barons could not fancy, nor condeſcend to, tho' the King peremptorily avow'd and maintain'd he might juſtly aſſume and bare it, having as a Conqueror entred the Land, fought for the Crown, and won it: They anſwer as peremptorily, That he was beholding to them, both for his Landing and Victory, and by their permiſſion had that fair and proſperous Footing upon their Coaſts; not by any Stroke of his *French*, who were not ſo many as the leaſt Legion of the *Romans*, and had found but bloody Entertainment by the valiant *Engliſh*, if ever they had landed, beſides, the Inſtigation of a mortal Hatred againſt the Invader, never to be extinguiſh'd, but with an utter Expulſion and Deſtruction, which they humbly pray'd might be worthy of his conſideration, and not to take from his loving People the juſt due of their Affections, by aſcribing ſo much of his Victory to the *French*, or his *Welſh* Sword; ſith they voluntarily open'd their Arms and Country to receive him and put the Crown upon his Head; that this was their free and voluntary Act, they hoped he could not forget: And if ſo, why wou'd he make ſuch an Atchievment, a Conqueſt, or a Purchaſe of the Sword; Terms of a moſt harſh and diſſonant Sound to the *Engliſh*, who reputed them as barbarous and tyrannical, their Ends and Events to enſlave Them, their Goods and Fortunes, under a Licentious Power, that might act and will any thing: *Quicquid Victor audet, aut Victus timet?* The Examples of the Conquering *Goths* and *Vandals*, *Longobards* in *Italy* and *Spain*, *Saxons* and *Normans* in *England*; and lately, the *Spaniards* in *America*, with many other Cruel Lords eſtated only by their unjuſt Arms and Swords, being freſh and bleeding Inſtances, that when but mention'd, ſtir up Thoughts of Horror and Deteſtation of the Sword's Title. But the more they oppos'd it, the more he is conſtant to have it aſſented by the Pope, with his Title of *Lancaſter*, which he thought wou'd be a ſtronger Bridle to check all Murmurs, but yet endeavour'd it not directly and diſertly, but under a cloſe and borrow'd Pretext, the outſide of his Embaſſage being only to obtain a Diſpenſation and Pardon for his Marriage, pretending a fear of Inceſt, his Wife being his Kinſwoman; *Et quarto Conſanguinitatis & forſan affinitatis gradu*, which Pope *Innocentius* the Eighth granted the firſt Year of his Reign, and afterward (upon what Occaſion I cannot ſay) he renew'd the ſame Suit to Pope *Alexander* VI. who confirm'd and ratified the Pardon and Diſpenſation made by his Predeceſſors, in the Fourth Year of this King's Reign.

K H. VII only affected the Title *de Jure Belli.*

Seneca

Ann. Dom. 1486.

Ann. Dom. 1490.

1484. But 'tis obſervable, that the Pope herein taketh not upon him to confer or give any new Titles; neither did the King publickly ſolicite the Pope to confirm theſe Two Titles, his Ambaſſador had that Particular in his Private Inſtructions: So that by this, the Pope ſeemeth only to make a Rehearſal of thoſe Titles as due and proper to him before, and the Titles *De jure Belli, & de jure* Lancaſtriæ, ſeem'd not as any Matters or Subject of the Bull, but rather ſome Deſire the Pope had, to expreſs a Love and Honour to the King, and that he was pleaſed, *Ex proprio & mero motu & certa ſcientia ſua*, to make ſuch honourable Memorial of all the Majeſtical Titles in the King's Right, as the more ſtately Embroideries to his glorious Letters of Apoſtolical Indulgence, for the Diſpenſation of the ſaid Marriage convey'd, and in theſe words:

I have ſeen this Bull in the Cabinet of Sir *Robert Cotton.*

The *Pope's* Charter for the Title of *Lancaſter, Et de jure Belli, &c.* for the diſpenſing with the inceſtuous Marriage.

Hic Rex Angliæ, *de Domo* Lancaſtriæ *Originem trahens; ac qui notorio jure, & indubitato proximo ſucceſſionis titulo & Prælatorum & procerum* Angliæ *Electione & conceſſione &c. Etiam de jure Belli eſt Rex* Angliæ.

After, for the more clear repairing and curing all Flaws and Defects of Titles, the Pope addeth this Gracious Clauſe; *Supplemuſq; omnes, & ſingulos defectus, tam juris, quam facti, ſi qui intervenerint in Regno dicto.*

And then in the End, not in the Front, this Bull is intituled, *Pagina confirmationis noſtræ, approbationis, pronunciationis, conſtitutionis, declarationis, ſuppletionis, monitionis, requiſitionis, prohibitionis, Benedictionis, inhibitionis, & excommunicationis, & Anathematizationis in quoſcunq; qui preſumpſerint, infringere, vel auſu temeritatis, contravenire his literis Apoſtolicis.*

For all this muſt be held, and thought to be done *Autoritate Apoſtolica, i. e.* by the Authority of the Apoſtles, St. *Peter* and St. *Paul.*

And thus the King received of the Pope the two Titles, *De Domo* Lancaſtriæ, and *De Jure Belli*, without any ſeeking or Solicitation (as we are led to credit) for there appeareth not any expreſs Suit or Motion by the King to that purpoſe, though by Circumſtances and Probability it was preferr'd under Hand, for the other Things were but of ſlight Requeſt and no neceſſity, nor obnoxious to any Danger; when thoſe two Titles were the preſent Marks, his Aim was ſtrongly and mainly directed to. Though, I muſt confeſs, after a while, he was as lightly ſatisfied in theſe (notwithſtanding the Pope's Thunder and Lightning, added to them) as in the Titles of *York* and *Lancaſter*, which he diſcover'd, and not obſcurely, when he moved the Eſtates in his firſt Parliament, to grant an Eſtate Hereditary and Entail'd of the Crown and Kingdom, with all the Appurtenances, to the Heirs of his Body: beyond this he cou'd not require much, nor they give, which was unanimouſly condeſcended unto, as a Gift of a new Title confirm'd by their Act; the Copy whereof I have tranſcrib'd (where I come to rehearſe the Titles of our Soveraign Lord the King, that now is). Nor is the Divination of this Piece ſo dark, but that the Cauſe may be gueſs'd at, why he held himſelf not ſafe in the Titles of *York* and *Lancaſter*, of *Beaufort* and *Somerſet* already touch'd at, but may fall more ſeaſonably elſewhere into our Stories, without confounding it with Hiſtorologies, and preſenting Matters out of their time and place; my Purpoſe only being; to take ſo much Light from the Story of *Henry* VII. as ſhall but properly conduce to the true ſhadowing and proportioning of K. *Richard*'s, being neceſſarily inforc'd to inculcate ſuch Matters as may ſeem of no preſent concluſion; yet loſing their Obſervation, we ſhall want the knowledge of many things much pertinent to the Credit and Honour of K. *Richard* and his Actions: To which, according to the Orders and Affairs of Time, I am now to come again. 1485. The ſecond Invaſion of the E. of *Richmond.*

And here, upon our Account, we ſhall find it near upon Ten Months ſince the Duke of *Buckingham* was ſuppreſs'd, and the Earl of *Richmond* driven from *Poole* with the Storm, who was now again very buſy raiſing freſh Preparations in *France*, and King *Richard* upon the Intelligence, as ſtickling to levy Soldiers, and re-inforce all his Havens and Frontier Places. But the Earl of *Richmond* found it not ſo eaſy a Matter now as at firſt, to draw a Party and Concurrence from *France*, having ſped ſo ill in his former Undertakings, which indeed ſtruck a great Diſcouragement in the Expectation of all his Favourers, and made his Welcome thec older to the D. of *Brittain*; the rather alſo, becauſe he had been with the *French* King before he came to him, which was taken but ill, altho' the Earl cou'd not otherwiſe do, being forc'd upon the Coaſts of *Normandy*; and coming into the Road at *Deipe*, landed, to Refreſh Himſelf and Company: From thence he intended to *Roan*, which being ſo near *Paris*, engaged him thither to the King, being, (as *Philip de Comines* ſaith) follow'd in a very honourable Port, by 500 *Engliſhmen.* In his Stay there (to ſhew us how much Intereſt a provident and active Spirit hath in Fortune) he ſo heighten'd and ſweeten'd his Behaviour to the Court, as conciliated the Favour and Reſpect of the Greateſt and Nobleſt Perſons to him. But moſt happily, the fair Opinion and Eſteem of the Princely Lady *Anne de France*, eldeſt Siſter to King *Charles* the Eighth; who had ſuch an Influence upon him in his Minority, that ſhe out-pitch'd *Lewis* Duke of *Orleance*, chief Prince of the Blood: In Envy or Miſlike whereof, he took Arms and raiſed a Civil War in *France* (as *John Tillet* and others write). She was Wife to *Peirce de Bourbon* Lord of *Beaujen*, after Duke *de Bourbon*; but *Beaujen* being his moſt ſtately and honourable Seigniory, he was call'd Mounſieur *de Beaujen*; and his Lady had ſo flexible an Inclination to the Earl of *Richmond*'s Cauſe, that ſhe importun'd the King to aid him with a good Sum of Money and 3000 Men, but odd Fellows: For *Philip de Comines* ſaith, they were *Trois mille hommes les plus meſchants que lux peut troit ver*, no better than Rogues and Trewans, Men of baſe Quality and as low Courage. Whilſt theſe were levying, the Earl (thrifty of all Opportunities, and as diligent to add what advantage of Time and Aid he cou'd) viſits the Duke of *Brittain* to the ſame purpoſe. The Duke propounds it to his Council, which *Peter Landois* his Treaſurer and Chief Counſellor objects againſt, with this Reaſon, That if the Enterprize ſucceeded well, yet the Event muſt fall out unhappily and ill to him; the Earl having now intereſted himſelf to the Favour and Aſſiſtance of *Charles* King of *France*: And this wou'd be the firſt Link of ſo ſtrong an Engagement, that the Earl and his Confederacy muſt be loſt to *Brittain* when he came to be King, being reſpectively tied to lend the King of *France* Aid againſt them, if any Cauſe ſhou'd happen, which the King of *France* had a prepared Stomach for, and had not been nice to ſeek any Provocation that might countenance a Quarrel againſt the Dutchy of *Brittain*, which was beyond his ſpan, ſo long as they continued in League with *England*; that being untwiſted, and *France* and *England* contracted, how eaſy was it for the *French* to invade and ſwallow up both him and his Dukedom. To make the preſent Advantage, there-

Comines, p. 536.

fore

1485. fore, as profitable as ſafe, his Advice was to ſtay the Earl: The Duke knowing his Coffers at that time very lank, and that the King of *England* wou'd offer well for him, approv'd the Counſel, and reſolv'd to be led by *Landois* (whoſe Reſpects (notwithſtanding) were very affectionate to the Earl). But whether by the ſecret Caution of ſome Friends, or ſuggeſted to him by his better Genius, ſure it is, by ſome unknown Means he had knowledg of it; and yet this was determin'd but at Night, and deſign'd for the Morning: But before Midnight, or the knowledge of their Flight, he, and Twelve Gentlemen his Followers, had left *Vannes*, and recover'd *Anjou* (under the *French* King's Protection) from thence to the *French* Court again, the King being ſtill very pliable and conſtant to his Promiſe concerning thoſe *French* Forces under his own Charge. The next thing he works at, is how to enlarge the Earl of *Oxford* out of the Caſtle of *Hammes*, committed thither by *Edward* IV. (and in this he uſes, or rather follow'd indeed) the Contrivement of Dr. *Morton*, who held good Quarter with the Earl of *Oxford*, and by his frequent Viſits, had a familiar and eaſy Door open'd, which the Earl readily took the opportunity of, leaſt it ſhou'd be ſhut again by ſome Miſcarriage, for *Richmond* thought, or found the Conſtitution of his Deſign not a little ſtrengthned by the Earl of *Oxford*'s Confederacy: Nor did he miſtake himſelf in his Account, when he ſet him down of Special Uſe, knowing him a Man of an Eminent Power, wiſely and valiantly Temper'd: and to give him the ſtronger Preſumption and Confidence, one that moſt mortally hated *Edward* IV and all the Houſe of *York*: To begin therefore an Obligation, the E. of *Richmond* makes a Complemental Journey to *Hammes* (r) where the E. of *Oxford* was then, under the Charge of S. *James Blound*; He finds all honourable and reſpective Entertainment, with fit liberty and occaſion to propound himſelf unto the Earl who had been partly prepared by Dr. *Morton*, and therefore met him the neareſt way, engaging himſelf ſolely to the Premiſes, and (by virtue of an indefatigable Confidence) ſets upon his Keeper, wins him to the Faction, and to *Paris* with them. By which time, all Preparations were in readineſs; and whilſt they make this Stay in the *French* Court, the Earl of *Richmond* receives a fair Excuſe and Proteſtation from the D. of *Brittain*, with offer of Auxiliary Forces: This Supply came very acceptably, and however he reſented the Duke's late Purpoſe upon him, his Wiſdom told him, he muſt now convert his Anger into Thanks, which he returns with a reciprocal Proteſtation and Order, to ſend the Troops to *Harfleu*, where his Shipping lay, and was the Rendezvous for his Soldiers.

(r) He did not go to *Hammes* See Sir *Th. Moor*'s Hiſtory of *Edward* V.

In the end of *July* 1485. he took leave of the King and his moſt Noble Couſin Madam *De Beaujen*, departing for the Port of *Harfleu* in *Normandy*, where he met with Two Thouſand *Brittains* from the Duke honourably accommodated. But by the Way, he made ſome ſtay at *Roven*, and had News which much diſtemper'd him, That the Lady *Elizabeth* was forthwith to be married to King *Richard*; this quicken'd his Haſte for *England*, preſuming, his landing would forbid the Banes, otherwiſe he might ſit down with folded Hands, for upon this Marriage inſiſted the main Hopes and Conſequence of his Fortune; without her, all his great Pretexts would faint, yet ſeemed to hear it, as a thing that cou'd not concern him ſo much, having ſo preſent and provident a Wit, that in any Chance he wanted not Counſel and Determination in himſelf for all Fortunes; inſtantly reſolving to 1485. apply his Suit to her Siſter the Lady *Cecily*: But e're he could perfectly faſhion theſe Intents, they were alſo countercheck'd by the next Pacquet, which aſſured him the Lady *Cecily* was lately married: Neither did that (after ſome Collection) ſeem much to diſcompoſe him; but quickly, varying his Diſpoſition to his Fortune, he would now fix himſelf upon ſome Choice in *Brittain*, amongſt his noble Friends (for the moſt part *Welſh* Men) and treats about a Daughter of Sir *William Herberts*, a Gentleman of a noble Alliance and principal Power in the South part of *Wales*; who had married the eldeſt Daughter, not long before, to the Earl of *Northumberland*, to whom the Earl of *Pembrook* (by a new created Friendſhip betwixt them) imboſoms the whole Deſign, and preſſes his Comprobation in it; for by this means it was preſumed, the greateſt part of *Wales* would fall under their Command; which had been no ſmall Addition to a Baniſh'd Man's Fortune. Whilſt thoſe things were in their Mould, Dr. *Morton* gave him ſuch aſſurance, by Letters, of the Countries Readineſs to receive him, that it was thought beſt to take the Advantage of landing there; and in the Month of *July* they looſe from *Harfleu*, and ſafely arrived at *Milford* Haven in *Pembrokeſhire*, his Native Country: After ſome Refreſhing, he marches to a Town call'd *Haverford Weſt*, and was entring amongſt his *Britiſh* Kindred, who welcom'd him as a Prince, deſcended from their ancient Princes of *Wales*, (the Country generally very noble and loving to their Friends) whilſt he continued amonſt them, Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, Sir *Walter Herbert*, Sir *John Savage*, Sir *Gilbert Talbot* (who drew his young Nephew the Earl of *Salop* into this Action with him) and divers others of all Qualities, brought or ſent their Forces. His Army thus ſtrong and united, he paſſes the *Severne*, and marches to *Litchfield*, purpoſing to hold on to *London*, if the King had not interpoſed it, who, though he lay at *Nottingham* when the Earl landed, and while he marched through *Wales* had conſtant Spies upon him. But as no Policy or Law can ſecure their Faith, that think they may diſpence with it, ſo all Benefits are too narrow, where Ambition and Ingratitude urges Merit: And to ſhew there is not much of our Fate in our own Providence, when this King thought the Nobilty moſt firmly cemented to his ſide, and was to put himſelf upon their Conſtancy, they make a preſent and general Defluxion to the other; but he had heightned and contracted his Reſolution and Judgment to the greatneſs of his Cauſe, and was not now to be outbid by Chance or Danger. The next Day (which was *Sunday* about Evening) paſſing through *Leiceſter* in open Pomp, the Crown Royal on his Head; with him *John* D. of *Norfolk*, Marſhal of *England*, the Earl of *Surrey*, the Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, the Viſcount *Lovel*, and other of the Nobility and Gentry; at *Redmore Heath* the Armies came to an Interview, and put themſelves in array: The next Morning, early, there was ſome Conference held in the King's Tent, by thoſe Peers and others of principal Truſt, who gave him particular Information of all thoſe ſecretly revolted; and it much amazed him, the Earl of *Northumberland* was one, to whom he had ever been moſt conſtant and forward in his Reſpects and Favours; therefore where he had conferr'd ſo much, he ſuſpected little. But no Obligations are religious if not held ſo. And altho' in the Conflict he ſtood but as neutral, yet the ſuddenneſs and example of it drew many from the King, even at the Inſtant

Leiceſt. in quit. Rex Richardus cum maxima Pompa portans diadema, in capite. Chron. Croy.

1485. ſtant when he was ready to arm himſelf: Yet this was not of ſo great and ſenſible amazement unto him as the Lord *Stanley*'s Defection; who, in pledge of his Faith, had left his Son *George Stanley*, whilſt his Wife (the Earl's Mother) had made her ſubtil Perſwaſions of ſtronger Tye, and ſub-induced him to the *Lancaſtrian* Side, which he aided with 26000 Men, if *Philip de Commines* be not miſtaken; for our Stories have but 5000. But it was a very great Deſection, and made the Earl's Army far ſtronger; ſo that the chiefeſt Point of Conſultation now, was how to preſerve him by Flight, and the recovery of ſome Strong Hold, until the Tempeſt had ſcatter'd or ſpent its violence, which they conceiv'd could not be long, if the Camp broke up and once diſſolved. But no Argument could faſten on him, tho' the benefit of a Swift Horſe was offer'd at his Tent Door, nor the Fatality and Protent of Prodigies, related by his Friends, as prefaging ſome inevitable Calamity, and that Prophetical Prediction,

Jack *of* Norfolk *be not too bold,*
For Dicken *thy Maſter is bought and ſold.*

Theſe things aggravated, the weakneſs of his Army objected, Counſels, Perſwaſions, Terrors, Prodigies, Prophecies, cou'd not make him hear, ſo fatally reſolute he ſtood in the Jealouſie and Reputation of his Honour and Valour, peremptorily proteſting, He would rather adventure Life, Crown and Fortunes, than his Honour to a cowardly and ſiniſter Conſtruction. This might taſte of a deſperate Will, if he had not afterwards given an Apodixis in the Battle, upon what Plat-form he had projected and raiſed that Hope, which as it had much of Danger in it, ſo of an inconcuſs and great Reſolution, and might have brought the Odds of that Day to an even Bett; for knowing the Earl to be thirſty and appetent after Glory and Renown, but of an unpractiſed Skill in War, and as inferior in Courage to him, he had projected (in manner of Stratagem) ſo ſoon as the Armies approach'd ready for the Charge, to advance himſelf before his Troops, and give the Earl, being General of his Forces, the Signal of a Combat. And to provoke and ſingle him with a more glorious Invitation, he wore the Crown Royal upon his Head, the faireſt Mark for Valour and Ambition. *Polidore* ſays he wore it, thinking that Day ſhould either be the Laſt of his Life, or the Firſt of a Better; which may as well be a reaſon of his wearing it Three Days before at *Leiceſter*, when he rode from thence to *Boſworth*. But doubtleſs, by it he intended chiefly, that the People might ſee and know him to be their King: And thoſe that ſtood arm'd againſt him, looking upon that Imperial Evidence, where there own Hands and Voyces had ſet it, ſhould by the Awe and Sovereignty of it, conſider how lately they had avow'd him their lawful King; and by what Pledges of their Faith and Allegiances, they ſtood ſolemnly bound to defend him and his Title in it, againſt all other: Whatever was his Myſtery, it render'd him a valiant and confident Maſter of his Right; and in the Conſtancy of Hope and Reſolution he gives order for the Battle: The Armies confronted, and whilſt the Alarm and every Blow began to be hot and furious, forth breaks King *Richard* towards the Earl, wafting him by a Signal, who ſeem'd readily to accept it; and pricking his Horſe forward came on very gallantly, as if but one Genius had prompted their Spirits and Ambition: For a good Author teſtifieth that *Comes* Rich-

Why K. *Rich.* wore the Crown at *Boſworth.*

Chron. *Croy.*

mondiæ *directe ſuper Regem* Richardum, *&c.* But his Carreir ſoon faltred, and *Mars* became Retrograde, it being but a nimble Train, to draw the King on to ſome Diſadvantages, or elſe he liked not his furious Approach, for ſuddenly he makes halt, and with as much Credit as he could (and no Harm) recover'd the Vanguard of his Army, whither *Richard* purſued him, with ſo much ſpeed and fierceneſs, that he forc'd him to his Standard: And now, high in Blood and Anger (to ſee his Valour deluded by ſuch a Politick Bravery) with his Sword makes way, and with his own Hand ſlew Sir *Charles Brandon*, Standard-bearer, thinking to have made the next Blow as fatal to the Earl; but the confluence of Souldiers interjecting, reſcued him, Sir *John Cheney* being one of the foremoſt, whom the King ſtruck from his Horſe to the Earth; but charged and inviron'd with Multitudes (that like a Storm came on him) Valiant *Richard* falls the Sacrifice of that Day, under their cruel Swords, ſo rabious in their Execution, as if his Body muſt ſuffer more, becauſe they cou'd not kill his Better Part, mangling and wounding his dead Corps whilſt it lies drencht in Gore. 1485.

Sir *William Brandon* Father to *Charles Brandon*, afterward D. of *Suffolk.*

The 22th of *Auguſt* 1485.

Et Lupus & Turpes inſtant morientibus urſi,
Et quæcunque minor nobilitate fera eſt.

Ovid. triſt. l. 2. Eleg. 5.

Foul Bears and Wolves inſult and tear the Slain
With each Inferior Savage of the Plain.

As Curs in their Kennels will bite and tear the Skin of thoſe Beaſts which in the Field they durſt not bark at:

Occidit in bello miſeranda cæde Richardus,
Crinibus attractus, dum ferro ſæviat hoſtis.

Dr. *John Hird. in Hiſt. Angl.*

Drag'd by the Hair to Hoſtile Swords a Prey,
And ſlain with barb'rous Wounds the vanquiſh'd *Richard* lay.

And after all (to complete their Barbariſm) threw his Body behind One upon a Jade, and ſo convey'd it to *Leiceſter*. A Story to be thought incredible, at leaſt to charitable and modeſt Ears, and highly upbraided by the happier and Chriſtian Fame of *William* the Conqueror, who ſeverely puniſh'd a Soldier for but hacking the Thigh of King *Harold* after he was dead, though an Uſurper and his perfidious Enemy; with all nobleneſs cauſing the Body to be delivered to his Mother for an honourable Interment, which was ſolemnly celebrated in his own Abby at *Waltham*.

Matthew Paris, Hen. Hnntington.

The Battle thus fought and won, the Victor was crown'd in the Field with that Crown King *Richard* wore, which the Lord *Stanley* put upon his Head, and ſalutes him King, by the Stile of *Henry* VII. King of *England*, &c. And *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* Son of *Edmund ap Meredith ap Teudor* (*alias* of *Hadham*) Earl of *Richmond*, and of *Margaret* Daughter and Heir of *John Beaufort* Duke of *Somerſet* attain'd to the Crown, and had the eaſier aſcent by the Overſight and Remiſſneſs of *Richard* in that Cataſtrophe of his Reign, who gave too much Opportunity and Scope to the Actings of his Enemies when they were under his Power and Arm. And in the Fortune of his Judgment (at the cloſing of the Scene) that did not better pre-ſuppoſe his Enemy too prudent and reſerv'd, to truſt the Advantage he had upon ſo ſharp and ſingle an Hazard: But *Richard* believing he had the odds in Courage and Monomachy of him, which probably might make him Maſter of the Combat, and ſo of the Field (the Strait being ſo deſperate too) reſolved rather to truſt to the Fate of his own Valour, than the Chance of an uncertain Eſcape; a Reſolution not ſo raſh and

Henry of Richmond Crown'd in the Field.

overweening

1485. overweening as commendable, if we look upon the very Aims and Neceſſity of it; neither is it new or improper for Princes to demand the trial of Camp Fight, or Single Combat perſonally in their Armies, and to the Generals in their Abſence: *William* the Conqueror challenged King *Harold*; before that, a Combat was fought between *Edmund Ironſide* and *Canute* the Daniſh King, for the whole Kingdom of *England*: Our *Richard* I. and *Edward* I. in *Paleſtine* proffer'd the like to ſeveral of the Pagan Princes; ſo did *Edward* III. *Henry* V. with the Kings of *France*.

The Challenge of *James* V. King of *Scots* to *Tho.* D. of *Norfolk.*

In the Laſt Age, the valiant Prince *James* the Fifth of *Scotland*, in perſon challenged *Thomas* Lord *Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, General for the King of *England*, who accepted it; but the King into his Demands would have the Country or Lands then in controverſie, to be made *Brabium victoris*, which was without the General's Power to engage, being the Inheritance of the King his Maſter, but proffer'd better Lands of his own upon the Combat, which was not accepted, ſo that concluded nothing.

The better End of theſe Challenges and Combats, being at firſt level'd from Mercy and Piety, for by this Single Adventure, the Innocent Blood of Armies was (more than ſtanch'd) preſerv'd, Forreign Stories brings this home to us, and highly Characters their Kings and Generals in the like Examples, which this Age draws a Curtain before as not fit for Imitation, making too deſperate a Wound in a ſettled State and Succeſſion; the firſt who rendred that (or ſome more Politick) Reaſon for Princes not to adventure themſelves, was *Philip* II. King of *Spain*, (as a late Writer aſcribed) but is miſtaken; for the more ancient Hiſtories of *Syria* and *Perſia* mention ſome Kings that refrain'd from Wars long before; as *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, *Trogus Pompeius* tell us: But let us take meaſure from that Times, Wiſdom, Valour, Policy, *&c.* to this, and we ſhall find them but tottering Foundations of States which cannot uphold themſelves, or obvert the leaſt Decree of God, when he intends to ſcurge or alter Kingdoms; for where ſuch Viciſſitudes are deſtin'd, the Counſel and Faculties of Men muſt be darkned, and there will fall out all Concurrences and Advantages to further that Purpoſe. So in the Extirpation and Transferring of Families, the Potter in *Jeremy*, breaking one Jarr to make another, whoſe fatal Commutations ſhould extimulate the Piety of our Natures, and make us modeſt Cenſurers of their Events: For as we ſee things but thro' a Cloud, whilſt we meaſure them by Accidents, ſo we intrude on God's Providence, judging Men's Actions in their Succeſs, while we over-act our own. Of ſuch a Compoſition was the Ill-wiſhers of King *Richard*, who forgot him not in his Grave, but endeavour'd to be equally cruel to his Memory: And in *November* following a Parliament was holden, in which he was attainted of High-Treaſon; a Strain very high to make him guilty of that, being a King, he cou'd not commit. By the ſame Figure may others, who were ſtiled Chief Aiders and Aſſiſtants of King *Richard* in the Battle of *Boſworth*, as Sir *John Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, *&c.* though ſome would have him retired from the Court all King *Richard*'s Reign. But Sir *Thomas Moor* affirms, he was conſtantly with him and near his Counſels, Sir *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, Son and Heir apparent to the Duke: *Francis Lovel* Viſcount *Lovel*, Sir *Walter Devereux*, Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, Sir *John de la Souch*, Sir *Robert Harrington*, *Richard Charleton*, *Richard Ratcliffe*, *Will. Berkeley*, *Will. Catesby*, *Thomas Broughton*, *John Buck*, *Humphry Stafford*, *Rob. Midleton*, *Robert Brokenbury*, *John Kendal* Secretary to the King, *Walter Hopton*, *Jeoffry Saint-German*, *Rog. Wake*, *Thomas Billington*, *William Sapcoate*, *Will. Brampton*, all Knights, and ſome Heralds at Arms, with divers other; an Act of Parliament being made to Diſable and Forejudge them of all manner of Honour, State, Dignity; alſo to Forfeit all Mannors, Caſtles, Lordſhips, Hundreds, Franchiſes, Liberties, Advowſons, Privileges, Nominations Preſentations, Tenements, Rents, Suits Reverſions, Portions, Annuities, Penſions, Rights, Hereditaments, Goods, Chattels, and Debts. Theſe be the words of the Act, and if *jus*, then *jus ſummum* in all Extremity. 1485. Parliam. an. 1. H. 7.

Princes go not to Camp.

Cruelties done to the Body of K. *Rich.* Noble Perſons attainted by Parliament.

Sir *Thom. Moor.*

Thoſe of Note that were taken, loſt their Heads at *Leiceſter* two Days, after, being St. *Bartholomew's* Day, and had a Glimpſe like that *Bartholomew* in *France* in our Time; all ſuch Slaughters from thence call'd *Bartelemies*, and *Bartelemies*, ſimply in a perpetual Stigma of that Butchery.

The Duke of *Norfolk* ſlain by the Earl of *Oxford*

It is ſuggeſted, the Duke of *Norfolk* was ſlain in the Battel by the Earl of *Oxford*, and the Story of *Croyland* ſeemeth to ſay as much; *Comes* Oxoniæ *valentiſſimus miles in eam alam ubi Dux* Norfolciæ *conſtitutus erat in agro* (*de* Redmore) *tum* Gallicorum *tum* Anglicorum *militum Comitatu ſtipatus tetendit, &c.*

The Earl of *Surrey* eſcapeth at *Boſworth.*

Amongſt thoſe that eſcaped the ſad Deſtiny of that Day, was the Earl of *Surrey*, Sir *Thomas Howard* Viſcount *Lovel*, Sir *Thomas Stafford*, and his Brother *N. Stafford*, and many other Nobles and Gentlemen that got into Foreign Countries and Sanctuaries, obſcuring themſelves till the Storm and Smart of that Day's Memory were paſt. But ſome would maintain *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey* to be one of them that ſubmitted to the New King at *Boſworth*, immediately after the Overthrow, which muſt not be believed, if we underſtand the Compoſition of thoſe Times and Affairs: For certain it is, the E. *Richmond* had peremptorily proſcrib'd all thoſe he had cauſe to fear or hate, whoſe Names are partly in the Rolls, kept in the Chapel of the Convertites in *Chancery-lane*, and partly omitted by the Scribes.

Now the Earl of *Surrey*, of all the reſt, was ſo terrible and diſtaſteful to him, there could be no Excuſe left for his Life. And therefore let no Man think he was taken or ſubmitted, but took an happier Seaſon ſome Months after. The Relation and Truth is (by the Warrant of one that well knew him, and the Inter-paſſage of his Fortune) the Earl opportunely left the Field, but ſo wounded, that Faintneſs and Night conſtrain'd him to the Houſe of a Gentleman not far from *Nottingham*, and one that bare a faithful Reſpect to the Earl and his Family, until he was recovered. In the mean time, tha terrible Parliament held in the next *November* was concluded, and the King's Deſires reaſonably well appeaſed, in ſeeing the Execution of his New Laws paſt upon ſome of them.

After which, (ſome ſmall diſtance of time) followed a gracious Pardon to all the Offenders in that Cauſe, which proffer'd Mercy this Earl laid hold on, hoping to reſtore himſelf (by his Submiſſion) his offence, conſider'd, being but an Act of Loyalty to his Maſter. But this confidence ſent him to the *Tower*; for tho' the Violence of the Storm appear'd well calm'd, yet the

1485. the King retain'd ſome Heavings of it in his Thoughts: And this Impriſonment continued from his Firſt year of Reign unto the Fourth; and towards the Beginning of that, being in the *Tower* with the Queen *Elizabeth* (to whom he was ſhortly after to be married) he took occaſion to call for the Earl, (bearing ſtill a guſt of the ſame Tempeſt in his Brow) and challenged him upon the old Quarrel, his Service to the late Uſurper and Tyrant, (as he uſually term'd King *Richard*) the Earl humbly moved his Pardon, and more favourable Conſideration to the Nature of his Offence, which Thouſands more conceiv'd to be but a due effect of their Liege Duties, and Allegiance to a Prince ſo lawfully, and with all general ſufferance crown'd, whoſe Title he held himſelf bound to defend by the Law of God and Nations, and would die in defence of him and that Crown, though he ſhould find it upon a Stake: The King left him with a ſtern and ruffling Reply, but in cold Blood better acknowledged his Integrity, and thought he would come of no leſs Value to him, having the Advantage to merit him by his Pardon, which ſoon after he granted him; nor did the Earl loſe ought of that Opinion: Shortly after, being made of the Privy Council, then Lieutenant or Governour of the North, and General againſt the *Scots*, whom he overthrew; as fatal was he to them at *Flodden* Field, where he took their King in the time of *Henry* the Eighth, who made him High Marſhal and Treaſurer of *England*, and reſtor'd him to his Father's Dukedom, the Inheritance of his Grandmother *Mowbray*, being a Man of ſuch a happy Direction in his Carriage and Wiſdom, that all his Actions came home with proſperous Succeſs, and accumulated what was ſometime ſpoken of his great Anceſtour *Hewardus*, of whom it was queſtion'd, *Utrum fælicior an fortior eſſet*, ſo Fortunate and Honourable hath that Houſe been in the Service to this State; and in the infinite Alliance and Cognation, it holds with the moſt Ancient Families, the Extractions and Propagations from *Mowbray*, *Warren*, *Bruce*, *Dalbery*, *Marſhall*, *Segrave*, *Plantagenet*, *Brotherton*, *Bigot*, *Fitz-Alan*, *Matraver*, *Buckingham*, *Oxford*, and *Dacres*: The Father of which *Heward*, was *Leofrick* Lord of *Burne*, and the adjacent Country in *Lincolnſhire*; his Mother was the Lady *Edina*, deſcended from the great *Oſlac*, a Duke amongſt the *Eaſterlings* in King *Edgar*'s time: In whoſe Family, I alſo find a Noble Kinſman of his called *Haward* (to note obiter) This *Haward* was of a Noble and Magnificent note, a goodly Perſonage, anſwer'd with an equal Strength and Valour; *Et nimium Bellicoſus*, much, or too much devoted to *Mars*. He ſerved in the Wars of *Northumberland*, *Cornwall* and *Ireland*; and after in the Lower *Germany*, where he made up much of his Fame, and married a fair Lady called *Turfrida*, the Daughter of a Nobleman in *Flanders*, where he continued until the Death of his Father call'd him Home. About which time, *William* Duke of *Normandy* made his Conqueſt of this Kingdom, and had gratify'd *Johannes Talbois* the *French* Count, now Earl of *Holland*, with *Leoffricks* Country of *Holland*, in the Marſhand; and the Count very rudely had expuls'd the Lady his Mother, out of her Poſſeſſions and Dower. *Hawardus* ſet upon him with ſuch Forces as he could ſpeedily raiſe, took, and held him Priſoner in deſpite of the Conquerour, until he redeem'd himſelf, and accounted for what he had done with a large Sum of Money. This drew thoſe of the Nobility to the protection of his Sword, which the Conquerour had chaſed out of their Country, who had forfited themſelves in the Iſle of *Ely*, and made *Hawardus* their General, where he built a Caſtle that a long time after had his Name. But the *Normans* took that Advantage to infeſt his Country, and put him again to the Recovery of it, which he ſo fortunately ſettled, that the Conquerour was contented to make him his, and hold him in good favour whilſt he lived. He was buried in the Abbey of *Croyland*: Concerning his Iſſue by the Lady *Turfrida*, there is mention only of a Daughter named *Turfrida*, married to *Hugo Enermua*, Lord of *Deeping*: But circumſtance will perſwade us, he had other Iſſue, if we conſider him in the likelihood of his Strength and Ability, and that divers continued of his Sir-name in that Country a long time after him, which makes it probable, he had a Natural Son, (at leaſt, bearing his own Name of *Heward*) that next to him was the Original Anceſter of this Houſe of *Howards*. And let it not be thought any Diſparagement for a Noble Family to be raiſed from a Natural Iſſue; for many Princely Families have been deriv'd and propagated from Natural Sons, as was *Eneas*, *Romulus*, the Founders of the *Roman* Families; So was *Theſeus* and *Themiſtocles*, as *Plutarch* writeth; others ſay as much of *Hercules*, &c.

1485.

The honour of Baſtards.

Homer. *Livy.*

The King of *Spain* deſcended form *Henry de Traſtamara*, Baſe Son of *Alphonſus* the Juſticer, King of *Caſtile*. And who doth not honour the Princely Race of *William* the Conquerour, Baſtard Son to the Duke of *Normandy*? Where was a more Heroical Man than *Robert* Earl of *Glouceſter*, baſe Son of King *Henry* I.? The Earls of *Warren* deſcended from *Hamelin*, a baſe Son of *Geoffry Plantagenet*, Earl of *Anjou*: The Noble *Herberts* are alſo ſaid to come from a baſe Son of *Henry* the Firſt.

And the Duke and Earls of *Somerſet* (which followed the red Roſe) were the Off-ſpring of the *Beauforts*, Natural Sons of *John de Gaunt*.

For a further Conjecture, why theſe *Howards* muſt be deſcended from *Hewardus* or *Herewardus* (for ſo ſome Writers call him; but (*Ingulfus*, who beſt knew him, conſtantly calls him *Hewardus*) both Names may ſignifie in the *Saxon* old Dutch, a Chief Capitain of an Army, whom the *Romans* call'd *Imperator*.) And that the Titles and Names of great Offices have given Sir-names to many Noble Families, we have Examples in plenty; Particularly, the *Viſconti* of *Milan*, the *Chamberlains* of *Normandy*, the *Stewards* of *Scotland*, the *Butlers* of *Ireland*, and divers others, who had their Sir-names from the Offices of their Anceſters and Fathers; and the ſame Preſumption or Argument may be for taking the Sir-name of *Howard*, and the Origine of their Family from *Hewardus*, the *Howards* from the time of *Heward*, dwelling in theſe Countries of *Holland* and *Marſhland*, and were Lords of ſome Lands belonging to him, until by their Matches, with the Daughters and Heirs of *Fitton*, *Tendring*, *Mowbray*, *Tillney*, &c. they became poſſeſſed in *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Berkſhire*, and were Lords ſometime of *Sunning-hill* near *Windſor*, and bore the Sir-name ever ſince (or with ſmall interruption) the old Sir-name written *Heward*, or *Hereward* in Charters and Records, and *Howard* in Stories. But deſcend we thro' the Succeſſion of thoſe times to *William Haward*, Chief Juſtice in the Reign of *Edward* I. Grandfather to Sir *John Howard*, Admiral of the North Fleet, in the Naval Wars of *Edward* III; his Son Sir *Robert Howard* married the Daughter of

the

Scots overthrown by the E. of *Surrey*.

Ingulfus.

Lib. Elienſis.

1485. the Lords *Scales*, and Sir *John Howard* (who liv'd in the time of *Henry* IV. and died *Anno* 16. *Henry* VI.) had two Wives, *Margaret* Daughter and Heir of Sir *John Plais*, Knight, by whom he had *Eliza*: an only Daughter, married to *John de Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, who brought him a goodly part of the *Howards* Lands: Her Heirs were married to *Latimer* and *Winckfield*, very fruitful Families. His second Wife was the Daughter and Heir of Sir *William Tendering* of *Stoke-Nayland* in *Suffolk*, by whom he had Sir *Robert Howard* his eldeſt Son, who married *Margaret Mowbray*, Daughter of a *Cadet* of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, who became Co-heir with her Siſter the Lady *Berkeley*, Wife to *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*, dead in *Venice*, and left his Son *Henry Howard* Heir to *Howard* and *Mowbray*; and *John Howard*, the Son of *John Howard*, was created Earl of *Norfolk* by King *Richard* III. in the right of his Mother *Mowbray*, he married the Daughter of the Lord *Moulines*, and by her had *Thomas Howard*, the firſt *Howard* Earl of *Surrey*; this is he who ſurvived the Danger of *Boſworth* Field, and became afterwards Duke of *Norfolk*, from whom all the *Howards* now living are Deſcended, whoſe Family hath been ſo fruitful to furniſh this Kingdom with four Dukes, many Earls, Viſcounts, and Barons, three High Treaſures, ſix High or Great Marſhals, ten High Admirals, with ſome Honourable Cuſtos of the Privy-Seal, and ſundry Chamberlains of the King's Houſe; and one lately lived who had born the Offices of High Conſtable, Lord Lieutenant, Lord high Steward, Marſhal and Admiral of *England*, Lord Chief Juſtice in *Oyer* of the better Part of this Kingdom, and Chamberlain of the Royal Houſe, a Man honourable in his Deportments, and fortunate in his Undertakings; as at the great Marine Battels againſt all the Naval Powers of *Spain*, the Pope, and Princes of *Italy*, Anno Dom. 1588. and in the Siege of *Gadys*, An. Dom. 1596.

Sir Charles Howard.

And this is the Grand-Child of that *Thomas* Lord *Howard*, who for his beter Diſtinction and perpetual Honour is ſtiled *Triumphator Scotorum*.

Camden in Octad.

I have ſtray'd into this Digreſſion, as a grateful Tender of an Acknowledgment I owe to that Illuſtrious Family, for their Noble Patronage and Favour to my Anceſtors, eſpecially to that Unfortunate *Bucke* and his Children, who wither'd with the white Roſe, (bearing an Ancient and Heradetriy love to the Houſe of *York*, and ſtood in good Credit and Favour with the King his Maſter) nor let this Remembrance of him, and his obſcur'd Family, ſeem Oſtentation or Vain-glory, whilſt I ſay no more than what other Hiſtories dictate; which give him an able Character. Maſter *Camden Clarentius* (in his Immortal *Britannia*,) deriveth this Sir *John Bucke*, from Sir *Walter de Bucke* of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, who had that Sir-name of great Antiquity from the Caſtle *de Bucke* in *Liſle*, a City and Frontier Town in *Flanders*, where the ancient Earls were accuſtomed much to reſide; the Ruins of this Caſtle remained in the late time of *Lodwicke Guicciardine*, who ſaith, He ſaw the Carcaſs thereof: And this *Walter Bucke* was a Cadet of the Houſe of *Flanders*, employ'd and ſent by the Prince (then Duke of *Brabant* and Earl of *Flanders*) to King *John*, with Auxiliary Troops: *Roger Woodover* ſaith, *Walter Bucke*, *Gerard de Scottigni*, and *Godeſcalius*, *venerunt in Angliam cum tribus legionibus Flandrenſium & Brabantianorum militum*, &c. and he did the King excellent Service here (as many of our Hiſtorians report, for which the King bountifully rewarded him with Lands in *Yorkſhire* and *Northamptonſhire*: And in *Yorkſhire* (where he made his Seat) he found an ancient Family of the Sirname of *Bucke* of *Button*, in the Wapentake of *Bucroſſe*, where that Family had anciently been, (for the Name is a Saxon or Dutch word, and ſignifieth a Beech Tree, or Beech Wood) here *Walter* contracted Alliance, and married *Ralph de Bucke*, his Eldeſt Son, to the Daughter and Heir of *Gocelinus de Bucke*, Grandchild to *Radolphus de Bucke*, who was a Part Founder and Benefactor to the Abbey of *Bredlington*, (as is mention'd in the Charter of *Henry* I. made for the Foundation of that Monaſtery) and from this *Walter* deſcended *John Bucke* Knight, who married a *Strelley*, and was ſo conſtant in his Affection, that (altho' ſhe died in his beſt Age) he made a Religious Vow, and became a Knight of the *Rhodes*, his Arms are yet to be ſeen in the Ruins of the Hoſpital of St. *John's* near *Smithfield*, and in the Church of *Alhallows* at the Upper end of *Lumbard-ſtreet*, which was repair'd and enlarg'd with the Stones brought from that demoliſh'd Cœnoby: He liv'd *ſub rege* Edvardo *filio Regis* Henrici: as I have ſeen by the Date of his Deed in *Hetthil*, Anno 1 *Ed* 1. & *Anno* 22 *Ed.* 1. 1485.

Lodow. du Guicci. Paeſ. Baeſſ. The Ancientry of *Buck.*

M. Paris. M. Weſtminſt. Radulphus, de Cogeſhall. Tho. Walſing.

From this Knight of the *Rhodes* deſcended Sir *John Bucke*, who for his too much forwardneſs in Charging a Fleet of *Spaniards* (without the Leave of the Earl of *Arundel* Lord Admiral) was committed to the *Tower*, (teſtified by the Records there) *Anno* 13. *Richard* II. *Lawrence Bucke* his Son, follow'd *Edmund Plantagenet* Duke of *York*, and was at the Battel of *Agincourt* with him, when he was Slain: *John Bucke* Knight, the Son of this *Lawrence*, married a Daughter and Heir of the Houſe of *Stavely*, out of which are deſcended the Barons *Parres* of *Kendall* and *Roſſe*, Queen *Katherine* (the laſt Wife of King *Henry* VIII.) the Lord *Parre* Marqueſs of *Northampton*, and the *Herberts* Earls of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*.

These *Buckes* reſiding for the moſt part at *Weſt-Stanton*, and *Herthill* in *Yorkſhire*, and match'd into the Families of *Strelley* or *Stirely* of *Woodhall*; *Thorpe*, *Tilney*, (then of *Linconſhire*) and *Savill*, by which we have much noble Kindred; Sir *John Bucke* for his Service to the Houſe of *York*, eſpecially at *Boſworth*, loſt his head at *Leiceſter*; He married the Daughter of *Henry Savill*, by whom he had *Robert Bucke* and other Children, who were brought into the Southern Parts by *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, where they have remain'd ever ſince; for the Children (being Orphans) were left in miſerable Eſtate by the Attainder of their Father; But the Duke beſtow'd two Daughters in Marriage, one with the Heir of *Bucke*, the other, with the Heir of *Fitz-Lewis*, very ancient Families, from which Matches divers Honourable and Noble Perſons are deſcended. The Sons were, one a Souldier, the other a Courtier, the third, a Prieſt; afterward the Duke beſtow'd *Robert Bucke*, the Eldeſt Son at *Melford-Hall* in *Suffolk*, and married him into the Families of *Higham* and *Cotton*, as alſo did the *Blounds* of *Elwaſton*, the *Talbots* of *Grafton*, from whom the Barons of *Monjoy*, and the late Earls of *Shrewsbury* deſcended; one of the Daughters of this *Bucke* married to *Frederick Tilney* of *Shelley-Hall* in *Suffolk*, his neareſt Kinſman by the Dutcheſs his Mothers ſide.) But ſome perhaps muſt call this my Vanity, I ſhall but anſwer them, that I think my ſelf bound (by all the Blood and Memory I claim from them,) to pay them my beſt Relations and Endeavours, acknowledging with the great Conſular Philoſopher, *Parentes chariſſimos habere debemus, quod ab*

1485. *iis vita, patrimonium, libertas, Civitas tradita eſt.* And I ſhould think there is none, who hath an intereſt in the quality of Gentile or Noble, (for all is one) but looks back (with ſome delight) to their firſt Commemoration; and finds a ſtrong Engagement due to the Vertues and Worth of their firſt Fathers; for that expreſs Charge to Honour Father and Mother; is not to be underſtood, only of our Parents ſuperſtits, and living here with us, but our Forefathers: that is, beyond our great Grandfather, for we have no proper word for them above that degree (but Anteceſſors, *vulgo* Anceſtors) whom the *Romans* called *Majores*, and comprehended all our Progenetors departed ſooner or later) for the Words *Pater* and *Mater*, as alſo, *Parens & Parentes*, extend very largely, and reach up to the higheſt Anceſtors. The ancient *Roman Juriſconſults*, deliver in their Law for an Axiom, that *Appellatione Parentum omnes in infinitum majores utriuſque ſexus ſignificantur*; and the word *Parentes* yet ſpreadeth further, comprehending all Kinsfolks and Coſins, of our Blood and Linage, being uſed in that ſenſe by *Ælius Lampridius*, by *Julius Capitolinus*, and other the beſt Writers in the Times of the declined Empire, as *Iſaac Cauſaubonus* hath well obſerved in his Annotations. 1485.

The *Italians*, *Spaniſh* and *French*, (whoſe Language is for the moſt part *Romanzi* (Mongrel *Latin*) and broken and corrupted *Roman* Language (uſe *Parenti*, *Parentes* and *Parents* for all their Kinsfolks and Gentilitious Coſins.

We *Engliſhmen* (being more preciſe) follow the Ancient and Claſſick *Latin* Writers, holding Parent ſtrictly to the ſimple Signification of *Pater* and *Mater*, the preſent and immediate Parents. But the uſing of the word *Parentes*, as thoſe Imperial Hiſtorians uſe it; ſerveth better for our purpoſe here: And I could (not willingly) imirate the Pious Gentlemen of *Italy*, *Spain*, and *France*, in their Religious and Charitable Endeavours, to advance the Happineſs of their Parents defunct, if thoſe Deſires could beſteed them. But where I ſhould crave Pardon, I become more Guilty and Extravagant; it is time therefore to know good Manners, and return home to our proper Task, which will be to refell the groſs and black Calumnies thrown unjuſtly upon the Memory and Perſon of King *Richard*, And falls within the Circle of the next Book.

BOOK III.

The ARGUMENT of the Third BOOK of the LIFE and REIGN of *RICHARD* III.

The Defamations of King Richard *examined and anſwered. Dr.* Morton *and Sir* Thomas More *malevolent to the Houſe of* York, *Their frivolous Exceptions againſt his Geſtures, Looks, Teeth, Shape and Birth, his Vertues depraved. The Death of King* Henry *the Sixth, and his Son* Edward *Prince of* Wales. *The Actors therein. The Offence of Killing an annointed King. Valiant Men hate Treacheries and Bloody Acts. King* Richard *not Deform'd. The Slanders of* Clarence *tranſlated to King* Richard. *The Cauſe of* Clarence's *Execution. How the Sons of King* Edward *came by their Deaths. King* Richard *Exculpable thereof. The Story of* Perkin Warbeck *compared with* Don Sebaſtian, *King of* Portugal, *who are* Biothanati. *Counterfeit Prince detected, Young Prince marvellouſly preſerved. Many Teſtimonies for the Aſſertion that* Perkin Warbeck *was* Richard *Duke of* York; *his honourable Entertainment with foreign Princes* Vox populi. *Reaſons why it is not Credible King* Richard *made away his two Nephews; the force of Confeſſion. The Evil of Torture, the Guilt of attempting to Eſcape out of Priſon, what an Eſcape is. The Earl of* Oxford *ſevere againſt* Perkin, *and his End. The baſe Son of King* Richard *the Third ſecretly made away. The Son of the Duke of* Clarence *put to Death. The Power of Furies.* Demones & Genii. Apollonii Majeſtas.

Quod tibi non vis alteri ne feceris.

THERE is no Story that ſhews the Planetary Affections and Malice of the Vulgar more truly than K. *Richard*'s: and what a tikle game Kings have to play with them; tho' his Succeſſor *Henry* VII. play'd his providently enough (with help of the Standers by) yet even thoſe Times (which had promiſed the happieſt Examples of a State, and beſt of a King) both groan'd and complain'd; but had not the ſting and infection of King *Richard*'s Adverſaries, who did not only as the Proverb ſaith, *cum larvis lectare*, contend with his immortal Parts, but raked his Duſt, to find and aggravate Exceptions in his Grave; having learnt their Piety from the Comical Paraſite, *obſequium amicos, veritas odium parit*, and finding it as well guerdonable as grateful, to Publiſh their Libels and Scandalous Pamphlers, (piece of Policy and Service too) to the Times, (and an offence to reſent any thing good of him) they gave their Pens more Gall and freedom, having a Copy ſet by Doctor *Morton*, who had taken his Revenge that way, and written a * Book in *Latin* againſt King *Richard*, which came afterward to the Hands of Mr. *Moore* (ſometime his Servant) ſo that here the Saying of *Darius*, which after became a Proverb) hath place

Eraſmus in Chiliad.

Terentius in Adelph.

* This Book was lately in the Hands of Mr. *Roper*, of *Eltham*, as Sir *Edward Hoby*, who ſaw it told me.

"*Hoc*

1485. *Hoc Calceamentum conſuit Hiſtiæus, induit, autem Ariſtagoras.*

Dr. *Morton* (acting the Part of *Hiſtiæus*) made the Book, and Maſter *Moore* like *Ariſtagoras* ſet it forth, amplifying and gloſſing it, with a purpoſe to have writ the full Story of *Richard* the Third (as he intimateth in the Title of his Book;) but it ſhould ſeem he found the Work ſo melancholy and uncharitable, as dull'd his diſpoſition to it; for he began it, 1513. when he was Under Sheriff, or Clerk to one of the Sheriffs of *London*, and had the Intermiſſion of Twenty two Years (which time he took up in Studies, more Natural to his Inclination, as Law and Poetry, * for in them lay his greateſt fancy) to finiſh it before he died, (which was in 1535. but did not yet lift himſelf ſo happily into the Opinion of Men, that his Commendations had more Fortune than Obſervation:) and paſt him under the Attributes of Learning and Religion; tho' in both he came ſhort of what was aſcribed to him; for if he underſtood the Latin and Greek, (then held great Learning) yet was he ſo far under the deſert of an excellent Scholar, as the learned cenſured him a Man of ſlender Reading, and *Germanus Brixius, Irruditus, i. e.* unlearned; for the Sanctity of his Life, *John Balæus*, who took not up his Knowledge of him an Age off, (as ſome of his Admirers,) but from the Original, thus gives us his Draught.

He wrote many Poems and Epigrams, ſundry pretty Comedies, and Enterludes, oftentimes perſonating with the Actors, as his loving and familiar friend *Eraſmus* reports. *Brixius Antimore.*

Hoc nos probe novimus qui eramus eidem Thomæ Moro *viciniores, quod pontificum, & phariſæorum crudelitati ex avaritia ſubſerviens omni tyranno truculentior ferociebat, imo inſaniebat in eos qui aut Papæ primatum, aut purgatorium, aut mortuorum invocationes, aut imaginum cultus aut ſimile quiddam diabolicarum impoſturarum negabant, a vivifica Dei veritate ita edocti. Conſentire hic Harpagus noluit ut Rex Chriſtianus in ſuo Regno primus eſſet, nec quod ei liceret cum* Davide, Salomone, Joſaphato, Ezechia, & Joſia *Sacerdotes, & Levitas rejectâ* Romanenſium Nembrodorum *tyrannide in proprio ordinare dominio,* &c.

Joan. Baleus de ſcriptoribus. Brit. Cent. 8. cap. 69.

In *Engliſh* thus.

" This we, who were no Strangers to the " ſaid *Thomas Moore*, very well know, that, for " covetous Ends miniſtring to the Cruelty of " the Prieſts and Phariſees, he raged more " fiercely than any Tyrant; yea, was tranſ- " ported even to Madneſs againſt thoſe, who " inſtructed by the Life-giving Truth of God, " denied either the Supremacy of the Pope, or " Purgatory, or the Worſhipping of Saints or " Images, or ſuch other diabolical Impoſtures. " This Man of Avarice would not agree that a " Chriſtian King ſhould be Supreme in his own " Kingdom, nor permit him with *David, Solo-* " *mon, Jehoſhaphat, Ezechiah*, and *Joſias*, reject- " ing the Tyranny of the *Roman Nimrods*, to " order the Prieſts and Levites in his own Do- " minions, &c.

Adding the Attribute of *tenebrio*, of *veritatis evangelicæ perverſiſſimus oſor*, of *obſtinatus Calophanta*, of *impudens Chriſti adverſarius*; and ſaith of his end, that *decollatus fuit in Turre Londinenſi ſexto die* Julii, *Anno Dom.* 1535. *Capite ad magnum* Londini *pontem (ut proditoribus fieri ſolet) ſtipiti impoſito, & nihilominus a Papiſtis pro novo Martyre colitur.*

Rich. Graſton ſaith, he died mocking and ſcoffing as he lived.

That is, " He was Beheaded in the Tower of " *London* upon the Sixth day of *July*, in the " Year 1535. his Head, (as is uſual to be done " with Traytors,) being fix'd on a Pole upon " the Bridge of *London*; notwithſtanding of " which he is by the Papiſts adored for a new " Martyr. 1485.

Thus he became a Martyr and a Saint; but we ſhall find other Cauſe of his Condemnation by his own Teſtimony; for when he ſtood at the Bar arraigned, ſome Exceptions having been urg'd againſt him, for ſeeming to uphold and maintain the Pope's Supremacy in *England*; his Reply was, he could not ſee *quomodo laicus vel ſecularis homo poſſit vel debeat eſſe caput ſtatus ſpiritualis aut eccleſiaſtici*; yet inſinuated, that this Opinion was taken hold of but for a Pretext to ſupplant him; the greateſt cauſe of the King's Diſpleaſure being for his withſtanding the Divorce, between him and *Katharine* of *Caſtile* his Wife, and his ſecond Marriage with the Lady *Anne Bullen* Marqueſſet of *Pembroke:* And his own words (ſpoken to the Judges, as they were ſet down by his dear Friend, *George Conrinus*, in a ſhort Diſcourſe upon his Death) are, *non me pudet quamobrem a vobis condemnatus ſum* (*videlicet*) *ob id, quod nunquam voluerim aſſentiri in negotium novi matrimonii Regis*, which uttered after Sentence of Condemnation, (when no Evaſion or Subterfuges would avail) muſt proceed ſurely from his Conſcience; and before this, he wrote a Letter to Mr. Secretary *Cromwell*, (which I have ſeen) wherein he proteſted, he was not againſt the King, either for his ſecond Marriage, or for the Churches Supremacy: But wiſheth him good Succeſs in thoſe Affairs, &c. which renders him (well look'd upon) not ſo ſtout a Champion for the Pope, as many of his partial Friends and Romaniſts ſuppoſed; Neither ſo ſound in his Religion; for I have ſeen amongſt the multitude of Writings, concerning the Conference about the Alteration of Religion, and ſuppreſſing of Churches and religious Houſes, that his Connivance and Conſent was in it; nor could he excuſe it, with all his Policy and Wiſdom, neither had the K. ever attempted it, had not the Pope and his Agents oppoſed that ſecond Marriage, an Error and Inſolency *Rome* hath ever ſince repented. But it prov'd a happy blow of Juſtice to this Kingdom, cutting off him and his Authority, which elſe had hazarded the beſt Queen that ever was, the Sacred and eternally honour'd *Elizabeth*, to whoſe growing Glory and Virtue Mr. *Moore* became an early and cruel Adverſary, even before ſhe was *in rerum natura*. To know him further, let me refer you to the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Mr. *John Fox*, in the Reign of *Henry* VIII. who deſcribes him Graphically; for his Hiſtorical Fragment, it ſhews what great Pains he took to item the Faults and ſad Fortunes of King *Richard* III. And how Induſtrious he was to be a Time-obſerver, it being the moſt plauſible Theme his Poetical Strain could fall on in thoſe Times, and could not want Acceptance nor Credit, well-knowing in what Fame he ſtood, and that the weaker Annalyſts and Chroniclers, (of mean Learning and leſs Judgment) would boldly take it upon truſt from his Pen; who *tanquam ignotum & ſervum pecus*, have follow'd him ſtep by ſtep without Conſideration, or juſt Examination of their Occurrents and Conſequents. And the Reputation of him and Dr. *Morton* (being both Lord Chancellors of *England*) might eaſily miſlead men part blind, who have dealt with King *Richard*, as ſome trivial clawing Pamphleters, and Hiſtorical Paraſites, with the magnificent Prelate *Thomas Wolſey* Cardinal and Archbiſhop of *York*, a man of

Conrinus.

In ſcriptis div. Rd. Cotton.

1485. very excellent Ingredients and without Peer in his time; yet his Values had the ſting of much Detraction, and the worth of his many glorious good Works interpreted for Vices and Exceſſes; to ſuch it muſt be ſaid, *quod ab ipſo allatum eſt, id ſibi relatum eſſe patant.* And if their Injuſtice ſuffer under the ſame laſh, they muſt know this doom hath the credit of an Oracle, *quale verbum dixiſti tale etiam audies.*

Terent. Phorm.

Iliad. 20.

But ſo much Gall and Envy is thrown upon King *Richard*'s Story, as cannot poſſibly fall into the Style of an ingenious and charitable Pen; all his Virtue is by a malicious Alchymy ſubſtracted into Crimes, and where they neceſſarily fall into mention, either ſcornfully tranſmitted or perverted, with injurious Conſtructions, not allowing him the Reſemblance of Goodneſs or Merit: If his Diſpoſition be Affable and Curteous, (as generally it was, which their own Relations cannot deny) then he inſinuates and dives into the Peoples Hearts: ſo where he expreſſes the Bounty and Magnificence of his Mind, it is a ſubtle Trick to purchaſe Friendſhip; let him conceal the Knowledge of his Injuries, and his Patience is deep in Hypocriſie; for his Mercy and Clemency extended to the higheſt Offenders, (as to *Fogge* the Atturney, who had made a Libel againſt him, beſides the Counterfeiting of his Hand and Seal) they were but palliated, and his Friendſhip merely a Court Brow. They have yet a more captious and ſubtle Calumny, reproaching the Caſting of his Eyes, Motions of his Fingers, Manner of his Geſture, and his other natural Actions.

The Virtues of King *Richard* maliciouſly cenſured.

I confeſs with *Cicero* that *ſtatus, inceſſus, ſeſſio, accubatio, vultus, oculi, manuum motio,* have a certain kind of Decorum; but he makes it not a Vice to erre in any of them, nor that any Errour committed in them was a Vice; altho' in him it muſt be ſo defined by the Laws of *Utopia*: Nay, they will diſſect his very Sleeps, to find Prodigious Dreams and Bug-bears, (Accidents frequent to themſelves) which they dreſs in all the Fright and Horrour Fiction and the Stage can add, who would have ſung *Peans* to his Glory, had his Sword brought Victory from *Boſworth* Field: But now, their Envy is born with him from his Mother's Womb, and delivers him into the World with a Strange prodigy of Teeth; altho' (I am perſwaded) neither Dr. *Morton*, nor Sir † *Thomas Moore* ever ſpake with the Dutcheſs his Mother, or her Midwife, about the matter.

Cicero de Offic. lib. 1.

But if true; it importeth no reaſon why thoſe early and natalitious Teeth ſhould preſage ſuch Horrour and Guilt to his Birth when we ſhall remember thoſe many Noble and Worthy Men who have had the like, (without any imputation of Crime) as * *Marcus Curius* Sirnam'd thereupon *Dentatus, Cu. Papiene,* King of the *Epirots* (a Prince much renown'd for his Victories and Virtues) *Monodas* Son of *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia,* born with an intire Semicircular Bone in their Mouths, inſtead of Teeth: then they aggravate the Pangs of the Dutcheſs in her Travail with him: which had not been ſufferable without Death, if ſo extream and intolerable, as they would have them thought for,

** Pliny, Livy, Valer. Maximus, Plutarch*

Quod ferri poteſt leve eſt; quod non, breve eſt.
What can be born is light; what cannot, ſhort.

1485. This Dutcheſs of *York* died about the 11th of K. *Hen.* 7. at *Berkhamſted,* and was buried at *Rotheringan,* *John Stow. Seneca.*

But ſhe overcame them and lived almoſt Fifty Years after; others have died in that Bed, yet the Children not made Guilty of Murther; *Julia* the Daughter of *Julias Cæſar,* Wife to great *Pompey, Juliola* the dear Daughter of *Marcus Cicero,* Wife of *Dolabella,* and *Junia Claudilla* the Empreſs, and Wife of *Caligula,* died all of the Difficulties and Extremity of their Child bearing; ſo did Q. *Elizabeth* Wife of King *Henry* VII. and ſince the Mother of that moſt towardly and hopeful Prince *Edward* VI. in travail of his Birth; with many Thouſands more, whoſe Deaths (much leſs their Pains) were never imputed to their Children.

The next Objection is ſomewhat of more regard, (but as far without the certainty of a Proof) which is the pretended Deformity of his Body, controverted by many; ſome peremptorily aſſerted he was not deformed, of which Opinion was *John Stow,* a Man indifferently inquiſitive (as in all their other Affairs) after the verbal Relations and Perſons of Princes, and curious in his Deſcription of their Features and Lineaments, who in all his Inquiry could find no ſuch Note of Deformity in this King: but hath acknowledged *vivâ voce,* that he had ſpoken with ſome ancient Men, who from their own Sight and Knowledge affirmed he was of bodily Shape comely enough, only of low Stature, which is all the Deformity they proportion ſo monſtrouſly; neither did *John Rouce* who knew him, and writ much in his Deſcription obſerve any other: And *Archienbald Quhitlaw,* Ambaſſador unto this King from *Scotland,* in his Oration ſays, he had *corpus exiguum*; not otherwiſe; ſo (to my conceit) *Philip de Comines* and the Prior *de Croyland* (who had ſeen and known this Prince) ſeem to clear him implicatively; for in all their Diſcourſes of him, they never directly nor indirectly, covertly or appertly, inſinuate this Deformity which (I ſuppoſe) they would not have paſſed: And by his ſundry Pictures which I have ſeen, there was no ſuch Diſproportion in his Perſon or Lineaments, but all decently compacted to his Stature, his Face of a warlike Aſpect, (which Sir *Tho. Moore* calleth a crabled Viſae) of all the Children being ſaid to be moſt like his Father in favour and compoſition of Shape, who tho' not tall was of an even and well-diſpoſed Structure.

K. Richard not deform'd.

Rot. in an. 2 R. 2.

And Sir *Thomas More* himſelf, doth not certainly affirm the Deformity, but rather ſeems to take it as a Malitious Report; for, ſaith he, King *Richard* was deformed as the Fame ran by thoſe that hated him; *habemus reum confitentem,* and ſurely it had been a ſtrange kind of Confidence and Reaſon in Dr. *Shaw,* || to diſclaim a thing which muſt be ſo palpable, openly in the

Sir *Thomas Moore* and Hall. Dr. *Shaw.*

† *Sir* Thomas Moore *deſcribes him thus:* He was little of Stature, ill featur'd of Limbs, Crook-back'd, his Left Shoulder much higher than his Right, hard favour'd of Viſage, the Dutcheſs, his Mother, had ſo much ado in her Travel, that ſhe cou'd not be Deliver'd of him uncut; he came into the World with his Feet forward, and not Untooth'd.

Holinſhead's *Deſcription of him is much the ſame:* He was ſmall and little of Stature of Body greatly deform'd, the one Shoulder higher than the other; His Face was ſmall but his Countenance Cruel, and ſuch as at the firſt aſpect a Man wou'd judge it to ſavour and ſmell of Malice, Fraud and Deceit.

|| Mr. *Buck* cannot avoid erring; there is no mention even in Dr. *Shaw*'s Speech of King *Richard*'s being like his Father in the Body, 'tis ſaid in the Face only. His Words were "The very Noble Prince, the Special Pattern of "Knightly Proweſs, as well in all Princely Behaviour as in the Lineaments and Favour of his Viſage, repreſenting the "very Face of the Noble Duke of *York,* his Father. *Hol.* p. 728. Sir *Thomas Moore* writes, That the People inſtead of Applauding this Harangue, ſtood amaz'd at the Preacher, who for mere Shame hid himſelf, and not long after pin'd away to Death. *Hiſt. of* Edw. *V. and* Rich. *III.*

Pulpit

1485. Pulpit at St. *Paul's Croſs*, whilſt the Protector was preſent, before many Hundreds of People, (who had ſeen and known him before) and might then better view and note him; In theſe words, 'The Lord Protector is a very noble Prince, the 'ſpecial Pattern of Knightly Proweſs, as well in 'all Princely Behaviour as in the Lineaments of 'his Body and in the Favour of his Viſage, re-'preſenting the very Face of the Noble Duke 'his Father; this is the Father's own Figure, this 'is his own Countenance, the very ſure and un-'doubted Image and expreſs Likeneſs of that 'Noble Duke.

Socrates, Æſopus, Epictetus, Galba a great and encellent Captain of the *Romans*, allof deformed Stature.

Now, what can Malice extract out of this, to upbraid or ſtigmatize his Honour; if Men of blemiſh'd Perſons may contain a Wiſe, Valiant, Learned, Liberal and Religious Soul, and be in every Part moſt abſolute, exampled to us in many famous Men, and at our Home (as well in this preſent Age as in the more ancient) we have had Men of a harſh Fabrick, moſt nobly furniſht in the Compoſures of their Minds.

But becauſe theſe Cavils could not fetch Blood from him, they will make him guilty of other Men, and firſt of King *Henry* VI. whoſe Murther they ſay (and very favourably) his Brother *Edward* contrived, but wrought him to act it; an Accuſation of very harſh Credit, that either King *Edward*, ſo truly noble and valiant a Prince, ſhould put a Prince and his own Brother, upon ſo horrid a Thing, or he indure to hear it. Sir *Thomas More* holds King *Edward* would not engage his Brother in ſo butcherly an Office, there being many Reaſons that he durſt not, neither do his Adverſaries charge him directly by any credible Author of that Time, † or diſcover by whom this Murther was; only the Prior of *Croyland* maketh it ſomewhat ſuſpicious.

Chron. Croyland. *Hoc tempore inventum eſt corpus regis* Henrici *ſexti exanime in turre* Londinarium. *Parcat Deus, & ſpatium pœnitentiæ ei donet quicunque ſacrilegas manus in Chriſtum Domini auſus immittere, unde & agens tyranni & patiens glorioſi martyris titulum mereantur.*

That is, "At this Time the Body of King "*Henry* VI. was found Dead in the Tower of "*London*. May God ſpare, and give time of "Repentance to him, who hath dared to lay "Sacriligious Hands upon the Lord's Anointed, "whence the Actor hath merited the Title of "a Tyrant, as the Sufferer that of a Glorious "Martyr.

Tyrannus in the proper Conſtruction, being *Rex*, for whoſoever is *Rex* is *Tyrannus*, according to the ancient Signification; for amongſt the Greeks Τύραννος was uſed for a King ſimply, good or bad, and this (ſome hold) makes againſt King *Edward*; *Richard* being Duke of *Glouceſter* then, yet ſo doubtfully as may be refelled by good Authority; for it is the Opinion of very grave Men, *Henry* VI. was not murther'd, but died of natural Sickneſs, and extream Infirmity of Body.

Idem Croyland. *Rex Henricus ſextus, ab annis jam multis ex accidente ſibi ægritudine quandam animi incurreret infirmitatem, & ſic æger corpore & impos mentis permanſit diutius*; i. e. "King *Henry* VI. for many Years, by reaſon of a Sickneſs which had "befaln him, had contracted a certain Weak-"neſs of Mind, and ſo remain'd for a long time "both diſeaſed in Body and diſtempered in "Mind. This conſider'd with the Aggravation of his Grief and Sorrow, || in the loſs of his Crown and Liberty (being then a Priſoner) the Overthrow of all his Friends and Forces in the Battel of *Tewksbury*, but (above all) the Death of his Son the Prince, might maſter a ſtronger Heart and Conſtitution than his, in a ſhorter time; which Opinion is receiv'd and alledged by a learned and diſcreet Gentleman. 1485.

Anonymus. M. S. The occaſion of the Murther of King *Henry* VI. hath no other Proof but the malitious Affirmation of one Man; for many other Men more truly did ſuppoſe that he died of mere Grief and Melancholy, when he heard the Overthrow of his Cauſe and Friends, with the Slaughter of the Prince his Son: And *Johannes Majerus* ſaith it was reported, King *Henry* VI. died of Grief and Thought. Concerning the Slaughter of the Prince his only Son, it is noted to be caſual, and made ſudden by his own Inſolence, not out of any pretended Malice or premeditated Treachery, and ſo it cannot be called Wilful Murther; for the King demanding him why he invaded his Kingdom, his Reply was, he might, and ought to do it, in defence and preſervation of the Right, which the King his Father and his Heirs had in the Crown; and main-tain'd this lofty Anſwer ſo peremptorily and boldly, the King in rage ſtruck him with his Fiſt, (as ſome ſay armed with a Gantlet) and inſtantly the Noblemen attending, as *George* Duke of *Clarence*, Marqueſs *Dorſet*, the Lord *Haſtings* and others, drew their Swords upon the Prince and killed him; which they would make the particular fact of Duke *Richard*.

Rex H. 6. in cuſtodia ut alii referunt gladio, & alii mœrore periit, Ioan. Majerus, Annal. Flandr. lib. 17. The Slaughter of the Pr. Son of H. 6.

Polidor. Virgil. lib. 24.

Chron. in quarto M. S. apud Dom. Regis. Rob. Cotton. But to the contrary, I have ſeen in a faithful Manuſcript Chronicle of thoſe times, † That the Duke of *Glouceſter* only of all the great Perſons, ſtood ſtill and drew not his Sword; the Reaſons to credit this are, firſt it might be in his mere Senſe of Honour, ſeeing ſo many drawn upon him, there was no need of his, or in his reſpects to the Prince's Wife, who (as *Johannes Majerus* ſaith) was in the Room and near a-kin to the Dutcheſs of *York* his Mother, and to whom the Duke was alſo very Affectionate, (tho' ſecretly) which he ſoon after demonſtrated in marrying her; nay, this Duke bore ſuch a Senſe of noble Actions in his Boſom, that miſliking the obſcure and mean Burial of *Henry* VI. this Prince's Father, he caus'd his Corps to be taken from *Chertſey*, and to be honourably convey'd to the Royal and Stately Chappel of *Windſor*, ordain'd for Kings.

Anna, uxor Ed filii Reg. H. 6. capta eſt cum marito Joan Majerus in Annal Fland. l. 17.

Richard not guilty of the D. of *Clarence.* And Sir *Thomas Moore* ſaith further, He was ſuſpected to have the contriving Part in the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother's Death, yet confeſſeth it was commonly ſaid *Richard* oppoſed himſelf againſt the Unnatural Proceedings of the King, both privately and publickly; and the truth is, it was the King's own immoveable and inexplorable Doom who thought it juſtly and neceſſarily his due; for *Clarence* ſtood Guilty of many Treaſons and great ones, and by

† *Edward Hall* writes, "*Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter* as the conſtant Fame ran, (to the intent that his Brother King "*Edward* might reign with more Surety) murder'd King *Henry* with a Dagger.
Sir *Thomas Moore*, "He ſlew with his own Hand King *Henry* VI. being Priſoner in the *Tower*, as was conſtantly ſaid, "without Commandment or Knowledge of the King. *Ibid.*
The Lord *Bacon*, ſpeaking of the Ignominy offer'd his Corps at *Leiceſter*, "No Man thought it unworthy Him who "had been the Executioner of King *Hen.* VI. that Innocent Prince with his own Hand. *Reign of* Hen. *VII.*
|| This, ſays *Hollinſhead*, is recorded by ſome Perſons altogether favouring the Houſe of *York*.
† *Edward Hall* affirms he was murder'd by *George* Duke of *Clarence*, *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter*, &c.
* The Lord *Bacon* ſays, He was the Contriver of the Death of the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother.

1485. his Ingratitude had ſo forfeited himſelf to the King's Diſpleaſure, that no Friend durſt move in his Behalf; this the King did afterward acknowledge with ſome Diſcontent, when his Wrath had cooled, as we may gueſs in this Expreſſion of his: *O infælicem fratrem, pro cujus ſalute nemo homo rogavit*; yet *Polidor Virgil* doth not rightly underſtand here as I conjecture by the Sequel; but let us interpret that a little, and take up another Accuſation which puts into the way.

Polidor Virgil.

That *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter* ſhould ſcandal the Birth of the King his Brother with Baſtardy, and alledge it for a ſpecial Matter in Dr. *Shaw*'s Sermon, that he ſhould fame King *Edward* IV. a Baſtard, and that the Dutcheſs, his Mother had wanton familiarity with a certain Gentleman; this he might erroneouſly ſcatter in the Pulpit, and take it upon the like Intelligence, by which (in the ſame Sermon) he call'd her (to whom King *Edward* was betrothed before his Marriage with the Lady *Grey*) *Elizabeth Lucy*, whoſe Name was for a certain *Ellenor Butler* alias *Talbot*, ſo call'd by King *Richard*, and written in the Records.

Errour of Dr. *Shaw.*

That the Duke of *Glouceſter* raiſed not the ſlander againſt the Dutcheſs his Mother, nor of his Brother's Baſtardy.

This Drift had been too groſs for King *Richard*, to lay an Imputation of Whoredom upon his own Mother, (a Virtuous and Honourable Lady) being it caſt alſo a Shame and Baſtardy upon himſelf; for if ſhe offended in one, ſhe might as likely offend in another, and in the reſt.

And to quit him of it, Sir *Thomas Moore*, *Richard Grafton*, Mr. *Hall*, ſay that King *Richard* was much diſpleaſed with the Doctor, when he heard the Relation, which the Duke of *Buckingham* alſo affirmed in his Speech to the Lord Mayor of *London*. That Dr. *Shaw* had incurr'd the great diſpleaſure of the Protector for ſpeaking ſo diſhonourably of the Dutcheſs his Mother.

That he was able of his own knowledge to ſay, he had done wrong to the Protector therein, who was ever known to bear a reverend and filial Love unto her: and to cut off all farther Doubt and Queſtion, it was proved and is teſtified upon Records that *George* Duke of *Clarence* only rais'd this Slander in an extreme Hatred to the King his Brother; (many Jarrs falling between them) by which the King had a juſt cauſe to take notice of his Malice.

Viſus eſt dux Clarentiæ magis, ac magis a regis præſentia ſe ſubtrahere, in conſilio vix verbum proferre, neque libenter bibere aut manducare in domo Regis. i. e. "The Duke of *Clarence* was obſerved more and more to withdraw himſelf from the Preſence and Converſation of the King, to keep Silence in the Council, ſcarcely uttering one Word, and willingly neither to Eat nor Drink in the King's Houſe.

When *Richard* even in that calamitous Time *Henry* VI. had overthrown King *Edward* in a Battle,* recover'd the Kingdom, and proclaim'd *Edward* an Uſurper; ſo faithful was his Brother, that (*a*) he was proclaim'd Traitor for him; and (*b*) when Queen *Margaret* beſieg'd the City of *Glouceſter* with the King's Power, the Citizens ſtood at defiance with her Army, and told her it was the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Town, who was with the King, and for the King, and for him they would hold it; his Loyalty bearing a moſt conſtant expreſſion in this Motto (*c*) *Loualto me lie*; which I have ſeen written by his own Hand and Subſcribed, *Richard* Glouceſter. The other was as conſtantly undermining of him, after confederated with the Earl of *Warwick* his Father Allie, who had turn'd Faith from the King, and went into *France*, ſolliciting for Force againſt *England*; which they brought in, fought with the King and overthrew him, and ſo fiercely purſuing the Victory, that the King was forc'd to fly out of the Land: *Clarence* not ſo ſatisfied, (unleſs he might utterly ſupplant him) ſtudied that Slander of Baſtardy, to bring in himſelf an Heir to the Crown, which was proved and given in expreſs Evidence againſt him, at his Trial and Attainder by Parliament, amongſt ſundry other Articles of High Treaſon. 1485.

Videlicet, That the ſaid Duke of *Clarence* had falſly and untruly Publiſh'd King *Edward* a Baſtard and not Legitimate to reign, that himſelf therefore was true Heir of the Kingdom, the Royalty and Crown belonging unto him, and to his Heirs; theſe be the very words of the Record, and enough to tell us who was the Author of that Slander, and what important Cauſe the King had to quit himſelf of *Clarence*; a bitter Proof of the old Proverb, *fratrum inter ſe iræ acerbiſſimæ ſunt*; and all the Favour *Clarence* could at his end obtain, was to chooſe it, (as *John de Serres* reporteth it) ſo that it was not the Duke of *Glouceſter*, but the King's implacable Diſpleaſure for his Malice and Treaſons that cut him off, who could not think himſelf ſecure whilſt he liv'd: Witneſs *Polidor Virgil*, *Edvardus Rex poſt mortem fratris ſe a cunctis timeri animadvertit, & ipſe jam timebat neminem.* That is, "King *Edward* the Fourth after his "Brother's Death, perceiv'd that he was feared "by all, and himſelf now feared no Man.

In Parliament, *An.* 17 *Ed.* 4. *Ju. Stow, addit & legit.*

Eraſmus Chiliad.

Joan. de Serres Invent.

Next, for the Murther of the two Sons of King *Edward* IV. *Edward* V. King in hope, and *Richard* of *Shrewsbury* Duke of *York* and *Norfolk* his younger Brother, they alledge it in this manner.

Who made away the Sons of K *Edw.* the Fourth.

That King *Richard*, being deſirous to rid thoſe two Princes his Nephews out of the World; imploy'd his truſty Servant *John Green* to Sir *Robert Brackenbury* Lieutenant-Conſtable of the *Tower*, about the executing of this Murther; and by reaſon that Plot took no effect, (Sir *Robert* not liking it) the Protector ſuborn'd Four deſperate Villains, *John Dighton*, *Miles Forreſt*, *James Tyrrell*, and *William Slater* to undertake it, who, (as they further alledge) ſmother'd them in their Beds; which done, they made a deep Hole in the Ground, at the foot of the Stairs of their Lodging, and there buried them, hiding the place under an heap of Stones (not after the ancient manner of *tumulus teſtis*). Others vary from this, and ſay confidently, the Young Princes were Imbarked in a Ship at *Tower*-Wharfe, and convey'd from thence to Sea, ſo caſt into the Black Deeps; others aver they were not Drown'd, but ſet ſafe on Shore beyond Seas. And thus their Stories and Relations are ſcatter'd in various Forms, their Accuſations differing in very many and material Points, which ſhakes the Credit of their Suggeſtion, and makes it both fabulous and uncertain, one giving the Lye to the other, their Malice having too much Tongue for their Memories, and is worth the noting how oppoſite (and as it were) *ex Diametro* repugnant they are.

In vulgus fama valuit filios Edwardi *Regis aliquò terrarum partem migraſſe, atq; ita ſuperſtites eſſe.* *Polidor Virgil, l.* 2. 6.

Thus *Polidor*, with which Dr. *Morton* and Sir *Thomas Moore* agree in one place: The Man (ſay they) commonly called *Perkin Warbeck* was as well with the Princes as with the People, *Engliſh* and Foreign, held to be the younger Son of *Edward* IV. and that the Deaths of the young King *Edward* and of *Richard* his Brother, had come

Dr. *Morton*, Sir *Tho. Moore.*

* *Anno* 10. *Edward* 4.

(*a*) *Lib. M. S. in quarto. apud Dom. Rob. Cotton.*

(*b*) Chronicle, *Croyland.*

(*c*) Loyalty bindeth Me. father Allie. *Quod vulgo & corrupte* Father in Law *dicitur.*

1485. come so far in question as some are yet in doubt whether they were destroy'd or no, in the days of King *Richard*; By which it appears they were thought to be living after his Death. And as the act of their Death is thus uncertainly disputed, so in the manner of it controverted.

For Sir *Thomas Moore* affirmeth (as before reported) they were smother'd in their Beds with Pillows; but *Pollidor* saith peremptorily it was never known of what kind of Death they dy'd.

Another Author, and more Ancient, agreeth with them.

Prior Croyland. *Vulgatum est Regis* Edwardi *pueros concessisse in fata, sed quo genere interitus ignoratur*; one reason of this may be that they who held *Perkin Warbeck* and *Richard* Duke of *York* to be all one, give another Account of his Death, whereas if it had been certain these four before named for *Assassines* had murder'd them, than the Place, Time and Manner had been easily known upon their strict Examination, they living freely and securely, (and without question) long after this Murder was said to be done. * Therefore there can be no Excuse for this Neglect of Examination, much less for the suffering such to go unpunish'd and at liberty, which methinks maketh much for the clearing of King *Richard*. 1485.

As for the burying of their Bodies in the *Tower* †, if that be brought in Question, *certes*, the Affirmative will be much more hard to prove than the Negative.

* Sir *James Tyrrell* when he had murder'd the two Young Princes, rode in great hast to King *Richard*, and shew'd him all the manner of the Murther. The King gave him great Thanks, and as some say, Knighted him. *Sir* Tho. More's *Hist.* Edw. *V. and* Rich *III.*

The Lord *Bacon* affirms of King *Richard*, " He was the Murderer of his two Nephews (One of them his Lawful King " in the Present, and the Other in the Future failing of him) *Hen.* VII.

Habington in his History of *Edward* IV. p. 229. writes, " His two Sons were Inhumanely murder'd, and as ob- " scurely Buried.

† The Truth of this Burial of the Princes is now past Dispute; since the Bones of them have of late Years been found. For when, in the time of *Chichester* Master of the Ordinance, great heaps of Records of Bills and Answers lying in the Six Clarks Office were removed thence, to be reposited in the White Tower, and a new Pair of Stairs were making into the Chappel there, for the easier Conveyance of them thither, the Labourers in digging at the foot of the old Stairs came to the Bones of consumed Corps, cover'd with an heap of Stones; the Proportion of the Bones being answerable to the Ages of these two Royal Youths. The News of this Discovery, being brought to K *Charles* II. he was so well satisfy'd that these must be those Princes Bones, that he caused them to be translated, and decently and honourably interred in *Henry* the Seventh's Chappel among their Royal Ancestors, the Kings and Princes of this Land. And this Discovery that Time hath made, makes it very probable, that the bloody Part of this commonly received History is true They are reposited near two other Royal Children, *Mary* and *Sophia* the Daughters of King *James* I. And the Monument for them made of white Marble hath this Inscription in Capital Letters, *Viz.*

H. S. S.

" *RELIQUIÆ EDWARDI* Vtii. *Regis Angliæ, & RICHARDI Ducis Eboracensis.*
" *Hos fratres germanos turre Londinensi conclusos, injectisq; Culcitris suffocatos, abdità & inhonestè*
" *tumulari jussit Patruus RICHARDUS perfidus Regni prædo. Ossa desideratorum diu &*
" *multum quæsita, post annos* CXC & I. *Scalarum in ruderibus, (Scalæ istæ ad Sacellum Turris*
" *Albæ nuper ducebant) altè defossa, indiciis certissimis sunt reperta* XVII *die* Julii, *Anno*
" *Dom.* MDCLXXIIII. *CAROLUS* II. *Rex Clementiss. acerbam sortem miseratus inter*
" *avita Monumenta Principibus infelicissimis Justa persolvit, Anno Dom.* MDCLXXVIII.
" *Annoq; Regni sui* XXX. *J. S.*

And it adds a great Suspicion to K. *Richard*'s Guilt of these Princes Bloods, that after the Queen Dowager had delivered her Son Duke *Richard* out of her own Custody, she still kept the Sanctuary in the Abby with her Daughters; and that for many Months after his Usurpation of the Crown. For there she was in the Month of *March*, which was Eight Months after, and could not as yet be perswaded to leave the Place. Which must needs be out of the Fear and Dread she had of K. *Richard*, and of some further Mischief to befall her and the rest of her Family. He in the mean time, thinking her Abiding here, might continue odious Reflections upon him from the People, laboured all he could to remove her thence. Insomuch that for her better Confidence and Satisfaction, I find in an Original Journal wherein the Transactions of his Reign are entred, that he solemnly Swore upon the Gospels, before an Assembly of Lord's Spiritual and Temporal (as it seems in Parliament time) the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London* present, That if she would come from Sanctuary, she should be provided for by an Honourable Allowance; and that her Daughters should have no harm done to their Persons, nor be put into the *Tower*, but that he would marry them to Gentlemen. And further he caused all this to be drawn up in a Form *in perpetuam rei Memoriam*: Which was to this Tenor:

" *Memorandum*, That I *Richard* by the Grace of God, King of *England* and of *Fraunce*, and Lord of *Ireland*, in the " presence of you my Lordes Spirituell and Temporell, and the Maior and Aldermen of my Cite of *London*, promitte " and swere *verbo Regis*, upon these holy Evangelies of God by me per onelly touched, that if the Doughters of Dame " *Elizabeth Gray*, late calling her self Quene of *England*, that is to wit, *Elizabeth*, *Cecill*, *Anne*, *Katerin*, and *Briggit*, " woll come unto me out of the Sanctwarie of *Westminster*, and be guyded, ruled and demeaned ster me; than I " shal see that they shal be in Suretie of their Lyffes; and also not suffre any maner hurt by any maner persone or " persones to them or any of them, in their Bodies and Persones to be done, by wey of Ravishment or defouling, " contrarie to their Willes, Nor them, or any of them, emprisone within the Toure of *London*, or other prisonne; " but that I shal put them in honest places of good name and fame, and them honestly and curtesly shal see to be " founden and entreated; and to have al thynges requisite and necessary for their exhibicion, and findinges, as my " Kynneswomen: and that I shal do marie suche of them as now ben mariable to Gentilmen borne, and everiche " of them geve in mariage, Landes and Tenements, to the yerely valewe of CC Mark for terme of their Lyves; " and in likewise to the other doughters, when they come to lawful age of Mariage, if they lyff. And suche Gen- " tilmen as shal happen to marie with them, I shal straitly charge from tyme to tyme lovyngly to love and entreate " them as their Wiffes and my Kynneswomen, as they woll advoid and eschue my displeasur. And over this, that I " shal yerely from hensfurth content and pay, or cause to be contented and paied, for the Exhibicion and finding " of the same Dame *Elizabeth Gray*, during her natural liff, at four termes of the Yere, that is to wit, at Pasche, Mid- " somer, Mickilmesse, and Christenmesse, to *John Nesfelde*, one of the Squieres for my body, for his finding to attend " upon her, the Summe of DCC Mark of Lawful Money of *England*, by even porcions.

" And moreover I promitte to them, that if any surmyse or evyl report be made to me of them, or any of them, " by any persone or persones, that than I shal not geve thereunto faith ne credence, nor therefore put them to any " maner ponishment, before that they, or any of them so accused may be at their lawful Defence and answer. In " witnesse whereof to this Writing of my Othe and Promise aforesaid, in their said Presences made, I have set my " Signe Manuel, the first Day of *March* the first Yere of my Reigne.

It may also be taken notice of what extraordinary Gratifications the King granted to *Tyrril*, that common History reporteth to be the great Deviser, Procurer and Manager of this bloody Business, and to *Brackenbury* the Lieutenant of the Tower that was to conceal it. To this later were given the Manors of *Mote Merden*, *Detling* and *Newenton*, of *Crawthorne*, and *Cokered*, and other Lands in *Romney Mersh*; all the Lands and Tenements in the County of *Kent*, and elsewhere, lately belonging to the Earl *Rivers*, the *Cheneis*, and *Walter Roberts*, of the value of 117 *l.* 11 *s.* 4 *d.* And also the Manor of *Mawdelyn* near *Berkhamsted* in *Bucks*; And the Manor of *Glossenbury*, value 22 *l.* 5 *s.* 3 *d.* The

King

1485. King appointed him alſo Receiver, for his Truth, Sadneſs and Diſcretion (as the Letters ran) of the King's Iſſues, Profits and Revenues of his Lordſhips of *Middleton* and *Merdon* in *Kent*. He had alſo, with the Conſtableſhip of the *Tower*, the Office of Maſter and Operator of the Monies, and Keeper of the Exchange within the *Tower* during his Life. He had alſo the Keeping of the Lions, with the Fees. 1485.

Sir *James Tyrril* who was Knight of the King's Body, had the Office of Steward of the Lordſhips of *Lanenbeerry Lanthaſant*, *Newport*, *Wenloke*, and *Kevaeth Meridith* in *Wales*, and the Marches, for the term of Life; with the Wages, Fees, *&c.* accuſtomed, and to make Officers under him: He was alſo Chief Governor of *Glamorganſhire*. He had alſo granted him (with one *Richard Gold*) the Ward and Marriage of *Rob. Arundel Tryryſe*, Son and Heir of *John Arundel Tryryſe*, Eſq; with the Keeping of the Lands, Tenements and Manors, *&c.* during his Minority. He appointed him the Rule and guiding of the Caſtle of *Guiſnes*: to have and occupy the ſaid Charge during Pleaſure, and in the Abſence of the L. *Mountjoy* Lieutenant there. And a Commiſſion was made to the Lieutenant, Coroner, Knights, Eſquires and other Officers of the Shires of *Glamorgan* and *Morgannok*; to accept the ſame Sir *James* as their Governor and Leader, as he had been heretofore, notwithſtanding the King ſent him to *Guiſnes*: and they to be ready with Horſes and Harneſs and Money, for Men to attend upon his Deputies, to do the King's Service, when they ſhould be called. This was dated in *January*, *Anno* 2do. The King alſo ſent him to *Flanders* for divers Matters concerning greatly the King's Weal. As the King thus gratified him with Gifts, and honoured him with Places and Offices of Truſt, ſo he kept him as much at a diſtance as he could. He put him in great Truſt in *Wales* againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Diſturbances there. *Richard Vivors* Eſq; the *Chamberlain* of *Carmarthen*, had order to content him Wages for Sevenſcore Soldiers, being of Sir *James*'s Retinue; that is, to each after the Rate of 6*d.* a Day: And to pay him 100 Mark Sterling, which he ſpent in the King's Service at his late being in thoſe Parts by the King's Commandment. And laſtly, I find him one of the Commiſſioners, with the Earl of *Huntington*, *Morgan*, *Kidwelly*, and others, to enter into all the Caſtles of the Principality of *Wales*, Earldom of *March*, and Dukedom of *Buckingham*, and other Traitors, in North and South *Wales*, and the Marches, and to ſeize all the ſaid Traitors Goods and Caſtles. And a certain Livelihood in the Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwall*, being in Travers and Controverſy, between Sir *James Tyrril* and Sir *Tho. Arundel*; who being now a Traitor, the King ſends to Sir *Piers S. Albyne*, committing unto him full Power and Authority to ſeize and enter upon the ſaid Livelihood and Appurtinences, to the uſe and behalf of the ſaid Sir *James* his full truſty Knight.

John Gerne, one of the Yeomen of the King's Chamber, commonly ſaid to be the King's Meſſenger to *Tyrril*, to recommend this black Work to him, was made Receiver of the Lordſhip of the Iſle of *Wight*, and of the Caſtle and Lordſhip of *Portcheſtre*.

John Dighton, *Tyrril*'s Horſe-Keeper, that is ſaid actually to aſſiſt at the Smothering of the Princes, had, by the King's Gift, the Bailifſhip of *Aſton* in the County of *Stafford*, with the Wages accuſtomed, during his Life.

Further, it is a Circumſtance that Makes this King look like an Uſurper, and one that comes wrongfully to the Crown, that he was jealous of the Affection and Obedience of the People. Which appears in his altering the common Form of the Oath of Fealty: and in the room thereof requiring the Oath to be taken in theſe Words, *Viz.*

" I *A* become true and faithful Liegeman unto my Soverein Lord *Richard* the Third by the Grace of God King " of *England*, &c. and to his Heirs Kings of *England*, and to him and them my feith and trouth ſhal bere during my liff " natural; and with him and in his cauſe and quarrel, at al times ſhal take his part, and be redy to leve and dy ayenſt " al earthly creatures; and utterly endevour me to the reſiſtance and ſurpreſſing of his Enemies, Rebels and Traitors, " if I ſhal any know, to the uttermoſt of my Power, and nothing concele that in any wiſe may be hurting to his noble " and royal Perſone. So God me help and theſe holy Evangelies. I S.

For true it is, there was much diligent Search made for their Bodies in the *Tower*: All places open'd and digg'd that was ſuppos'd, but not found. Then it was given out a certain Prieſt took up their Bodies and buried them in another Secret place not to be found; hereunto (but with better Decorum for the more Credit of this Aſſertion) they might have added it was done *ſub ſigillo confeſſionis*, which may not be revealed.

Stowe, Hollingſhed, Grafton Hall, Stow.

Sir *Thomas More*, ſeeing the Abſurdities and Contrarieties of theſe Opinions, (as a Man puzzled and diſtracted with the Variety and Uncertainty thereof) concluded their Bodies were beſtow'd God wot where, and that it could never come to light what became of them; † *Hall* and *Hollinſhed*, *Grafton* and the reſt, confeſs, the very Truth hereof was never known: And (if there be a ſtrict Inquiry into the Myſtery) we ſhall diſcover, that they were neither buried in the *Tower* nor ſwallow'd in the Sea; for the Teſtimony and Relation of ſundry grave and diſcreet Perſons (and ſuch as knew the Young Duke of *York*) will reſolve us how he was preſerved and ſecretly convey'd into a foreign Country; alſo alive many Years after the Time of this Imaginary Murder; to which may be added ſtrong Authorities having laid down ſome Conjectures that may Anſwer the Inquiry after the other. And firſt, whereas it is ſaid the Lord Protector before his Coronation procur'd this Murder; to refel and contradict that, there be certain Proofs, that the Princes were both living in the Month of *February* following the Death of their Father, which was ten Months after; for King *Edward* died in *April* before, and this is plain in the Records of the Parliament of *Anno* 1 *Rich.* 3. where there is mention made of this Prince, as then living; and Sir *Thomas More* confeſſeth that they were living long after that time before ſaid; But I conjectrre *Edward* the eldeſt Brother liv'd not long after, but died of Sickneſs and Imfirmity, being of a weak and ſickly Diſpoſition, as alſo was his Brother, which the Queen their Mother intimated in her Speech to the Cardinal *Bourchier*; and the weak Conſtitutions and ſhort Lives of their Siſters may be a natural Proof to infer it probable enough this Prince died in the *Tower*, which ſome Men of theſe Times are the rather brought to think, certain Bones like to the Bones of a Child being found lately in a high deſolate Turret, ſuppoſed to be the Bones of one of theſe Princes; Others are of Opinion it was the Carcaſs of an Ape kept in the *Tower*, that in his his old Age had happen'd into that place to die in, and having clamber'd up thither, according to the light and idle manner of thoſe wanton Animals, after when he would have gone down, ſeeing the Way to be ſteep and the Precipice ſo terrible, durſt not adventure to deſcend, but for fear ſtay'd and ſtarv'd himſelf; and although he might be ſoon miſs'd and long ſought for, yet was not eaſily to be found; that Turret being reckon'd a vaſt and damn'd place for the height and hard acceſs, no body in many Years looking into it.

But it is no great Conſequence to our purpoſe, whether it were the Carcaſs of a Child or of an Ape, or whether this young Prince died in the *Tower* or no; for whereſoever he died, why ſhould it not be as probable he died of a natural Sickneſs and Infirmity, as for his young Couſin-german the Son and Heir of King *Richard*? many Reaſons conducing why the qualities and kind of their Death might be the ſame, and near one Time, being even Parallels

† *Philip de Commines* in his 6th Book ſays, *Il avoit fait Mourir lui deux fils du Roi Edouard Son frere.* He caus'd the two Sons of King *Edward*, his Brother to be murder'd.

almoſt

1485. almoſt, and in their Humane Conſtitutions and Corporal Habitude ſympathizing, of one Linage and Family, of one Blood and Age, of the ſame Quality and Fortune; therefore not unlikely of the ſame Studies, Affections, Paſſions, Diſtemperatures, ſo conſequently ſubject to the ſame Infirmities, to which may be added equal and common Conſtellations, the ſame compatient and commorient Fates and Times, and then there is Reaſon and Natural Cauſe they might both Die of like Diſeaſes and Infirmity, and were not Βιαθάνατοι, taken away by Violence Secret, or Overt: For it may with as much Argument be ſuſpected the Son of King *Richard*, (being in the like Danger of ſecret Violence for the ſame Cauſe as his Couſin was) might ſuffer ſo.

But to open the Circumſtance a little nearer; What Danger could the Lives of thoſe two Princes be to *Richard*? who was accepted King by a juſt Title, and his Nephews declared Illegitimate by the High Court of Parliament, and whilſt they were reputed ſuch by ſo Great and General a Concluſion, why ſhould he be leſs Secure of them, than *Henry* II. was of *Robert* E. of *Glouceſter*, baſe Son to *Henry* I? or *Richard* I. of his baſe Brother *Geoffrey Plantagenet*? So although, *John* of *Gaunt* left baſe Sons, aſpiring enough, yet they were of no Danger to the *Lancaſtrian* Kings; neither did *Henry* VII. or *Henry* VIII. ſtand in any Jealouſie of *Arthur Plantagenet*: And ſurely *Richard* III. was as Valiant, Wiſe and Confident as any of his Predeceſſors, and had as little Cauſe to dread his Nephews, as they ſtood adjudged, or be more Cruel and Bloody; neither hath my Reading found any Baſtards of *France* or *Spain*, who have aſpired ſo publickly, only except Don *Eurique* E. of *Traſtamara*, who was drawn into that Action by the violent Rages of the People, and by the Perſwaſions of the revolted States of *Caſtile*, to put down a Monſter of Sovereignty the hateful and cruel Tyrant *Don Pedro*. But being Sir *Thomas Moore* and our beſt Chroniclers make it doubtful, whether theſe two Princes were ſo loſt in King *Richard*'s Time, or no, and infer that one of them was thought to be living many Years after his Death, that might be enough to acquit him; which Opinion I like the better, becauſe it mentioneth the Survivance but of one of them.

Neither do our moſt credible Stories mention the Tranſportation of more than one into *Flanders*, nor had they reaſon; it will be ſufficient if one of them ſurvived him, more or leſs time: We will follow therefore the Examination of his Story, under the Opinion of thoſe Times, and the Atteſtation of grave and credible Men, becauſe it will be more conſpicuous in the true and ſimple Narration of this one Brother; every Story being fraught with Reports concerning him, and few or none of his Brother, finding no mention of the Elder Brother's being in *Flanders*; but of the Younger's much, and of his other Adventures: The Prudent and Honorable Care of ſending away his younger Brother, by ſome is aſcribed to Sir *Robert Brakenbury*, by others to the Queen his Mother, and it may well be the Projection of them both, tho' no doubt there was the Advice and Aſſent of other well-affected Friends. And it is the more credible, the Queen wrought in it; for the Story of Sir *Thomas Moore* ſaith, ſhe was before ſuſpected to have had ſuch a Purpoſe, which was objected to her by ſome of the Lords; and the Cardinal *Bourchier* told her the main Reaſon which made the Protector and Nobles ſo urging to have him ſent to his Brother (being then in the Tower) was a Suſpicion and Fear they had ſhe would convey him forth of the Realm. 1485.

So then, it may be clearly ſuppos'd he was ſent into a foreign Country, and that *Flanders* (as all our Stories teſtify), there commended to a liberal Education, under the Curature of a worthy Gentleman in *Warbeck*, a Town in *Flanders*, but kept very privately all the Life-time of his Uncle, his Friends not daring to make him of the Counſel. After his Death, knowing *Henry Richmond* a cruel Enemy to the Houſe of *York*, for his better Safety was committed to the Care of † *Charles* of *Burgundy*, and his Dutcheſs the Lady *Margaret* Aunt to the Prince, as formerly the Dutcheſs of *York*, upon a like Cauſe of Fear and Jealouſy had ſent thither her two younger Sons *George* and *Richard*.

The Dutcheſs being very tender to let this young Duke have all Princely and Vertuous Education in *Torney* in *Antwerp*, and after in the Court of the Duke of *Burgundy*, as he had been in *Warbeck*, &c. And with the greater Circumſpection, becauſe the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* had as jealous an Opinion of *Henry* VII. as the Queen Widow had of *Richard* III. Therefore, as yet, it was adviſed to conceal his Name and Quality: being not come to the Growth nor Age to have Experience in his own Affairs, much leſs to undertake an Attempt ſo Conſequent and Mighty as the Recovery of a Kingdom: Neither were the Times and Opportunity yet ripe or propitious to faſhion ſuch an Alteration as was projected and muſt be produced, tho' there was pregnant Hope of an Induction to a Change of Government ſtirr'd by the King's Covetouſneſs and ſome Acts of Tyranny, Grievance and Rebellions in the North and Weſt Parts; not long after (which lent a ſeaſonable Hand to theſe Deſigns) great Unkindneſs fell out betwixt *Charles* the *French* King and *Henry* VII. who ſo far provok'd the *French* that he beſieg'd *Bulloign* with a great Army by Land and Sea, the Quarrel was of good Advancement to the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*'s Plot, and brought the Duke of *York* better acquainted with foreign Princes and their Courts; who was ſent into *France*, into *Portugal*, and other Places, where he was receiv'd and entertain'd like a Prince.

In which time ſuch of the *Engliſh* Nobility as were intereſted in the Secret, and knew where this Prince reſided, found ſome Opportunity to give him Aſſiſtance; and ſent Sir *Robert Clifford* and Sir *William Barley* into *Flanders*, to give him a Viſit and Intelligence of what Noble Friends he had ready to Serve him; tho' their more particular Errand was, to take a ſtrict Obſervance of him, and ſuch private Marks as he had been known by from his Cradle: there had been ſome Counterfeits, encouraged to take upon them the Perſons of *Edward* E. of *Warwick*, and *Richard* Duke of *York*: But here the certainty of their Knowledge found him they look'd for, by his Face, Countenance, Lineaments and all Tokens familiarly and privately known to them; obſerving his Behaviour, naturaliz'd and heightned with a Princely grace, and in his Diſ-

† This is an Errour, *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* died *An.* 1477. Six Years before *Edward* the Fourth, and Duke *Richard* was in *England* when his Father King *Edward* died.

1485. course able to give them a ready Account of many Paſſages he had heard or ſeen whilſt he was in *England*; with ſuch things as had been done and diſcourſed very privately, ſpeaking *Engliſh* very perfectly, and better than the *Dutch* or *Walloniſh*: By which Sir *Robert Clifford* and the reſt, found themſelves ſo well ſatisfied, and were ſo well confirm'd, that they wrote to the Lord *Fitzwater*, to Sir *Simon Mountford*, and others (who had a good Opinion towards him) the full account of what they had obſerv'd *ex certa ſcientia, & ſupra viſum corporis.* About this time (to intermix the Scene with more Variety and fill the Stage) ſome principal Perſons, well affecting the Earl of *Warwick*, and hoping to get him forth of the *Tower*, (in purpoſe to make him King) had enticed a handſom young Fellow, one *Lambert Simonel* of *Lancaſhier*, bred in the Univerſity of *Oxford* to become his Counterfeit, and ſo inſtructed him in the Royal Genealogy, that he was able to ſay as he was taught; maintain'd and abetted, chiefly, by the Viſcount *Lovel*, the Earl of *Lincoln*, Sir *Thomas Broughton*, and Sir *Simon Preiſt*, &c. who being preſented to the Duke and Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, and by them honourably entertain'd, drew to him in *Flanders*, one *Martin Swartz*, a Captain of very eminent Fame, and ſome Forces, with which he made over into *Ireland*, where they receiv'd him as *Edward* Earl of *Warwick*, as he was of many here at home: And when the Deceit was diſcover'd, the Excuſe was, Thoſe Lords but uſed this Counterfeit of the Earl for a Colour, whilſt they could get him out of the *Tower* to make him King. But the Veil is eaſily taken from the Face of ſuch Impoſtors, Examples giving us light in many; for tho' ſome Men may, all cannot be deceiv'd: So *Pſueo-Agrippa* in the Time of *Tiberius*, was ſoon found to be *Clemens* the Servant of *Agrippa*, tho' very like to him; and *Pſuedo-Nero* in *Otho*'s Time, who took upon him to be *Nero* reviv'd, was quickly unmask'd.

Dion Tacitus Sheronius. Counterfeit Princes,

Valerius Paterculus telleth of a certain ambitious Counterfeit in *Macedonia*, who call'd himſelf *Philip*, and would be reputed the next Heir of the Crown, but was diſcover'd and Nicknam'd *Pſuedo-Philippus*: Alſo in the Reign of *Commodus* One pretended to be *Sextus Claudiamus*, the Son of *Maximus*; with many ſuch that are obvious in old Stories; and many of the like ſtamp have been here convicted in *England*; which bred the greater Jealouſy of this *Richard*, when he came firſt to be heard of; tho' thoſe Jealouſies proceeded not from the detection of any Fraud in him, but of the late Impoſture of the ſaid *Lambert*, the Shoemaker's Son, and the Abuſe of the Complotters; for the Kingdom having been abuſed with thoſe *Pſeudo-Clarences*, had reaſon to be doubtful of every unknown Perſon which aſſumed the name of Greatneſs; in regard whereof, many ſhrunk in their Opinions from this *Perkin*, or *Richard*; many others ſuſpecting their Belief, were very curious to inform themſelves, who the further they enquired, were the more confirm'd, that he was no other but the ſecond Son of *Edward* IV. againſt whom thoſe of the harder Credulity, objected it as an Impoſſibility, that this young Duke cou'd be convey'd out of the *Tower*, ſo long, and ſo conceal'd; which the wiſer ſort cold eaſily anſwer by many ancient Example, which gives us divers Relations of Noble Children preſerv'd more admirably. And this young Duke himſelf, in his own behalf when ſuch Objections were made againſt him, did alledge to *James* King of *Scotland*, the Hiſtory of *Joab*, mention'd in the Book of the *Kings*, and that moſt ſpecial one of *Moſes*:

Its written by the old Hiſtorians that King *Harold* was not ſlain at the Battle of *Haſtings* by the Conquerors; but that he ſurvived and went to *Jeruſalem*, &c. But it not importeth whether he were the true *Harold* or *Pſeudo-Harold*; becauſe he never came to claim any thing in *England*,

Which the Dutcheſs his Aunt, Siſter German to his Father, was ſtrongly confirm'd in, giving him all anſwerable and honourable Accomodation; ſo did the chief Nobility of thoſe Parts, and as an Heir of the Houſe of *York*, there was render'd him the Title of *La-Roſe-Blanch*, the proper and ancient Device of the Houſe of *York*; withal, a gallant guard of Souldiers was allowed him for Attendance, and much was he favour'd by the Arch-Duke *Maximilian*, King of the *Romans*, by *Philip* his Son Duke of *Burgundy*, *Charles* the *French* King, the King of *Portugal* and *Scotland*, by the chiefeſt of *Ireland*, and many Perſonages in *England*, who at extreme Peril and Hazard, avow'd him to be the ſecond Son of *Edward* IV. 1485.

The Princes aforemention'd, readily ſupplying him with Coin and Aſſiſtance towards his Atchievements. King *Henry* actively apprehends what it threatned, and beſtirs himſelf to take off their Inclinations diſpatching Dr. *William Warham* (after Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*) with Sir *Edward Poynings*, a grave and worthy Knight, to under-rate his Credit with thoſe Princes; and ſuch ſtrong Perſwaſions were uſed, that *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy* (for his Father *Maximilian* was before return'd into *Auſtria*) utterly declines himſelf and his Subjects from his firſt Engagement, but excepted the Widow Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, over whom he had no Power of Command, becauſe ſhe had all Juſtice and Juriſdiction in thoſe large Signiories, whereof her Dowry was compoſed. The Practice of *H. VII.* with the Duke of *Burgundy*.

And thus *Richard* was ſupplanted here; what hope of Aid he had, or did expect by his Voyage into *Portugul*, I cannot ſay, tho' his Entertainment there was honourable: But by reaſon of the diſtance of the Country, it may be thought he was to build little upon any from thence, his chief Confidence and Refuge being in *England* and *Ireland*, where he had a good Party, and ſail'd with a pretty Fleet into *Ireland*; there he was welcom'd and receiv'd as the ſecond Son of King *Edward*; ſome of the *Geraldins* and other Great Lords in *Ireland*, propoſing to make him their King: To overtake him betimes there too, Dr. *Henry Deane*, Abbot of *Lanthory* (a very wiſe able Man) was ſent and made Chancellor of *Ireland*; with him went the ſaid Sir *Edw. Poynings*, who ſo actively beſtir'd themſelves, that in ſhort time they drew the *Iriſh* from *Perkin*, ſo that now he muſt return Home; but by the Way, was encouraged to apply himſelf to *James* King of *Scotland*, whither forthwith he directs his Hopes, and found his Entertainment anſwerable to them; the King receiving him very nobly by his Title of Duke of *York*, calls him Cozen, with Promiſes to give him ſtrong Footing in *England*, and (in earneſt of his better Intents) beſtow'd in Marriage upon him the moſt noble and fair Lady *Katharine Gordon* his near Kinſwoman, Daughter of *Alexander* Earl of *Huntly*. This came home very ſharply to King *Henry*, who knew King *James* to be a Prince ſo wiſe and valiant, that no eaſy Deluſion cou'd abuſe him. The Means uſed by *H. VII.* to prevent the Practices of *Perkin* in *Ireland*. This Lady was ſo rarely fair and lovely that K. *H. VII.* wondred at her Beauty, and was enamour'd of her ſending her to *London* to be ſafely kept till his return out of the Weſt-Countries where he then was and firſt ſaw her. K. Hen. *was not of an amorous Complexion*

And true it is, King *James* was very preciſe in his Conſideration of this young Duke; but very clearly confirm'd before he would acknowledge him. King *Henry* is very ſtudious how to thwart the Event of this Scene and unſaſten the King, but caſts his Confidence again upon the fortune of his Judgment, and ſends many Proteſtations, with rich Promiſes to King *James* for *Perkin* (for ſo we ſhall now call him with the Times) which took ſmall effect at firſt; but King *Henry* (being a Man pregnant to find any Advantage, and One whoſe Providence wou'd

1485. wou'd not let it die) remembers the ſtrong Affinity and Friendſhip betwixt King *James* and *Ferdinando* King of *Caſtile*, one of the moſt Noble Princes then living. At that time too, it happen'd ſo happily, there was a Treaty and Intelligence betwixt *Henry* VII. and *Ferdinando*, for propoſition of a Marriage of *Arthur* the Prince of *Wales* and *Katharine* Daughter of King *Ferdinando*. This Occaſion no ſooner offer'd it ſelf to his Conſideration, but a Poſt was diſpatch'd to *Caſtile*, with Letters and Inſtructions, to give the King to know what had paſs'd between him and King *James* of *Scotland*, urging him to uſe the Power and Credit he had with him, for the Delivery of *Perkin* to himſelf Which *Ferdinando* undertook, and ſends *Don Pedro Ayala* (not one *Peter Hialas*, or *Peter Hayles*) as our vulgar Stories have (a wiſe and learned Man, and of a very Noble Houſe) who ſo ably uſed his Brain in this Employment, that King *James* paſs'd to him his Promiſe, to diſmiſs *Perkin* to his own Fortunes, but would by no means deliver him to the King.

The Practice of H. VII. to the K. of *Scots* and of *Caſtile* to get or ſupplant *Perkin*.

Don *Pedro Ayala*.

Thus *Perkin* was again ſupplanted *Virtute vel dolo*, and of neceſſity driven into *Ireland*, where he was formerly receiv'd and entertain'd; Whilſt they were agitating their firſt Plot of ſetling him King, *Charles* the *French* King ſends to him *Lois de Laques* and *Eſtiene Friant* to offer him his Friendſhip and Aid: With this good News *Perkin* haſten'd into *France*, where he found his Welcome very honourable, as befitting a Prince, a Guard appointed to attend him, of which Monſieur *Congre-Salle* was Captain. Before this King *Henry* had threatned *France* with an Army, but now upon a better View and Deliberation, foreſeeing what this had in it, he propounds very fair Conditions for a Peace with the *French* King, which the *French* King was willing to entertain, and ſo it was concluded. *Perkin* after this began to think the King ſhorten'd his Reſpects, and look'd upon him (as it were) but *Imagine luſca*, with half a Countenance; and fearing there might be ſome Capitulation in this new League, that might concern his Liberty, privately quits *Paris*, returning to his Aunt of *Burgundy*. Altho' *Perkin* was thus ſhorten'd in his Foreign Expectations, he had thoſe both in *England* and *Ireland*, that much favour'd him and his Cauſe, making another Voyage into *Ireland*, but return'd with his firſt Comfort; for though they ſtood conſtantly affected and were willing, the King's Officers curb'd them ſo, they could not ſtir.

Hall in H. VII.

From *Ireland* he ſail'd into *England*, landing at *Bodmin* in *Cornwall*, the *Corniſh* and Weſtern Men thereabouts receiving him very gladly, proclaiming him King of *England* and of *France*, *&c.* by the Title of *Richard* the Fourth (as he had been proclaim'd before in the North Parts of *England*, by the Council and Countenance of the King of *Scots*). Out of *Cornwal* he marches into *Devonſhire* to *Exeter*, to which he laid Siege, having then about 5000 Men in his Army; but the King's being at Hand and far ſtronger, he was forc'd to riſe from the Siege; upon which thoſe few Friends he had left (finding his Want, and the King with greater Strength approaching) forſook him to provide for themſelves. Thus abandon'd, no way before him but Flight, and being well mounted, with a Train of ſome Forty or Fifty reſolute Gentlemen, recovers the Abbey of *Beanely* in *Hampſhire*, where he took Sanctuary, from which the King's Party who purſued him, wou'd violently have ſurpriſed him; Which the Abbot and Religious Perſons wou'd not endure as a thing too foul againſt their Priviledge. The King after ſends to him Proffers of Favours and Mercy, with Promiſes of ſuch Honour and Condition as drew him to the Court, where the King look'd upon him with a very gracious and bountiful Uſage as a Noble Perſon: But his prompting Jealouſies and Fears ſoon caſt a dulneſs over this firſt Favours and Promiſes; then a Guard muſt be ſet upon *Perkin* and his uſual Freedom reſtrain'd: Theſe were harſh Preſages (he thought) which ſo juſtly moved his Suſpicion and Diſcontent that he thought Sanctuary again muſt be his beſt Safety, and paſſing by the Monaſtery of *Shrene*, he ſuddenly ſlips into it from his Guard, whither the King ſends unto him with Perſwaſions of the firſt courtly and honourable Tincture; but *Perkin* that had diſcern'd the Hook, was not eaſily to be tempted with the Bait this ſecond time.

1485. *Perkin's* Entertainment in the Court

Then the King dealt with the Prior for him, who would not yield him, but upon faithful promiſe from the King to uſe him with all Favour and Grace, which was proteſted, although *Perkin* no ſooner came into his Power again but he was ſent to the *Tower*, where his Impriſonment was made ſo hard and rude, that it much dejected and troubled him, oftentimes in private and with piercing Groans, having been heard to wiſh himſelf born the Son of any Peaſant; and indeed, every one could tell he fared the worſe for his Name, it being an Obſervation of thoſe Times, that there was Three Men moſt fear'd of the King, *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *Warwick*, *Perkin*, alias *Richard Plantagenet*, and *Edmond de la Poole*, Son of King *Edward*'s Siſter, all of the Family of *York*, but moſt of all *Perkin*, being of a more active Spirit, ſo more ſenſible of his Wrongs than the other, and coſt the King more Conſultation and Treaſure in the working him into his Hands; therefore anſwerably aggravated his Miſeries and Diſgraces which now began to exceed; for he was not only ſharply reſtrain'd in the *Tower*, but the Fame was the Queſtion or * *Gehenne* was given him: † Sometimes he was taken forth and carried in moſt ignominious manner abroad to be ſet in the Pillory, otherwhile in the Stocks; after all theſe bitter and cruel Puniſhments (to pull down his Stomach) there was ſent ſome unto him of purpoſe to perſwade his Submiſſion to the King's Mercy; and by renouncing his Blood, Birth and Title, to confeſs himſelf no other but *Perkin Warbeck*, the Son of a baſe Flemming; which he ſcorning and denying, his Sufferings were made more rigorous, and he lodg'd poorly and baſely, as meanly fed, worſe clad, untill at length by Torments and Extremities he was forc'd to ſay any thing, and content to unſay what they would have him, to accuſe himſelf by a forc'd Recantation of his Family, Name, and Royal Parentage; this muſt be compel'd too under his Hand, then to be brought by the Officers unto the moſt publick Places of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, to ſuffer as before related, and with a loud Voice to read the ſame, which might paſs at preſent with the Multitude for current, who knew not how it was forced from him; nor had Judgment enough to know and conſider, that Racks and Tortures have made very able Men accuſe themſelves and others unjuſtly. *Seneca* telleth of a Man who being ſuſpected of Theft, was inforced by Torture to confeſs the Theft and his Fellow Thieves; but having none, he accuſed the good and juſt *Cato*, to avoid the Torture; nay, (which is a thing of more horror) it maketh Men by falſe Oaths to blaſpheme God; therefore St. *Auguſtine* inveigheth ſharply againſt the cruel Uſe of it, and amongſt many other Sins which he findeth in it, this is one,

* Rack.

† The Ld. *Verulam* ſays he was only ſet in the Stocks.

The Force and Miſchief of Torture.

1485. *Tortus ſi diutius nolet ſuſtinere Tormenta, quod non commiſit, ſe commiſiſſe dicit.*

Auguſt. in Civitate Dei.

The tortured gladly doing this the ſooner to exchange thoſe Torments with Death, as the far leſs Pain.

And therefore this young Man may be excuſable in what he did againſt himſelf, his Youth being ignorant of theſe high Points of Honour, and could not yet be confirm'd in any brave and firm Reſolution, nor happily in Religion, and the worſe alſo by the reaſon of his long impriſonment and heavy Trouble, having no Counſel to ſtrengthen him, nor ſo much as in Charity to comfort him, but left a miſerable deſperate forlorn Man, and fear'd to be ſo for ever, and at the beſt. And if learned grave Men, Men of Grace, having large Talents of Spirit and Science, for fear of ſuch Puniſhments, have denied ſome chief Points of Chriſtian Faith, yet have been excuſed for the Torture ſake, (of which we have teſtimony in Eccleſiaſtical Stories) what may a tender and unexperienc'd Youth do? For which juſt Cauſes, the beſt Doctors of the Civil Law, and alſo of Theology, condemn and abhor the uſe of Torture, as having a farther Miſchief in it, and is *Arcanum Gehennæ* a ſecret of Torture or of Hell.

The *French* call Torture *la Gehenne.*

For when the Priſoner's Body by extreme Torment is brought into any mortal State or Symptom of Death, or made incurable and deadly, then to avoid the Imputation of Murder, the Priſoner by a ſhort and private Proceſs is condemn'd of ſome capital Crime, and preſently executed, whilſt there is yet ſome Life in him; and to that Cenſure *Pirkin* at laſt came; for nothing could ſerve but his Blood, his Confeſſion being only extorted from him to perſwade the People he was an Impoſtor; and becauſe they could not lay hold of his Life by the Courſe of Law or Juſtice (being not attainted nor condemn'd of any capital Crime). This Scruple being a little conſider'd, there was found out a way to remove that, and Matter enough to make him guilty of a capital Offence: For which purpoſe it was deviſed there ſhou'd a practice of Eſcape be offer'd him; and becauſe the Caſe of *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *Warwick* was like unto his, and as well wiſh'd, being not attainted of any Crime, he alſo muſt deſire to eſcape, that Device being the only matter of Guilt or capital Crime which was wanting, and might be (as it were) created for them the more colourably to effect their Executions; there not wanting Inſtruments for that purpoſe, to betray their innocent Confidence, whoſe Impriſonment had lain ſo heavily and cruelly upon them, that they were eaſily perſwaded to catch at any hope of Liberty.

Some ſay the Earl of *Warwick* at his Arraignment was charg'd with perſwading the other to make his Eſcape, but ſure it is, they both gladly hearken'd to the Motion of it, and were ſoon after accuſed as guilty of Practice and Conſpiracy to eſcape out of the *Tower*, ſo for the ſame arraign'd and condemn'd to Die; tho' great difference was put in their Proceſs and Execution; for the Earl of *Warwick* was try'd by his Noble Peers, and had the Supplice of a Nobleman, in an honourable Place, the *Tower* of *London*: *Perkin*, alias *Richard*, by a Common Jury, who are Men (many times) of little Honeſty, and to ſuffer at the common and infamous Place, *Tyburn*, by the Name of *Perkin Warbeck*, to confirm the People he was what they condemn'd him for: For his Nick-name was ſuppoſed to have utterly diſnobled him, and (as it were) diveſted him of all his Noble Blood and Titles, the Condition of an Impoſtor ſerving beſt for a Cloak againſt that Purple Shower, which was at the Fall and Cruel Uſage of this miſerable Prince*.

York and *Warwick* Parallels.

It may be thought the Earl of *Warwick* had as ſhamefully ſuffer'd, if the Wit and Malice of the Cardinal could have reach'd to have made him a Counterfeit: But all Men knew, he was not only a true and certain Prince, but free from all Practice, (*b*) yet he was reſtrain'd of his Liberty, and a Priſoner the moſt part of his Life, from the time of his Father's Attainder until he ſuffer'd; this was after they had ſurviv'd King *Richard* their Uncle about Fifteen Years.

Now for their Offence, the learned Judges will tell us of what Nature and Quality it is call'd in Law.

Some holding an Eſcape to be but an Error, a natural diſlike of Bondage, or a Forfeit of Simplicity, proceeding from a natural and very tolerable deſire of Liberty, which Opinion is contingent to Right; and the Cauſe of theſe two Princes may alſo be the better receiv'd, if it be well conſider'd, that this Plot of their Eſcape was not projected by themſelves, but cunningly propounded to them by proper Inſtruments (being young and unexperienced) to entangle them in ſome capital Offence, and ſo of Death, of which kind of Offences they ſtood clear before, not once accuſed, having never been indicted or attainted of any thing Capital. Therefore now their Innocence muſt be made guilty; and in this I ſay no more than all our Hiſtorians or others ſay, who agree in one Opinion, That the King could not take away the Lives of *Perkin Warbeck* and the Earl of *Warwick*, until this Practice of their Eſcape was laid to them, and they made guilty thereof. Therefore they were not Traytors before, neither was *Perkin* now to be thought a Counterfeit, but a Prince of the Blood, claiming the Crown; for otherwiſe, he was *Perkin* of *Flanders*, a baſe Fellow and a moſt culpable and notorious Traytor; then what need they look further for a Crime to put him to Death? And if he were not a Traytor ſurely it was a Tyranny to make, of an innocent and guiltleſs Man, a guilty Felon, and by Trains and Acts to forge an Offence out of nothing. For doubtleſs an innocent and true Man may ſeek Freedom, and purpoſe an Act of Eſcape, alſo commit it, and yet be ſtill an Honeſt Man, and a Faithful Good Subject; for Nature and Reaſon teacheth and alloweth all Men to eſchew Injuries and Oppreſſion.

The *French* word Eſcape is to ſeek to be free; and the *French* Men tranſlate Eſcape into the *Latin Salvus*, Eſcape what.

Beſides this Practice of thoſe Young Men, to eſcape, was found (as *Polidore* well obſerveth) *Crimen Alienum*, and not *Crimen proprium*; then how much greater was the wrong, to take away their Lives.

But however it may be laid upon them, it was nothing but a Deſire of Liberty out of Durance, in which they were kept for a ſmall, or no Offence.

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* He openly read his Confeſſion, and took it upon his Death to be true, that he was an Impoſtor. Ld. *Verulam, Hen.* VII. *Holinſhead* relates, That he and *John a Water*, Mayor of *Cork*, took it on their Deaths to be true, what they had confeſt, and ask'd the King's Pardon.

(*b*) A notorious Falſity; He was Tried for endeavouring to eſcape with *Perkin*, and to raiſe Sedition and deſtroy the King; to which Indictment he pleaded guilty. Ld. *Verulam Hen.* VII.

The

1485. The Civil Law holdeth Suspicion of Flight or Escape to be no crime. *Suspicio fugæ quia, non solet detrimentum, reipublicæ adferre, non censetur crimen*; so *Ulpian*. And by the Laws of *England*, if a Prisoner do escape, who is not imprison'd for Treason or Felony, but some lesser Fault of Trespass, according to the Old Law of *England*.

Just. Stanford in pleas de la Coroune, lib. 3. cap 26. 27.

Escapæ non adjudicabitur versus eum, qui Commissus est Prisonæ, pro transgressione. Escape shall not be adjudged for Felony or other Crime, in one who is committed for Trespass.

For the Offence of the Escape is made in the Common Law, to be of the same Nature and Guilt with the Crime whereof the Prisoner is attainted: And certanly, neither the Earl of *Warwick*, nor *Richard*, alias *Perkin* were attainted of Treason or Felony, *&c.* before

But to close this Dispute and Tragedy, not long after, some of the Instruments that betray'd them into this, as *Walter Blunt*, *Thomas Astwood*, Servants to the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, finished at *Tiburn*, because they should tell no Tales.

And to this succinct Relation, there can be no better Testimony than the Hands of those Witnesses, who have seal'd their Confession and Knowledge with their Bloods: Men of all Conditions and Estates, all maintaining at the last Gasp, that *Perkin* was the true Duke of *York*; whose Affirmations I will produce, give me but leave, by the way, to answer one Objection or Cavil brought against this Duke, call'd in scorn *Perkin Warbeck*. A new Writer affirming him to be an Impostor, whose Learning may be as much mistaken in this as other things, tho' he laid a great pretence to Knowledge, especially in the History of England and other Countries Indeed his Judgment and Reading are much expresst alike in his Pamphlet, which he calls [The History of *Perkin Warbeck*,] wherein he forfeits all his Skill, to make him a Parallel in adverse Fortune and supposed base Quality, to the unhappy Don *Sebastian* late King of *Portugal*, who he also protests an Impostor. And to arrive at this huge Knowledge, he wou'd have us think, he took much pains in the sifting of Authors; and indeed I think he did sift them, concerning his Ignorance in the Case of Don *Sebastian* (if he be not too wise to be inform'd) I will urge some Reasons on Don *Sebastian*'s side, who was King of *Portugal*; and invading the Kingdom of *Barbary*, *Anno Dom.* 1584, was overthrown in a fierce and bloody Battle in the Fields of *Alcazer*, by the King of *Morocco*, where it was thought he was slain, but escaped and fled secretly traverstite or disguised; traveling in that manner through many parts of *Africa* and *Asia* some Thirty Years; in which Time and Travel he suffer'd much, liv'd in Captivity and Misery, but at last got away into *Europe*, with purpose to have got into *Portugal* (if possible) to repossess the Kingdom.

Whether Don *Sebastian* of *Portugal* were a Counterfeit or not.

In his Return he came to *Venice*, there discover'd himself, and desires aid of the *Venetian* States: They entertain'd him as a Prince distress'd, gave him Good Words, but durst not lend him Assistance, fearing the King of *Spain*; yet the chief Senators and many of the wisest of the Signiory made no doubt of him.

Among them *Signieur Lorenzo Justiniano* of the Senators Order (a Man of wise and great Abilities) was appointed by the States, a Commissioner (with others) to hear and examine this Cause of Don *Sebastian*, in which they took much
162. pains. And this *Signieur Lorenzo* (being lieger Ambassador in *England*) affirm'd and protested solemnly, he and all the other Commissioners were clear and very confident he was Don *Sebastian* King of *Portugal*, notwithstanding they durst not give him Aid, but counsel'd him for *France*, where the King favour'd right, without fear of another's Displeasure. But taking *Florence* in his way, in the Habit of a Fryer, he was observ'd and discover'd by some Spies which the Grand Duke of *Tuscany* had set upon him from *Venice*, who to insinuate with the King of *Spain*, *Philip* the Second, and for some other commodious Considerations, deliver'd *Sebastian* to the Governour of *Orbattelli* (a *Spanish* Port in *Tuscany*) from thence sent him by Sea to the Count *De la Mos*, Vice-roy of *Naples*, who convey'd him into *Spain*: There for a while his Entertainment was no better than in the Gallies: What other Welcome he had I know not, but the fame went certainly he was secretly made away after *Philip* the Third was King. The said Vice-roy of *Naples* confess'd in secret to a Friend of his, he verily believ'd his Prisoner was the true *Sebastian* King of *Portugal*; and was induced to be of that opinion, by the strong Testimonies and many strange and peculiar Marks, which some honourable *Portugueses* did know him by, all found about the Body of this *Sebastian*. And the *French* King *Henry* IV. it should seem, was perswaded no less: For when the News was told him the Duke of *Florence* had sent this *Sebastian* to the King of *Spain*, he told the Queen what an Ill Deed her Uncle had done, in these words, *Nostre Uncle a fait un act fort indigne de sa Persone.* 1485.

Hic legatus hæc domino Baronni Darcey retulit.

Dr. *Stephen de Sampugo*, in a Letter to *Joseph Texere*, Counsellor and Almoner to the most Christian King, writes thus, " The King, Don " *Sebastian*, is here in *Venice*, *&c.* So soon as he " arriv'd here (where he hoped to find support) " the Ambassador of *Castile* persecuted him very cruelly, perswading the Signiory that he " was a *Calabrois*, *&c.* I swear to your Fatherhood, By the Passion of Jesus Christ, this " Man is truly the King Don *Sebastian*; he hath " all the Marks on his Body, without failing in " any one, as he had in his Infancy, only the " Wounds excepted, which he receiv'd in that " Battle of *Africk*; he gives the reason of his " Life, and account of all his Passages, *&c.* He " is known and re-known by the Conciergres, by " the Judges, by the greater part of the Senate, " and by his own Confessor, *&c.* and a great deal more of him upon Knowledge he justifies: As much witnesses *John de Castro* Son to Don *De Alvaro de Castro*, one of the Four Governours that ruled the Kingdom conjunctly with the King Don *Sebastian*, who in his Letter to the same Man says thus; " The King Don *Sebas-* " *tian* (whom the Enemies call a *Calabrois*) is " the very same which is detain'd here, as certainly as you are Fryer *Joseph*, and my self " Don *John*. He departed alive from the " Battle, but very sore wounded; GOD " having so delivered him with some other of " his Company, amongst whom was the Duke " *Anegro*, *&c.* As for the Exterior Marks of his " Body he wants not one of them; he his wounded on the Brow of the Right Eye, and on the " Head, as many witness'd when they saw him " in the *Africk* Battle: His Hand-writing is " still the same, observing the very same Method, as is very well remembred by divers.

There might be much more instanced in the behalf of this *Sebastian*, but this may serve for better Intelligence; to whom I may add, That Men experienced in the Affairs and Policy of State, know it a rare thing to find in any History

1485. story, the Examples of a Prince, being seiz'd and possess'd of any Signiory or Principality (how unlawfully soever) who hath resign'd them, or any part to the true Heirs. Have we not Instances at Home, where the Son hath taken the Kingdom from the Father, and would not let it go again, but rather endeavour'd to haste his Father's Fate? Much after that manner, when *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster* had got the Kingdom, he held it and would not resign to the Right Heir *Richard* the Second, nor after his Death to the Earl of *March*, tho' these were no Impostors, neither was *Edward* Earl of *Warwick*; yet King *Henry* would not let his Hold go: And the Cardinal Favourite, finding he could not compass his Aims one way, contrived it another. By the *Machiavilian* Advice he gave to *Ferdinando* K. of *Castile*, not to conclude the Treaty of the Marriage between Prince *Arthur* and his Daughter *Katharine*, until this Earl and *Perkin* were disposed of, which *Ferdinando* follow'd and urg'd the King, pretending it the Security of his Estate and Issue. In brief, it is not possible to perswade a private Man, tho' wrongfully possess'd to acknowledge the true Proprietary hath a better Title than he.

Edw. II. and *Edw.* III.

How unjustly have the Kings of *Spain* detain'd sundry Signiories and Principalities from the lawful Heirs? Yet if the Wrong done by such another disseising Lord, be put to this former Usurper, *Mala fide* (as the Imperial *Jurisconsults* will term him) his Sentence will be, Such a rapinous Prince doth wrong.

But let us now take a more particular View of those Witnesses who stood for *Perkin*. And having formerly mention'd Sir *Robert Clifford*, a Knight of the Noble Family of the Barons *Cliffords*, I will proceed with that which may be the more remarkable in him, because he was of a Family that long hated the House of *York*, from the Battle of *Wakefield*, when and where they resolved an Enmity so deadly, as was not to be reconciled or satisfied whilst one of them remained; yet became Followers again of the White Rose Family; and this *Robert Clifford* served King *Edward* very near, and in good Credit, so could not but have an assured Knowledge of the King's Sons, and was therefore the more particularly sent to certify his Knowledge; who certainly affirm'd him to be the younger Son of *Edward* IV. and confirm'd many with him; such as had likewise served King *Edward*, and had been acquainted with the Prince's conveying beyond Sea, though much was done to alter Sir *Robert*'s Opinion. The Lord *Fitz-Walter* was of the same Belief, and avow'd *Perkin* the true D. of *York* most constantly unto Death: As resolute was Sir *William Stanley*, though he were Ld. Chamberlain to *Henry* VII. and in great favour; with Sir *George Nevill*, Brother to the Earl of *Westmoreland*, Sir *Simon Mountford*, Sir *William Daubeny*, Father to the Lord *Daubeny*, Sir *Thomas Thwaits*, Sir *Robert Ratcliffe* of the House of the Baron *Fitz-Walter*, Sir *John Taylor*, Sir *Thomas Chaloner*, *Thomas Bagnal*, with many other Gentlemen of Quality, all maintaining him to be the Duke of *York*, Son of *Edward* the Fourth, and sundry of the Clergy, who had been Chaplains to the King his Father, or otherwise occasion'd to attend the Court, as Dr. *Rochford*, Dr. *Poynes*, Dr. *Sutton*, Dr. *Worsley* Dean of St. *Paul*'s, Dr. *Leyborn*, Dr. *Lesley*, with many other learned Professors of Divinity, who would not endure to hear him call'd *Perkin*. The Lord * *Fitz-Walter*, Sir, *William Stanley*, Sir *Simon Mountford*, Sir *Robert Ratcliffe*, Sir *William Daubeny* (as Martyrs of State) confirm'd their Testimony with their Bloods. So did the King's Serjeant *Ferrier*, who left the King's Service and apply'd himself to *Perkin*, for which he was executed as a Traytor: And one *Edwards*, who had served this Duke *Richard*, was cut in pieces for the same Cause; also *Corbet*, Sir *Quinton Betts*, and *Gage*, Gentlemen of good worth, with 200 more at least, put to Death in sundry Cities and Towns, particularly in *Kent*, *Essex*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, and about *London*, for their Confidence and Opinions in this Prince. 1485.

Moor, Hollinshead, Stow, Gainsford.

Moor, Hollinshead. Stow, Grafton, Gainsford, Hall.

Idem Auctor.

* He was the Noble Progenitor of the Earls of *York*.

There were some Great Men (tho' they made no profession of their Knowledge of him) cou'd whisper it one to another, which in general words is confess'd by all our better Writers; who say, That as well the Noblemen, as others, held the said *Perkin* to be the younger Son of K. *Edward* the Fourth. *Hollingsh. Grafton, Hall, Stow.*

And Sir *Thomas Moor*, after Dr. *Morton*, thus writeth; The Man, commonly call'd *Perkin Warbeck*, was as well with the Prince, as with the People, held to be the younger Son of K. *Edward* the Fourth. *John Morton, Thom. Moor, Grafton.*

Richard Grafton affirmeth the same; In *Flanders* (saith he) and most of all here in *England*, it was receiv'd for an undoubted Truth, not only of the People, but of the Nobles, that *Perkin* was the Son of King *Edward* the Fourth: And they all swore and affirmed this to be true. The learned and famous Mr. *Cambden* averreth, There were many wise, grave, and Persons of good Intelligence, (who lived in that time and near it) that affirmed confidently, This *Perkin* was Second Son to King *Edward*: Then both the Brothers were not made away by King *Richard*; and surely it was little Reason or Policy, to cut off the One and spare the other; neither indeed was there ever any Proofs made by Testimony, Argument, or Presumption, nor by Reason, Honour, or Policy, that this Crime could be his, tho' many to the contrary; for he not only preserv'd his Nephew, the young Earl of *Warwick*, but in his Confidence (a special Note of his Magnanimity) gave him Liberty, Pleasure, and the Command of a stately House of his own. *M. Will. Cambden.*

Now if he had been so ambitious and bloody, he would have provided otherwise for him, knowing his Title was to take Place, if his Blood had not been attainted in his Father; in regard whereof, K. *Richard*, when his own Son was dead, caused his Nephew *John de la Poole*, eldest Son of the Duke of *Suffolk*, and of the Dutchess his Sister, (then the next lawful Heir to the Crown) to be proclaim'd Heir apparent; an Argument of Respect to his Kindred and next Title to the Crown, in whomsoever it was; which other Men regarded not so much as the unhappy Sequel shew'd; and there was an impious Necessity in that, for whilst the Prince of *York* surviv'd, (especially the Males) no other Titular Lord, or Pretender, could be King by his own Right, or by colour of Right, nor by any other Means, unless he had married a Daughter, and the eldest Daughter of King *Edward* the Fourth. Some think he died unnaturally.

And altho' the Deaths and Manner of taking away these Princes (the Sons of King *Edward*) is held, by our Writers, uncertain and obscure, it is manifest (at least for the general Manner of their Death) to be either by the Publick Sword, that is, the Sword of Justice or of Battle, as were King *Richard*, the Children of the Duke of *Clarence* and the Duke of *Suffolk*, &c. or by the Private Sword; that is by secret and close Slights, Treachery, (which the *Romans* call'd *Insidiæ dolus*) by Smothering, Strangling, Poison, Sorcery, &c. And that the Sword was used against the Family of *York*, there is more than Con- Publick Sword. Private Sword. The Arts of Treachery.

1485. Conjecture, both by Teſtimony of Writers and Records, King *Edward* himſelf, (as credible Authors report) died of Poiſon.

In the Parliament, *Anno* 1 Richardi *Tertii*, there was accuſed and attainted of Sorcery and ſuch other Deviliſh Practices, Dr. *Lewis*, Dr. *Morton*, *William Knevit* of *Buckingham*, the Counteſs of *Richmond*, *Thomas Nandick* of *Cambridge*, Conjurer, with others: There was alſo an Earl accuſed of the ſame Helliſh Art; and an old Manuſcript Book which I have ſeen, ſays, That Dr. *Morton* and a certain Counteſs, contriving the Death of King *Edward* and others, reſolv'd it by Poiſon. Which are Conjectures and Proofs more poſitive and ſtrong againſt them, than any they have againſt King *Richard*; but it was a great Neglect in their Malice, making King *Richard* ſo politick and treacherous as they did, not to charge him alſo with theſe Prince's Siſters; for it would not ſerve his Turn, to rid away the Brothers and not them, who were capaple of the Crown, and had their Turn Royal before any Collateral Males. Then he had the Children of his elder Brother *George* Duke of *Clarence*, *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *Warwick*, and the Lady *Margaret* his Siſter, after Counteſs of *Saliſbury*, to make away; for they without their Father's Corruption of Blood (which might eaſily have been ſalved by Parliament, the Lords and Commons affecting them) had a Priority of Blood and Precedency of Title before the Protector.

Reaſons why King *Richard* ſhouldnot deſtroy his Nephews

I would ask the Reaſon too, Why King *Richard* might not endure his Nephews (being by Parliament held and adjudged Illegitimate) as well as the Kings *Henry* VII. and *Henry* VIII. endured *Arthur Plantagenet*, the Baſtard of the ſame King *Edward* their Natales and Caſes being alike, or why Sir *Thomas Moor* and Dr. *Morton*, ſhould in one place ſay, It was held in doubt, when, or how they were made away; and in another place to aver, That *Tyrrel* and *Dighton*, being examin'd, confeſs'd plainly, the Murther of them and all the Manner of it.

Theſe be Contraries, which with a great Diſadvantage, draws their Allegation into another Argument, *Bicorne*, or *Crocodilites*: For in reaveal-ing the Confeſſion of theſe Men, it is implicatively granted, their Fault was not then to be puniſh'd, and ſo it appears no Fault, or not worth the conſideration; the Confeſſion of a Man being the greateſt Evidence can be produced againſt him. Then, in regard the Confeſſion of thoſe was ſuch as might not be open'd, nor the Crime call'd in queſtion (as the ſame Authors acknowledge) it was but a feign'd Confeſſion, and they had done better not to have mention'd ſuch a thing, which begot but a Jealouſy in the Falſity thereof, or privity of ſome Great Ones in it, and a juſt imputation of Injuſtice upon the Magiſtracy: For if *Dighton*, *Tyrrel*, *Foreſt* and *Slater* confeſs the Murther in Act and Manner, King *Richard* being dead (who was ſaid to ſubborn and protect 'em) neceſſarily, and in due courſe of Juſtice, (eſpecally in the Act of ſo high a nature and notice as this was) the Puniſhment ſhould have been expected with all extremity. But being for ſome unknown Cauſes deferr'd, and after a while quite omitted and pardon'd, it may be thought ſuch ſtrange Clemency and Impunity proceeded from a ſingular high Indulgence, or elſe, thoſe Examinations and Confeſſions were but Buzzes and quaint Devices to amaze the People, and entertain them with expectation of a Juſtice, to be done in ſome more convenient time (which was never). This was after the Death of King *Richard*: All that was done before, was to make him the Author of that horrible Crime, and no Body elſe; for *Dighton* and the reſt were in Security and Liberty, yet it ſtood in good ſtead with the *Lancaſtrians*, to draw the Peoples Hate upon King *Richard*, not unlike that Story of Great *Alexander*; and a Noble Man in his Court, who ſtood ſo high in the Favour of his Nobles and People, that the King grew jealous and fearful of his Popularity, ſtudying how he might decline it and him to Contempt, but could find no Colour or apt Occaſion, becauſe he was ſo ſtrongly fix'd in the Peoples Liking, and was a Man of ſo great a Deſert that no Crime could be charg'd upon him. The King unboſoming himſelf to the Counſel and Care of a Friend, one *Medius*, (of his Country, as I think) had this Advice,

Other Great Ones privy to the Deaths of thoſe Princes, eſpecially of K. *Edward*'s Sons.

1485.

" Sir, (*quoth he*) Let not this Man's Great-
" neſs trouble you, cauſe him to be accuſed of
" ſome Henious Crime, (tho' falſly) and we will
" find Means to make him guilty, ſo formally
" and firmly, that the Brand of it ſhall ſtick
" upon him for ever; Which he delivered in
theſe Terms, tho' divers, yet the ſame in effect; *Medeatur licet vulneri, qui morſus, aut dilaniatus eſt, remanebit tamen Cicatrix.* And it is truly approved by an ancient Chriſtian Poet, thus;

Auſonius.

Paulum diſtare videntur,
Suſpecti verèque rei.

The guilty and ſuſpected Innocent,
In Men's Eſteem are little different.

For there is no more dangerous or fatal Deſtiny to Greatneſs, than to be intangled in the Multitude's Contempt, *Odium & Contemptus*, being the Two Evils that overthrow Kings and Kingdoms; the One, that is, Contempt, proceeding from the Vanity and Obſtinacy of the Prince, the Other, from the Peoples Opinion of him and his Vices, and then he muſt neither reign nor live any longer. *Ennius* ſaid with *Cicero*, *Quem oderunt periiſſe expetunt*: And ſo all that was practiſed upon the Fortune, Fame and Perſon of King *Richard* was by this Rule; (tho' in the Judgment and Equity of the moſt knowing in thoſe Times) their cunning *Tranſlatio Criminis* could take no Hold of him; neither appears it probable, that the Earl of *Richmond* himſelf (when he had got all Juſtice and Power in his Hand) did hold King *Richard* guilty of the Murther and Subornation of thoſe Fellows, nor them the Aſſaſſins: For doubtleſs then, being ſo Wiſe and Religious a Prince, he would have done all Right to the Laws Divine and Humane, and that, I believe, in the extreameſt and publickeſt way of Puniſhment, to make it more ſatisfactory and terrible to the People and Times: But they freely enjoy'd their Liberty with Security to natural Deaths, without any Queſtion or Apprehenſion, *Tyrrel* excepted, who ſuffer'd for Treaſon not long after committed by him againſt King *Henry* himſelf. Neither was *John Green* (named a Party in this Murther) ever call'd in queſtion; nor do the Hiſtorians of thoſe Times (tho' mere Temporizers) charge him with this Practice againſt his Nephews, until after his Coronation, (ſome ſay, they ſurviv'd King *Richard*) and giving this reſpite of time, there was no Cauſe, why after that he ſhould make them away, being then ſecure in his Throne and Title, and they long before propounded uncapable; Firſt, by the Eccleſiaſtical Judges, then by the Barons and Parliament: And where was the

Ennius apud Ciceronem Offic. lib. 2.

Sir Thomas Moor, Edw. Hall, Ralph Hollinſhead, Joh. Stow, &c.

cauſe

1485. cauſe of fear? But if King *Richard* had been of that bloody Conſtitution, the Man whoſe Life could be moſt prejudicial unto him was the Earl of *Warwick* lawful Son of *George Plantagenet* Duke of *Clarence*, Elder Brother to King *Richard*: Now there was a Neceſſity for the *Lancaſtrian* Faction (if they muſt have a King of that Family) to take thoſe Princes away, not to leave King *Richard* or his Son, nor yet any Legitimate Iſſue of *Lancaſter*, for all thoſe were before any of the Houſe of *Beauforts*, in the true order of Succeſſion, and ſtood in their way; ſo did the Progeny of *Brotherton*, of *Woodſtock*, of both the *Clarences*, *Glouceſter*, &c. Tho' they fear'd few, or none of thoſe Titular Lords, being modeſt Men, not affecting Sovereignty, but content with their own private Fate and feudal Eſtate, when all was one with the *Lancaſtrians*, who were ſo vehement in their royal Approaches, that beſides King *Edward* IV. and his two Sons, King *Richard* and his Son, the Prince of *Wales*, there was afterward (and as occaſion ſerved) The Earl of *Warwick* and Duke of *Suffolk*, and others, both Male and Female of that Princely Family, laid in their cold Urns, and it muſt be ſo, elſe there could be no place for the *Beauforts* and *Somerſets*, their turns being laſt (the Kings of *Portugal*, of *Caſtile*, and others being before them, if not excluded by Act of Parliament.)

In this Tragedy there was a Scene acted by *John de Vere* Earl of *Oxenford*, which may be worthy of our Obſervation for Example ſake, and makes not againſt the cauſe of *Perkin*.

The E. of *Oxen* Perſecutor of *Perkin*.

This Earl of *Oxenford* much affected and devoted to King *Henry* VII. was a great Enemy to this *Richard* (*alias Perkin*) and I think the only † Enemy he had of the great Nobility, how this diſlike grew I cannot ſay, whether our of Ignorance or Incredulity, or out of Malice, hating King *Edward*, and all that had a near Relation to that Family, or elſe to apply himſelf to the Honour of the King; but he and the *Cardinal* are ſaid to be the chief Urgers of *Perkin*'s Diſpatch, and he, being High Conſtable, pronounced the Sentence againſt the young Earl of *Warwick*, (which much diſtaſted the Country) and near to *Heveningham* Caſtle, (that was his chiefeſt Seat) there lived in the Woods an old Hermit (a very Devout and Holy Man as the Fame of thoſe Times admit him) who ſeem'd much troubled to hear this News, for the love he bare to the ancient and noble Family of *Oxenford*, of much Anguiſh of Spirit, ſaying, the Earl and his Houſe would repent, and rue that guilty and bloody Purſuit of the innocent Princes; for the Event of which Prophecy this hath been obſerv'd.

Not long after, the Earl was arreſted for an Offence ſo ſmall, that no Man (conſidering his Merit and Credit with the King) could have thought it worth the Queſtion, for which he was Fined at Thirty thouſand Pounds, in thoſe days a Kingly Sum) (*a*) after this he liv'd many Years in great Diſcontent, and died without Iſſue, or any Child lawfully begotten by him, and in much ſhorter time than his Life-time, that great and (*b*) ſtately Earldom of *Oxenford*, with the opulent and Princely Patrimony, was utterly diſſipated, and *como ſal in agna* (as the *Spaniard* ſaith in the Refran) yet this Earl was a very Wiſe, Magnificent, Learned and Religious Man in the Eſtimation of all that knew him, and one more like to raiſe, and acquire a new Earldom. (*c*) But it thus fell and was waſted, the Caſtles and Mannors dilapitated, the Chappel wherein this *John de Vere* and all his Anceſtors lay Intomb'd with their Monuments quite defaced to the Ground, their Bones left under the open Air in the Fields, and all this within leſs than Threeſcore Years after the Death of the ſaid Earl *John*. About the ſame time theſe unhappy Gentlemen ſuffer'd, there was a baſe (*d*) Son of King *Richard* III. made away, having been kept long before in Priſon. The Occaſion as it ſeemeth, was the Attempt of certain *Iriſh-men* of the Weſt and South Parts, who would have got him into their Power and made him their Chief; being ſtrongly affected to any of the Houſe of *York*, were they Legitimate or Natural, for *Richard* Duke of *York*'s Sake, ſometimes their Viceroy: And thus much in brief of that.

1485.

(*c*) The Mathematicians that calculated the Nativity of this Earl *Edward*, told the Earl his Father, that the Earldom would fall in his Sons time.

(*d*) Baſtards of K. *Richard*. *Grafton & Chron. MS. in quarto apud Dn. Rob. Cotton.*

(*e*) Now to reſolve a Queſtion, why the King deferred ſo long the Death and Execution of the Earl of *Warwick* and *Perkin*, and took ſo much deliberation after he had reſolved it; one Reaſon and the chiefeſt brought by ſome, is, That in regard *Perkin* was an Alien, and in the Allegiance of a foreign Prince, therefore he could not be Condemned, nor executed for Felony, nor Treaſon by our Laws; which is a ridiculous Evaſion, for we have frequent Examples in our Stories, That the natural Subjects of *France*, of *Scotland*, *Spain*, *Pourtugal*, *Germany*, and *Italy*, have had Judgment and Execution by our Laws, for Felony and Treaſon, as *Peter de Gaveſton* a *Frenchman*, Sir *Andrew Harcley* a *Scot*, and lately Dr. *Lopez* a *Portugal*; therefore apparently that was not the Cauſe the King ſo doubtfully, and (as it were) timerouſly deferred their Arraignments and Executions. The Heathens perhaps would have defined it ſome inward Awe or conceal'd Scruple, ſuch as they call'd *Eumenides* and *Erynnies*, and believ'd haunted thoſe Men that had purpos'd or acted a Wickedneſs: Upon which the Poet ſaid well:

(*e*) Why the Publick Juſtice deferred the Death of the Princes.

Dæmone Genii.

——*Patiturque unos mens ſaucia Manes.*

And aſſign'd to every Man his protecting Spirit, whom the *Greeks* call'd *Dæmones*, the *Latines Genios*; concluding, that when the *Genius* of him againſt whom the Miſchief aims, is Stronger and more Active than his who is to act it, there the Plot hardly taketh Effect.

For example, Produce the mortal Enmity between *Octavianus Cæſar* and *M. Antonius*, in which *Anthony* could never prevail by any Attempt; who conſulting with his Soothſayers, they give the reaſon to be the power of *Octavianus*'s Genius above his. It is reported the great Philoſopher *Apollonius* had ſuch a ſecret Protection and ſo ſtrong, that the Emperor *Domitian* had no power over his Life, tho' he ſtudied means to take it; *Suidas* adding that this Philoſopher in confidence of his Genius when he left the Emperor, added this Verſe,

Plutarch in Anton.

Philoſtrat. in vita Apollon.

Οὐ μὲν με κτανεεις, ἐπεὶ ἄνοι μορσιμός εἰμι.

Me non occides quia fataliter protectus ſum:

which is that *Flamius Vopiſcus* calleth *Majeſtatem Apollonii* (as I gueſs) and with it the Profeſſors of Chriſtian Religion agree in the Effects, not in the Cauſes; for thoſe whom the Hea-

Vopiſcus in Aureliano.

(*a*) This Earl *John* died *Anno* 4 H. 8. 1512. *Dominus de* Arundel *viva voce.*

(*b*) I may call it a ſtately Earldom, for the E. of *Oxenford*, when he came to the poſſeſſion of it, was offered by ſome 12000 *l. per Ann.* and leave to his Occupation all Mannors, Houſes, Caſtles, Parks Woods, Forreſts, and all the Demeſn Lands thereto belonging, which might be more worth by yearly value than many Earldoms in this Age.

† What were the Duke of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lord *Daubeney*, the Earl of *Rich.* the Lord *Abergavenny*, the Lord *Cobham*, who all were in Arms to oppoſe him.

then

1485. then call Δαίμονες *Dæmones*, &c. *Genios*, the Chriſtian Theologues call *Angels* or *Spirits*, whereof they hold good and bad.

Angels good and bad.

But to return to the Matters further Allegate and Probate. The induſtrious Antiquary Maſter *John Stow*, being requir'd to deliver his Opinion concerning the Proofs of this Murther, affirmed it was never prov'd by any credible Evidence, no not by probable Suſpitions, or ſo much as by the Knights of the Poſt, that King *Richard* was guilty of it. And Sir *Thomas Moore* (being puzzled with his Equivocations) ſays, that it could never come to light what became of the Bodies of theſe two Princes. *Grafton*, *Hall*, and *Holinſhead* * agreeing in the ſame report, that the Truth hereof was utterly unknown. Then where is their far ſeeing Knowledge, that will have them tranſported into foreign Countries or Drowned, or their Gigantick Proofs, that ſay peremptorily, they were both Murthered and Buried in the *Tower* by thoſe Four nam'd before: If ſo, we need go no further for the Truth. But theſe are Splenetick Reaches, and the *Parachroniſm* is too groſs as the *Comœdian* ſaid,

Terentius in Phormio.

Quod dictum, indictum eſt,
Quod modo ratum, irritum eſt,

What was ſaid, is unſaid again;
What was prov'd, revers'd.

Beſides, if *Perkin* were not the ſecond Son of King *Edward*, he muſt be nothing; for the *Flemiſh*, *French*, and *Walloons* acknowledged no ſuch Noble young Man to be Born in *Warbecke*, or in *Tourney* ||; but make honourable mention of a young Son of the King of *England*, who was brought to the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* his Aunt, being then in *Flanders*, and how he was in *France* and in other Kingdoms. And ſurely ſo many Noble and Diſcreet *Engliſh*, if they had not known him to be the ſame by moſt certain Tokens, and Evidence, would not ſo confidently have laid down their Lives to confirm their Knowledge of him, or hazarded their Judgments and Honours upon an Impoſture, or Vanity, eſpecially thoſe who had Places of Quality and Eminency near the King then living, and were in favour at Court. Therefore I would be reſolv'd from our *Anti-Richards*, what Aim thoſe Noblemen could have, in averring him the Son of *Edward* IV. by the hazard of their Lives and Eſtates (if the King pleaſed) and how could they expect leſs; for tho' they were enough to juſtifie it a Truth, they were too few to maintain it againſt him, there could be no Aim or Hope to ſuper-induce young *Richard* to be King: but merely I am perſwaded in point of Truth and Honour, as they thought themſelves bound to do, they freely tendred their Lives to make good what their Conſcience and Knowledge witneſſed, for it would be an Impoſture of a miraculous Deception, ſo many worthy and wiſe Perſons both of the Nobility and Clergy, ſome of them having ſerved the King his Father and himſelf, that they all in their particular and general Intelligence and Underſtandings, ſhould be Miſtaken and Cheated. I ſay, it was a ſtrange Deluſion if it could be ſo; but indeed thoſe that would have it ſo, leave it in Queſtion, and know not well what to make of their own Relations, or how to reſolve his Hiſtory; and if we mark Sir *Francis Bacon* in the Life of *Henry* VII. (tho' his Speculation be tender, and as favourable as he can that way) touching the Hiſtory of this young Duke, he gently ſlides from it. 1485.

* *Holinſhead*, as well as Sir *Thomas Moor*, ſays, Sir *James Tyrrel*, order'd them to be Buried under the Stairs, and when he brought word to King *Richard* what he had done with them, the King diſlik'd the place of their Burial, becauſe they were King's Sons, upon which Sir *Robert Brackenbury*'s Chaplain removed their Bones to another place that was not then found out.

|| The Lord *Verulam* in his reign of King *Henry* VII. gives a full Account of his Pedigree from *John Osbeck*, a Convert Jew of *Tournay*, which *Perkin* in his Confeſſion acknowledges. *Hol.* p. 786.

BOOK IV.

The ARGUMENT of the Fourth BOOK of the LIFE and REIGN of *RICHARD* III.

Upon what Occaſion the Sentence of Baſtardy was given upon the Children of King Edward *the Fourth, and why. The ſundry Loves, Wooings, Contracts and Marriages of King* Edward *IV. His divers Concubines. His Device of the Fetterlock, and the Faulcon. His Wooing the Lady* Elianor Talbot *alias* Butler, *the Lady* Bona *of* Savoy, *and the Lady* Elizabeth Gray *Widow, and his Marriage with her. His former Marriage or Contract with the ſaid* Elianor, *her Wrongs and her Death. Kings muſt not marry the Daughters of their Vaſſals, nor other without the conſent of their Barons, Dr.* Stillington *Biſhop of* Bath *Impriſon'd for ſpeaking of King* Edward's *Marriage with the Lady* Elianor Talbott, Spuria vitulamina. *How King* Edward *might have ſalved thoſe Errors and prevented all the Miſchiefs following them. The Children of King* Edward IV. *declared and adjudged Illegitimate. King* Edward's *Death ſuſpected by Poiſon; the Mortality of the* Plantagenets. *The Authority of Parliament; Parliaments how ſo called and derived; Parliaments againſt Parliaments. The firſt Parliament of*

1485. *King* Henry *VII. What Treaſon is; Whether Sovereign Princes may be ſaid to commit Treaſon againſt their Subjects; The Treaty of Marriage between King* Richard *III. and the Lady* Elizabeth Plantagenet, *and chiefly ſought by her ſelf and the Queen her Mother; The Entertainment of the Lady* Elizabeth *at the Court; the firſt Libel of Divorce; The Scruples of the Lady* Elizabeth; *King* Richard *never meant to marry her. The Marriages of Nieces allowed by the Pope, and uſual; The true Cauſe of Sir* Thomas Moore's *Condemnation and Execution.* 1485

THE Title King *Richard* III. had to the Crown, accrued to him by the Illegitimacy of the Children of King *Edward* IV. and the Attainder of the Duke of *Clarence*, with the Corruption of his Blood, and Forfeiture of the Title in him and in his Heirs, of which there was no Queſtion: But of the Forfeiture and Diſheritage of the Sons of *Edward* IV. there hath been much. The true Cauſe hath not nor cannot be well known, without the Narration of King *Edward*'s ſundry Loves and Wooings, ſpecially his Contracts and Marriages.

How extreme his Deſires were, you may ſee in the Speech of the D. of Buckingham, ſet down by Sir Thomas Moore

I ſhall not need to intimate how Amorous and Wanton this King was, his many Miſtriſſes or *Amaſia*'s he kept, in ſeveral private Places; whereof the moſt famous was *Katharine de Clarington*, *Elizabeth Wiatt* alias *Lucy*, *Jane Shore*, the Lady *Elianor Talbot*. And it is worth the remembring (in the Concourſe of ſuch Matters as theſe) there was another fair Creature ſo dear unto him, that his too much Affection begat Suſpicion; of which he gave her a Kind Expreſſion, by a quaint Device ſent unto her in a rich Jewel, faſhion'd much after the manner of the trivial Hierogliffs us'd in *France*, and call'd *Rebus de Picardy*. The Device was, A Faulcon encompaſs'd with a Fetter-lock: The Mott, *Au Faulcon Serrure*. The Caution lying in the Ambiguity and double ſenſe of Faulcon: which being whole and proper, ſignifieth a Hawk; but divided, hath an obſcene Signification, and ſo Faulcon becometh an *æquivoque*.

The King afterward was ſo affected with this Device, that he would have it carv'd and painted, in many of his Royal Works yet to be ſeen at *Fotheringhay* and elſewhere.

Yet altho' the King's Jealouſie was thus particular to her, his Affection was as general to others; being a frank Gameſter, and he that would caſt at all, fairly ſet. Above all, for a time he was much ſpeld with *Elianor Talbot*, Daughter of *John Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury* (called in the Act of Parliament 1 *Rich* 3. The old Earl of *Shrewsbury*) her Mother was the Lady *Katharine Stafford*, Daughter of *Humphrey Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, and ſhe the Widow of *Thomas* Lord *Butler* Baron of *Sudeſley*. Her Beauty and ſweetneſs of Diſpoſition drew his Deſire ſo vehemently, and with ſuch reſpect, that he was ſuddenly Contracted, and after Married by Dr. *Thomas Stillington* Biſhop of *Bath*, Councellor of State (one much favour'd by the King, and often employ'd by him in great Affairs.) This is witneſſed by our Engliſh Writers, and veritable *Philip de Comines*, in theſe words: *Le Eveſque de Bath (lequel avoit eſte Conſeillier du Roy Edward) diſoit que le dit Roy avoit promis foy de Mariage a une Dame de Angleterre, & qu'il avoit nommé, & que le Roy avoit fait la promiſe entre les mains dudict Eveſque, & dit auſſi c'eſt Eveſque, qu'il avoit apres eſpouſé, & n'y avoit que luy & ceux deux* †. *Philip de Comines in Eud. 11. Cap. 112. & 122.*

In Engliſh thus:

The Biſhop of *Bath*, a Privy Councellor of King *Edward* ſaid, That the King had plighted his Faith to marry a Lady of *England*, whom the Biſhop named the Lady *Elianor Talbot*; and that this Contract was made in the hands of the Biſhop, who ſaid that afterwards he married them, no Perſons being preſent but they twain and he, the King charging him ſtrictly not to reveal it.

Which Contract and Marriage are related in the Act of Parliament aforeſaid, where it is diſertly called a former Marriage, and the King had a Child by her. But where Deſires are unlawful, they will be unlimited. We are ever young enough to ſin; never old enough to repent: never conſtant, never ſatisfied in our neareſt Deſires. Though to Morrow ſhew us the Sting of to Day, the third ſhall betray us again; and we are taken (like Children in a Shop of Trinkets) by the Eye, liking all things, from one to another, until Pleaſure dull Pleaſure, and we grow weary of them. As in the Dotages of this King, who had now received others into the boſom of his Fancy; eſpecially the Fame (which was then in every Courtier's Ear and Mouth) of an excellent Lady in the Court of *France*, with the Queen *Charletts*, Wife of King *Lewis* XI. and Siſter to this Lady whoſe Name was *Bona* the Daughter of *Lewis* Duke of *Savoy*. And ſo ſuddenly and ſtrongly had he taken fire and apprehenſion of her Report (the bent of his affection being merely wanton to every new Object, thinking Love a cold Compoſition, without the Priviiege of Variety) that he ſtraight falls into terms of engagement and capitulation of Marriage; to which purpoſe the great and renowned *Richard Nevil* Earl of *Warwick* and *Salisbury*, and Captain of *Calais* (then in the Eſteem of his beſt and moſt truſty Friend) had a Commiſſion of Treaty, and with all ſpeed was ſent Ambaſſador into *France*; who, with all Honour and Magnificence to his Wiſh effects it; The great Earl of *Warwick*.

† This is a patch'd Quotation out of the 5th Book of *Phil. de Comines*; Let the Reader ſee a true one out of the 6th Book of the ſame Author.

Le duc de Gloceſtre avoit fait Hommage a ſon neveu comme a ſon Roi & Souverain Seigneur & incontinent apres commit ce cas & en pleine Parlement d'Angleterre feit degrader deux Filles du Roi Edouard & declarer baſtardes, ſous couleur de quelque cas qu'il prouva par un Eveſque de Bas en Angleterre, qui autre fois avoit eu grand credit avec le Roi Edouard, & puis le deſapointa & tint en Priſon, & de rancema d'Une Somme d'Argent; Lequel Eveſque diſoit, que Ledit Edouard avoit promis foi de Mariage a Une Dame D'Angleterre, qu'il nommoit (pour ce qu'Ile eſtoit amoreux), pour en avoir ſon plaiſir & en avoit feit la promeſſe entre les mains du dit Eveſque, & ſur cette Promeſſe coucha avec elle & ne le faiſoit que pour la Tromper.— The Duke of *Glouceſter* had done Homage to his Nephew, as his King and Sovereign, and a little after did this thing by him and his Brother. *(avoit fait mourir*, kill'd them) and had King *Edward*'s two Daughters baſtardis'd in full Parliamet, pretending the Biſhop of *Bath* prov'd that when he was in favour with King *Edward*, who afterwards impriſon'd him, The ſaid King *Edward* had Promis'd Marriage to a certain *Engliſh* Lady, whom he nam'd, on purpoſe to have his Will of her; That he gave her this Promiſe before him the ſaid Biſhop, upon which he lay with her and deceiv'd her *Cet Mauvais Eveſque*, continues he, *garda cette vengeance en ſon cœur*, &c. This wicked Biſhop kept Revenge in his Mind 20 Year.

with

1485. with the more noble and eaſy diſpatch, the Earl of *Warwick* being a Man eminet through all the Parts of *Europe*, for his Valour, Wiſdom, and Heroical Vertues. Expecting a Welcom at his Return anſwerable to the period of his Employment, but finds an Alteration not only of the King's Affection, but of his Countenance: for in the interim he had (in an inſtant or particle of time as it were) wooed and wedded the Lady *Elizabeth Gray*, Relict of Sir *John Gray*, Daughter of Sir *Richard Woodville*, and of *Jaquetta*, ſometime Dutcheſs of *Bedford*, and the Daughter of the Earl of St. *Poole*. Her Husband was one *Gray* a Knight of *Grooby*, who became a very vehement *Lancaſtrian*, revolting from the Houſe of *York*, and therefore the more hateful to thoſe of that Family, and the Well-wiſhers thereof (ſo to the Earl of *Warwick*.) He was Slain at the Battle of St. *Alban*'s: Of whom, and of this Lady his Wife, as of this Marriage, *Philip de Comines* relates ſomething, which I ſhall leave to the Interpretation of the better knowing, and deſire not to underſtand it in the words: *Or depuis le dict Roy Eduart eſpousè la fille d'un Chevallier de Angleterre femme veufue, qui avoit deux filz & auſſi per Amorrettes.*

The Lady *Bona* was afterward married to *John Galeazo Sforza*, Duke of *Millain et Rueſeur.*

But neither the diſpiſed ſtate of Widowhood, nor the meanneſs of her Quality and Condition, the earneſt Diſſwaſion of the Dutcheſs his Mother and beſt Friends, could make him withdraw his Affection, ſo deeply and obſtinately he was ſurprized with her Beauty: yet if he could have enjoy'd his Longings otherwiſe, he had not married her. But ſhe was of ſo pregnant and reſerv'd a Wit, (ſeconded by the Caution and Counſels of the Dutcheſs her Mother) that his higheſt Temptations and ſweeteſt Batteries could not win upon her; proteſting never to yield to any diſhonourable Parley or unchaſte Motion, altho' it might warrant the ſafety of her Life; and humbly implored his Grace not to think her ſo exorbitantly and vainly Ambitious to wiſh her ſelf a Queen, or to have the Hope and Preſumption to be any thing higher than what ſhe was, *His* poor and humble Vaſſal: Nor was ſhe of ſo low and loſt a Mind, as to violate her Chaſtity, or be a Concubine to the greateſt King.

When the King perceiv'd there was no other Remedy but that he muſt ſhift his Sail to that ſcantling of Wind, he complies with her, and Proteſts it was his Deſire and Suit to marry her, notwithſtanding her Inequality: for in his eſteem, her Love, her Beauty, and her Vertue, made her Fortunes and Dowry great, and high enough for any King. Nor did he defer it any longer than there was Neceſſity; but marry her he did, and with ſuch diſpatch, that he ſtay'd not for the Advice of any, either Councellor, Kinſman, or other whatſoever.

Nay, his ſpeed admitted not the approved Ceremony of the Banes asking. And ſuch was the want of Reverend Biſhops then, that he was fain to take an ordinary Prieſt to marry them, in a Chamber too, inſtead of a Church, and that in a Lodge or Forreſt-Houſe; no body being preſent but the Dutcheſs, and ſome few of her Company. So where he firſt ſaw her (and by chance) there at the next Interview he married her; an Act of as high Exception as Improvidence. For his Barony thought it a moſt unworthy and unequal Match, diſtaſting it the more as done without their Conſent, which they aſſever'd the King ought to have by their ancient Privileges: and were the more exaſperated, conſidering the great Inequality between her Condition and the Imperial Majeſty of *England*, being the Relict but of a poor Knight, his mortal Enemy too. Above all, the Earl of *Warwick* took it for an high Indignity and Scandal to his Honour, which ſtood ſo far engaged in *France* to the Lady *Bona* and her Princely Friends; knowing the *French* would be as ſenſible of the Scorn, beſides the great Charge he had been at, to manage the Employment. In the heat of theſe Diſgraces (for tranſcendent Spirits have their anſwerable Paſſions; and it is as dangerous to ſtand in their way, as in the Reaches of an angry Tide) he forſook the King, and ſoon after takes up Arms againſt him; an Induction to thoſe ſucceeding Evils which purſu'd that inconſiderate Marriage: of which the Judicious *Polidor* (*lib* 24) maketh this Cenſure. 1485.

This Marriage was in the Forreſt of *Whichwood*,

Rex Edwardus *mutato Concilio de ducenda in uxorem* Bone, *filia Ducis Sabaudiæ*, Elizabetham *viduam* Johannis Gray *Militis, in Matrimonium duxit; & de eo Matrimonio ob Mulieris humilitatem non modo neceſſarios Principes, verum etiam* Richardum Woodvillum *Patrem mulieris celat: qua cauſa cognita cuncti protinus mirari, Principes fremere, Paſſimque voces emittere indignationis, & Regem non ex ſua dignitate feciſſe, eaſque nuptias ſe crimini dare & dedecori aſſignare, quod cæco amore non ratione ductus eſſet; ſed inde initium profectum eſt ſimultatis ortæ inter Regem* Edwardum & Richardum *Comitem Warwici*, &c.

L'indignete de ce Marriage du Roy Edw. *avec un ſimple gentile femme, diſplaiſant au Conte Warwick, & aux principaux Seigneurs de Angleterre, & offenſa tellement le Roy* Lewis 11. *qu'ils font confederacon, contre le Roy* Eduart. *&c.* Jean ne Tillet, Part. 2.

In *Engliſh* thus:

" King *Edward*, having changed his Purpoſe " of taking to Wife the Lady *Bona* Daughter " to the Duke of *Savoy*, married *Elizabeth* the " Widow of *John Gray* Knight; concealing, up- " on the Account of the Meanneſs of her Birth, " what he had done, not only from his Princely " Relations, but even from *Richard Woodville* " her Father: Which thing when it came to be " known, was matter of Admiration to every " one; The Nobles murmured thereat, and by " their Words every where bewray'd the Indig- " nation of their Heart, that the King had not " acted ſuitably to his Dignity, and that they " accounted this Marriage blame-worthy and " diſhonourable, becauſe he was led thereto by " blind Love, not by Reaſon. It was this which " gave a Beginning to that Hatred and Enmity " betwixt King *Edward*, and *Richard* the re- " nowned Earl of *Warwick*, &c.

But if you will not give credit to him, you ſhall hear an *Engliſh* Prelate living in thoſe Times.

Edwardus *Rex fretus propria electione cujuſdam Militis rilictam nomine* Elizabeth, *inconſultis Regni proceribus clandeſtino ſibi deſtinavit Matrimonio; poſtea ipſam in reginam Coronari fecit: quod quidem Regni optimates ægrè tulerunt, quia de tam mediocri ſtirpe fœminam procreatam ad Regni Conſortium ſecum præpropere ſublimaret.* That is,

" King *Edward*, without conſulting with the " Nobles of his Realm, and relying ſolely up- " on his one Choice, ſecretly married the " Widow of a certain Knight, by Name *Eliza- " beth*; cauſing her afterwards to be crowned " Queen; By which the Peers of the Kingdom " were highly diſguſted, becauſe he had ſo un- " adviſedly exalted a Woman ſo meanly de- " ſcended to a Partnerſhip in Sovereignty.

Thus this amorous King loſt his Honour, with many of his Beſt and great Friends: yet eſcap'd well, that he had no more real and preſent feeling of the Errour; being the firſt King of *England* that ever mingled his Royal Blood and Majeſty in the Alliance of ſo private and mean a Family.

1485. The Story of *Arragon* mentions a King depos'd for marrying the Daughter of his Subject; and King *Edward* was ſomething near it; for ſoon after, he was expulſed his Kingdom: But being a Man that kept an induſtrious and invincible Courage above his Troubles, he happily recover'd that Loſs, never his Honour and Friends, which he might have preſerv'd, and prevented all thoſe Calamities that overtook him in his Iſſue, by the Advice of the Dutcheſs his Mother, who upon the ſecret Advertiſement of his Love to this Lady *Gray*, uſed all the Perſwaſions and Authority of a Mother, to return him to the Lady *Elianor Talbot* his former Love and Wife (at leaſt his contracted) to finiſh and conſummate what he was bound to by publick Solemnity of Marriage; and preſs'd it with ſuch ingenious Engagements, that for the Arguments ſake, I have tranſcrib'd the Paſſage out of Sir *Thomas Moor* and the reſt of our *Engliſh* Writers. Thus ſhe diſſwades him.

The Speech of the Dutcheſs of *York* to K. *Edw.* IV.

"MY Liege Lord, and my Dear Son; it is very commonly reported you are purpoſed to marry the Lady *Gray*, a Widow and a mean Gentlewoman, which you cannot but conceive will redound to your Diſparagement and Diſhonour: All the Wiſe, Great and Nobleſt Perſons of your Kingdom, thinking it far more to the Advantage of your Honour, Profit and Safety, to ſeek the Alliance of a Noble Progeny, and rather in a Foreign Country than your own; as well in regard, thereupon may depend great Strength to your Eſtate, and great poſſibility to enlarge your Poſſeſſions by ſuch Affinity. Alſo (if well conſider'd) you may not ſafely marry any other than the Lady *Bona*, the Earl of *Warwick* having proceeded ſo far in the Current of that Match already, that 'tis likely he will not ſit down contented, if his troubleſome and coſtly Negotiation ſhould be ſo ſlightly blown off and fruſtrated.

"Beſides, Sir, conſider it is not Princely for a King to Marry his own Subject, (at leaſt no great and important Occaſion leading him thereunto, nor Poſſeſſions or other Commodity depending thereupon) but will be leſs tolerable to all Opinion, than if a Rich Man ſhould marry his Maid, only for a little wanton Dotage upon her Perſon; in which kind of Marriages, many Men commend more the Maid's Fortune than the Maſter's Diſcretion. Yet there muſt needs be more Honeſty in ſuch a Marriage, than can be Honour in this which you affect: For the difference is not ſo great betwixt a rich Merchant and his Servant, as you muſt think between the King and the Widow *Gray*; in whoſe Perſon (albeit there be nothing to be miſliked) there is nothing ſo excellent, but it may be found in divers other Women, much more Noble and many ways Exceeding her, and more comparatively to your Eſtate (thoſe alſo Virgins, who muſt be thought of a much more honourable Eſtimation than Widows) wherefore the Widowhood only of *Elizabeth Gray* (tho' in all other things ſhe were convenient for you) were not enough to reſtrain you, being a King, and ſo great a King.

"And it muſt ſtick as a foul Diſparagement to the ſacred Majeſty of a Prince (who ought as nearly to approach the Prieſthood in Pureneſs and Cleanneſs, as he doth in Dignity) to be defiled with Bigamy in his firſt Marriage.

Thus far the King could with Attention hear the Dutcheſs; but being extremely far gone in Love, or rather in the hot Paſſion of Love, he was reſolute to marry her; and partly in earneſt, and partly in play (as one that well wiſt he was out of the Check of a Mother) yet reverently thus replied; 1485.

MADAM,

The Anſwer of K. *Edw.* IV. to the Dutcheſs of *York* his Mother.

"ALtho' Marriage, being a ſpiritual thing, ought rather to be made according to the Will and Ordinance of Almighty God, where he by his Grace inclineth, either Parties to love mutually and virtuouſly (as I hope and truſt he doth work in ours) and not for the regard of any temporal Advantage; yet, nevertheleſs, this Marriage (as it ſeemeth to me, being conſider'd, even after the World's account) is not unprofitable nor without fruits: For I reckon not the Alliance and Amity of any earthly Nation or foreign Prince ſo neceſſary for me, as the Friendſhip and Love of mine own Subjects; who, as I hope, will be the more induced to love me, and acknowledge mine to them, ſeeing I diſdain not to marry one of my own Land; when (if a foreign Alliance were thought ſo requiſite) I could find the Means of that much better by other of my Kin (where all thoſe Parties would be content) but to marry my ſelf to one whom I ſhould, peradventure, never love; and for the poſſibility of more Poſſeſſions, loſe the Fruit and Pleaſure of this I have already: For ſmall Pleaſure taketh a Man of all he hath, or can have, if he be Wived againſt his Appetite.

"And I doubt not but there be (as you ſay, Madam) other Women in every point comparable to the Lady *Gray*; therefore I lett not other Men to Wed them, no more than have they reaſon to miſlike where it liketh me.

"Nor doubt I my Couſin of *Warwick*'s Love can be ſo ſlightly ſettled to me, as to grudge at that which I affect; nor ſo unreaſonable, to look, that in my Choice of a Wife I ſhou'd rather be ruled by his Eye than mine own; that were to make me a Ward, and bind me to marry by the Appointment of a Guardian; with ſuch ſervile and hard Conditions I would not be a King.

"As for the poſſibility you urge of more Inheritance by new Affinity in ſtrange Lands, that is not always certain; but contrariwiſe, it is oftentimes the occaſion of more Trouble than Profit. Beſides, we have already a Title and Seiſine ſo good and great, as may ſuffice to be gotten, and ſo to be kept by one Man, and in one Man's Days.

"For your Objection, That the Lady *Gray* hath been a Wife, and is now a Widow, and hath already Children; Why, (by God's bleſſed Lady) I that am a Batchelor have ſome Children too; and ſo, for our better comfort, there is proof that neither of us is like to be barren. And I truſt in God, Madam, you ſhall live to ſee her bring forth a young Prince, and your pretty Son, that ſhall be a Joy and Pleaſure to you.

"For the Bigamy objected, let the Biſhop lay it hardly in my way, when I come to take Orders of Prieſthood; for I confeſs I underſtand Bigamy is forbidden to a Prieſt, but I never wiſt it yet forbidden to a Prince; therefore I pray you, Good Madam, trouble your ſelf and me no further in this Matter.

Then

1485. Then ſhe urged his Contract *(a)* with the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy*, and his having had a Child by her, (as ſhe ſaid) and thought her ſelf bound in Conſcience to charge him with. Mr. *Moor*, *Grafton*, *Stow* and the reſt, ſay, The King utterly denied that Contract, and proteſted it a Slander: which well and juſtly he might do, and theſe Authors may retract what they have written. For the truth is, he was never contracted to her, tho' he loved her well, being of an affable and witty Temper; nor did ſhe ever alledge the King was betrothed to her, but that he had entangled her by ſweet and tempting Language: And who knoweth not *Credula res Amor eſt*? But true it is, he had a Child by her, which was the Baſtard *Arthur*, called commonly (but unduly) *Arthur Plantagenet*, afterward made Viſcount *Liſle* by *H.* VIII.

In this Relation, the Hiſtorians have much and foully err'd; not only corrupting the Story, but have injured the Dutcheſs of *York* in her Judgment and Knowledge of theſe Matters; and the tenor of her former Speech, making her to charge the King as contracted to this *Elizabeth Lucy* (of Birth and Quality much meaner than the Lady *Grey* whom ſhe conceived ſo baſely of: for *Elizabeth Lucy* was the Daughter of one *Wyat* of *Southampton*, a mean Gentleman, (if he were one) and the Wife of one *Lucy*, as mean a Man as *Wyat*. True it is, the King kept her as his Concubine, and ſhe was One of thoſe moſt famous Three who had particular Epithets, (being call'd his Witty Leman). For that they would have her ſay the King was never betrothed to her, it importeth nothing, and therefore, I conceive, it was never extracted from her. But truly to ſalve the Story and Error of theſe Writers, we muſt know, that Lady to whom the King was firſt betrothed and married, was *Elianor Talbot*, Daughter of a Great Peer of this Realm, of a moſt noble and illuſtrious Family, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who is alſo called in authentick Writings the Lady *Butler*, becauſe ſhe was then the Widow of the Lord *Butler*, (a Lady of a very eminent Beauty and anſwerable Virtue) to whom the King was contracted, married, and had a Child by her. This is that Lady (not *Elizabeth Lucy*) the Queen ſpake of to her Son; and (to note *Obiter*) the King's Breach with this Lady, was a Cauſe the ſubtil Widow would not liſten unto him before Marriage, having learned *Credulitas damno ſolet eſſe puellæ*. This Marriage caſt the Lady *Elianor Butler* into ſo perplext a Melancholy, that ſhe ſpent her ſelf in a ſolitary Life ever after: And how ſhe died is not certainly known; but out of doubt, Kindneſs was not the cauſe, he having a Kindneſs for every new Face, and was ſo become exceedingly fancied to his new Wife the Lady *Grey*, no Court or Pleaſure now, but where ſhe is. In this continuance of his amorous Indulgence, which was many Years, and rendred a fruitful Iſſue to him) no queſtion, that Party of her Kindred made their beſt Advantage from it: Yet the Remembrance of that Pre-contract after a time, moved him by ſuch ſenſible Apprehenſions, he could not brook to have it mention'd; which was the cauſe of his Diſpleaſure againſt his ancient Chaplain Dr. *Stillington* of *Bath*, becauſe he did what his Conſcience urg'd, to God and the Kingdom, in diſcovering the Marriage, occaſion'd by the Lady's ſudden Indiſpoſition and preſſing Sorrow; who not able to contain her ſelf, had open'd it to a Lady her Siſter; or, as ſome ſay, to her Mother the Counteſs of *Shrewsbury*; ſhe, to the Earl her Husband; he conſults it with his nobleſt Kinsfolks and Friends, as it was a general Scandal to them all: They to inform themſelves the better, had Conference with Dr. *Stillington*, who affirmed the Contract and Marriage, with whom they adviſe; that as he was a Biſhop and a Privy Counſellor, it behoved him to prepare it to the King's Conſideration, for ſome Redreſs and Satisfaction, But the Biſhop (tho' willing) durſt not deal with the King in that manner; rather wiſh'd they would apply it to the Duke of *Glouceſter*, as the Man moſt inward with the King; whereof *Philip de Comines* thus writeh; *Ceſtuy Eueſque d'Bath, mit en avant a ce Dux* Glouceſter, *que le dit Roy* Edouart *eſtoit fort amoreux, d'un Dame, d'* Angleterre, *& luy promiſe de l' eſpouſer pour veu qu'il couchat avec illa, ells s'y conſentit: & dit ceſte Eueſque, qu'il les avoit Eſpouſes, & n'y avoit que luy & eux deux.* *Philip de Comines.*

1485.

The Duke of *Glouceſter*, as they deſir'd, preſs'd it to the King, who became more incens'd against the Biſhop, ſaying, He had not only betray'd his Truſt, but his Children; and upon that Heat puts him from the Council-Table under a ſtrict Impriſonment for a long time, which at length he redeem'd himſelf from by a heavy Fine, as is teſtifyed by Dr. *Goodwin* Biſhop of *Hereford*, in his *Catalogus Epiſcoporum*, who writeth thus; Philip *de* Comines, *le Roy* Edw. *de ſupposè l'Eveſque, & le tient in priſon, & le Ranſon de un bon ſumme d' Argent.* Which was taken for a peice of more Paſſion than Juſtice; the Biſhop not deſerving ſo to ſuffer in this caſe, where his Conſcience might very well excuſe what he did.

Not long after, King *Edward* died; of what Diſeaſe it is doubtfully ſuggeſted: Some thought of an Apoplexy or Dead Palſie. *Polidor Virgil* ſaith, of a Diſeaſe utterly unknown to all the Phyſicians, which leaves it to a further Conſtruction. The Author of the Hiſtory of *Brittain*, delivers plainly, that King *Edward* was kill'd by Poiſon (as the common Report in *France* went). *Aucuns diſoyent que le Roy de* Angleterre Edovart, *avoit eſtè Empoiſonné au mois d' auril en l' an.* 1463. And *Euguerrant de Monſtrolet* writeth, That ſome ſaid he died of an Apoplexy; others, He was Poiſon'd in Wine of *Creu*, which King *Lewis* the Eleventh ſent to him. *Philip de Comines*, to that purpoſe, ſays, *Aucuns diſent que le Roy* Eduart, *mourut d'un Catarrhe*; that is, Some ſay that King *Edward* died of a *Catarrhe*; for that is their Phraſe in *France* when a Great Man is made away by Poiſon. Of ſuch a venemous *Catarrhe* died the young King *Edward* VI. But by whoſe Hand King *Edward* IV. had his Death, it is not ſaid; certain it is, he was generally belov'd of all his Subjects, except thoſe of the *Lancaſtrian* Faction. As ſoon as he was dead, the Silence brake into a general Muttering againſt his Marriage, then into loud and publick Inveighing againſt it: All Tongues were at liberty, and Pardons were hoped for all Offences; the general and common Opinion being quite againſt it and the Children. And Dr. *Morton* affirmed, The Duke of *Buckingham*, with other Noble Lords, ſaw and read certain authentink Inſtruments made and ſign'd by learned Doctors, Proctors and Notaries, with the Depoſitions

How K. *Edward* died.

Lib. 4. in Hiſt. Brit.

Monſtrolet, Part 3. de ce Chron.

Dr. *Morton*. Sir *Thomas Moor*, *Grafton*, *Hollinſhead*, *Stow*.

Elizabeth Lucy.

Ovid.

(a) *Hollinſhead* ſays ſhe only cauſed a Præ-contract to be alledg'd made by him with the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy*; "But "all Doubts removed, all Things made clear, and all Cavillations avoided, he privily in the Morning married her. *Pag.* 668.

of

1485. of ſundry credible Perſons, importing and teſtifying the Children of *Edward* IV. were Baſtards: with which opinion the City of *London* was alſo poſſeſſed; and Dr. *Shaw*, Frier *Pinke* and other Preachers in the Pulpits declar'd them *Spuria vitulamina.* To this conſented all the People of the North Parts in their Supplicatory Scroll before-mention'd; which the Court of Parliament adjudged and decreed to be ſo. A fault of Improvidence in their Father, who might have prevented all Quarrells and Queſtions about that and future Claims, repair'd all Flaws and Defects of Titles; alſo have taken away the Errour and Inconveniency of the Poſt-contract, or later Marriage, that gave the imputation of Baſtards to his Children; and ſo have avoided all the inſuing Miſchiefs and Calamities. If firſt he had procured a Divorce of the former Contract with the Lady *Elianor* from the Pope, who was then held to have all Power both of Heaven and Earth.

How King *Edward* might have prevented all after-queſtions.

Or if after the ſecond Marriage (and while he flouriſhed, which was by the ſpace of Fourteen Years) he had either by a due Conſideration, or Counſel of his beſt Friends, wrought the Pope's Pardon for breach of the Pre-contract with the Lady *Elianor*; then, his Apoſtolical Bull of Diſpenſation, for his Poſt-contract, or Matrimony ſuperinducted (as they call it) which might eaſily have been obtain'd at *Rome*, for Money. And after that, to have ſummon'd a Parliament, requiring the three Eſtates to have ratify'd and confirm'd theſe Bulls, for the Approbation of the ſaid Marriage with the Lady *Gray*, and the Legitimation of his Children, and made them lawful by Act of Parliament according to the Pope's Indulgence (which was then a Sacred and moſt Inviolable thing.) Laſtly, to have declared, pronounced and decreed in Parliament, That the ſaid Children of the King, being ſo made Legitimate, were alſo capable of all Honours, Dignities, Eſtates, publick and private, of which the King ſtood ſeiſed, or which were any ways appertaining and proper to the Kingdom of *England*, and of *France*. I ſay, If he had done this, he had compoſed all Defects, and prevented all ſucceeding Dangers of Claims and Practices, which might have been done with ſmall or no trouble. A Courſe by another afterward opportunely thought on.

And ſurely (it may be conjectur'd) if this King had not been too Secure, and loſt in his Senſualities, he would by the like Parliamentary Power have rectified thoſe Errours, theſe great, high and difficult Works, being (indeed) proper to Parliaments, and pregnant and ſtrong Proofs of their great and tranſcendent Power, holding in themſelves a juſt Deſert and Claim of ſuch Power and Authority (if aſſembled and held as they ought) being a General Aſſembly and Convocation of the moſt Wiſe, Honourable, Juſt, and Religious Perſons of the Kingdom. Therefore the word Parliament (ſaith one) is compounded of *Parium* and *lamentum*, becauſe (as he thinketh) the Peers of the Country did at theſe Meetings complain each to other of the Enormities of their Country. But the better opinion is, That Parliament is ſimply from the French word *parler* (and that from the Greek παρλειμ, both ſignifying to ſpeak) and ſo by adding the termination, *ment* (which is common in the French Tongue, as well to many Nouns as Adverbs) do make up *Parliament*; meaning thereby an Aſſembly of Men called together to ſpeak or confer, *&c.*

The authority of Parliament.

Parliament, how ſo called and derived.

Lawrence Valla.

And it may not unfitly be call'd Parliament, for that each Man ſhould *parler*, *lament*, ſpeak his Mind. But *Laurence Valla* miſliketh that Etymology. 1485.

It may be gueſs'd the word *Parliament* (being tranſported out of *France*) began ſhortly after the *Norman* Conqueſt. One of the firſt authentical Reports of that Name, is found in the Statute 3 *E.* 1. commonly call'd *Weſtminſter Parliament*; that Aſſembly being ſaid to be *Primier generall apres Coronament le Roy.* But that is not the firſt word: for in the Statutes call'd *Articuli Cleri*, publiſh'd 9 *E.* 2, theſe words are read: *Temporibus progenitorum noſtrorum quondam Regum Angliæ Parliamentis ſuis, &c.* Which words *Progenitorum & quondam*, muſt needs reach higher than *E.* 1. that was but Father to him that ſpake it.

But at what time ſoever after the Conqueſt this Court began to be call'd a Parliament, the ſame was before known to the *Saxons* or *Engliſhmen*, by the word *Sinoth*, and *Micell Sinoth*, of the Greek συνοδος, now appropriated to Eccleſiaſtical Meetings only; and ſometimes by theſe terms, *Micell*, *Gemote*, *Witengemott*, and *Calca Witengemott*; that is, the meeting of Wiſemen, or of all the Wiſemen for *witena* ſignifieth Wiſe men, *Calca*, all, and *Gemott*, a Meetting: Of which laſt words the Names *Shiremotts*, *Eolmotts*, and *Halymotts*; that is, the meeting or aſſembling of the Men of a Shire, of a Town, and of the Tenants of a Hall or Manor, had their beginning alſo.

Now as *Sinoth* is more uſed in the Parliaments themſelves; ſo *Gemott* is more familiar to the Hiſtorians.

And this Parliament of *Anno* 1 *Rich.* 3. could be of no leſs Power and Vertue; witneſs the many and good Laws made in it, (albeit the ſecond Marriage of King *Edward* was adjudged unlawful, and the Acts of that Parliament for the moſt part repeal'd and abrogated afterward) yet the Evidence is clear enough, that the Judges and Law-makers of that Parliament, were wiſe and religious Men, and their Laws upright and juſt.

Therefore whatſoever was adjudged by them, was to be received and held as authentick and inviolable (how roughly ſoever it was afterward handled.) And in this caſe of the diſabling of King *Edward*'s Sons there is leaſt reaſon to ſuſpect them, the Cauſe being ſo new, ſo plain, and notoriouſly known, that no Man could be ignorant therein: Therefore to have given any other Judgment, but according to the truth of Evidence, and certainty of Knowledge, it might juſtly have been cenſur'd an act of Errour and Ignorance, or Partiality and Injuſtice.

For it was not the Opinion of a few, nor raiſed out of a weak Judgment and perverted Knowledge; but a ſtrong and general Evidence, by the ableſt and beſt knowing.

If it be objected, The Caſe was obſcure and doubtful: that cannot be; for the Eſtates had all Subſtantial and ready Means to inform themſelves of the Truth, and every Circumſtance whereby they might be fully ſatisfy'd and clear'd in all the Niceties and doubts: for all the Witneſſes and Dealers in that Cauſe, and ſuch Perſons as were acquainted with it, were then living; and they muſt and would have truly and certainly inform'd the Court of Parliament: For the ſpecial and reverend Care of this Court is, The advancing of Juſtice and Right. Therefore all Subjects (by Nature or Grace) are bound in their Allegiance, to give Pious and Religious credit to Parliaments, and to believe in their Authority and Power, as the former Times did

in

1485. in Oracles. We must also confidently hold the high and transcendent Quality and Vertue of that Court, to have all Power and Authority: And no question to repeal a good and just Law made in Parliament, is a Wrong and Scandal to that General Council, and to the universal Wisdom, Providence, Justice and Piety of the Kingdom.

In the Parliament 1 *H.* 7. there is an Act, attainting the King *R.* III. of High Treason, for bearing Arms against the Earl of *Richmond*, Intituled, *The Sovereign Lord* (this was at his proceeding from *Milford-Haven* into *Leicester*:) But when he came to fight the Battle, he was then no King, nor Sovereign, but a Chief of such as made Head against their Sovereign. In which Paragraph there appears three gross Faults.

First, Certain it is, *Richard* during his Reign was a Sovereign, therefore no Subject.

Next, There was no Enemy in the Field who was then a Sovereign, but all Liege Subjects to the Crown.

And *Richard* being the King and Sovereign, could not be adjudged a Traytor, nor lawfully attainted of High Treason. Then let it be consider'd whether a Person of Sacred Majesty (that is, an anointed Sovereign) may commit the Crime of Treason. Also in this Parliament, all the Barons, Knights and Gentlemen that bore Arms in the Field for the King, were attainted of Treason, their Goods and Lands confiscate: And one *Thomas Nandick* (a Necromancer and Sorcerer, who with others had been condemned to die, for using that hellish Art) was in this Parliament pardon'd the horrible Things he had committed. And it seem'd he had not then left his Black Trade: for he hath in that Act of Parliament still the Stile of Conjurer: *Viz.*

Thomas Nandick of *Cambridge*, Conjurer: which had been a fitter Stile for his Gibbet than his Pardon; although he had not by his Sorcery or Inchantment hurt or destroy'd any Human, yet for his Renouncing and Abjuration of Almighty God: for it is the Opinion of a Learned and Religious Doctor.

Magos & Incantores (said he) *hominum genus indignum, quod vel ob solam Dei, O. M. abjurationem capetali suplicio afficiatur*; *i. e.* Magicians and Inchanters, a wretched sort of Men, that even upon the Account of their Abjuring of Almighty God, deserve to undergo a Capital Punishment.

Other such things there be in that Parliament, which detract it in the opinion of some: those of the best and Wisest repute.

The Treaty of Marriage between K. *R.* 3. and his Niece the Lady *Elizabeth. Plantagenet.*

Now let us come to examine that Treaty the King had about marrying the Lady *Plantagenet*; which is censured to be a thing not only Detestable, but much more Cruel and Abominable to be put in Agitation.

Item, *That all Men, and the Maid her self most of all, detested this unlawful Copulation.*

Item *That he made away the Queen his Wife, to make way for this Marriage; and that he propounded not the Treaty of Marriage, until the Queen his Wife was Dead.*

That there was such a Motion for the Marriage of this Lady to the King, is true; and (which is more, and most certain) it was entertain'd, and well-lik'd by the King and his Friends, a good while; also by the Lady *Elizabeth*, and by the Queen her Mother; who received it with so much content and liking 1485. that presently she sent into *France* for her Son the Marques of *Dorset*, that was there with the Earl of *Richmond*, earnestly solliciting him to renounce the Faction, and return home to the King's Favour and Advancement, which she assured him: and sends † the Lady *Elizabeth* to Attend the Queen at Court, or to place her more in the eye, so in the Heart of the King. The *Christmas* following (which was kept in *Westminster-Hall*) for the better colour of sending her eldest Daughter, she sends her other four thither, who were received with all honourable courtesie by the King and Queen Regent; especially the Lady *Elizabeth* was ranked most familiarly in the Queen's Favour, and with as little distinction as Sisters. But Society, nor all the Pomp and Festivity of those Times, could cure that sad Wound and Languor in the Queen's Breast, which the Death of her only Son had left. The Address of those Ladies to Court (albeit the feign'd wooing of the King was in a politick and close way) gave cause of Suspicion to the Earl of *Richmond*'s intelligencing Friends, that the King had a Purpose to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*; which must prevent the Earl both of his Hope to her, and to the Crown by her Title: a Clause that made them mutter very broadly against it (for indeed, what more concern'd them) therefore the King treats it more privately and coldly; but the Queen-Widow and the Lady stood constant in their Desires and Expectation; only the Objection was, The King had a Wife; as tho' he could not marry another whilst she liv'd; not remembring how usual it was, not only for Kings, but private Men, to put away one Wife and marry another, for venial Crimes, as well as Adultery and Treason. *Chronicle Croyland.*

The *Romans* might repudiate their Wives, for conversing with Men that were not of their Kindred, and for going to see Plays and Cirque Spectacles, (their Husbands not being with them) or if the Wife were unquiet or cruft of her Tongue, *&c. Henry* VIII. put away Queen *Katharine* of *Castile*, and Queen *Anne* of *Cleve*; the one, becaufe she was too old and cold for Pleasure; the other, becaufe she was not fruitful or wanton enough. Sometimes men have put away their Wives for being Sluts, for having unsavoury Breaths, or some Infectious Disease, without a Necessity of taking away their Lives; and it was lawful for either of them to marry when they would.

Pope *Clement* VII. so ratify'd the Divorce of King *Henry* VIII. against *Katharine* of *Castile*, as he defy'd all Laws (Divine and Human) that should contradict and impugn his Power and Dispensation, in these words:

Non obstante Jure Divino nec Humano, nec quibuscunque Constitutionibus repugnantibus, aut in contrarium Edictis. That is, "Any Law of God "or Man, or whatsoever Constitutions in- "consistent, and to the contrary, notwith- "standing *Bulla Papæ Clementis* 5. *apud D.* Ro. Cotton.

There was a formal Bill or Libel of Separation prescribed by *Moses*, with the manner of Divorces and Repudiations, in this tenour, as *Andreas Osiander* who translated it out of Hebrew into Latain) affirmeth: which for the Rarity I have here transcribed. Osiander *in Annotation. in 4 Evang. Harmon. Evang.*

† The King sent the Queen, says *Hollinshead*, divers and often Messengers, and also [to her Son the Marquis of *Dorset* to bring her into a Fool's Paradice. 750.

Die

1485. Die tertia Hebdomadis, 29 die menſis Octobris, Anno ab orbe condito, 4349.

EGo Joachim cognominatus N. filius Nathanis, qui conſiſto hodie in urbe N. in Regno N. Te N uxorem meam, cognominatam N. filiam N. quæ fuiſti uxor mea ante hac nunc demiſi, & liberavi, & repudiavi te tibi, ut ſis tui juris & domina animæ tuæ, & ad abeundum, ut ducaris abs quolibet viro, quem volueris, & ne vir quiſquam prohibeat, quo minus ſis in manu tua, ito hoc die & in æternum. Et ecce, permiſſa es unicuique viro, & hic eſto tibi à me datus Libellus repudii, & Epiſtola dimiſſoria, & Inſtrumentum libertatis juxta Legem Moſis & Iſraelis.

Which Verbal Latin Tranſlation is thus Word for Word rendred into Engliſh.

" Upon the third Day of the Week and 29th of " the Month of *October*, in the Year of the " World, 4349.

" I *Joachim* ſirnamed *N.* the Son of *Nathan*, " who at this Day ſojourn in the Town of " *N.* in the Kingdom of *N.* have, thee *N.* my " Wife, ſirnamed *N.* the Daughter of *N.* who " haſt hitherto been my Wife, now diſcharged, " and liberated, and repudiated thee to thy ſelf, " that thou may'ſt be in thy own Power and " Miſtreſs of thy own Life, and to depart and " to be married by any other Man, as ſhall " ſeem good in thine Eyes, and that no Man " may hinder thee, from being at thy own " Diſpoſal, Go thou for this Day and for ever. " And behold, thou art permitted to any Man, " and be this a Bill of Divorce, and Epiſtle di- " miſſory, and Inſtrument of Liberty given un- " to thee by me according to the Law of *Moſes* " and of *Iſrael.*

But the Anſwer which was wade in the Name of the King to the Lady *Elizabeth* concerning his Queen, was, That ſhe could be no Impediment of long continuance, being a very weak Woman in a Conſumption, and paſt hopes of Recovery; her Phyſicians giving their Opinions, ſhe could not live paſt the middle of *February* next following: nor gueſſed they much amiſs; for ſhe died in the next Month, *March*. When the midſt and laſt of *February* was paſt, the Lady *Elizabeth* being more impatient and jealous of the Succeſs than every one knew or conceived, writes a Letter to the Duke of *Norfolk*, intimating firſt, that he was the Man in whom ſhe affied, in reſpect of that love her Father had ever bore him, *&c.* Then ſhe Congratulates his many Courteſies, in continuance of which, ſhe deſires him to be a Mediator for her to the King, in the behalf of the Marriage propounded between them; who, as ſhe wrote, was her only Joy and Maker in this World, and that ſhe was his in Heart and Thought: withal inſinuating, that the better part of *February* was paſt, and that ſhe feared the Queen would never Die.

The credit of the Duke of *Norfolk* with King *Richard*, and with the Lady *Elizabeth* and her Letter to him.

All theſe be her own Words, written with her own Hand; and this is the ſum of her Letter, which remains in the Autograph, or Original Draft, under her own Hand, in the magnificent Cabinet of *Thomas* Earl of *Arundel* and *Surrey*: By which it may be obſerved, that that this young Lady was ignorant that a Man having a Wife living might marry another, and ſuffer her to live. But the truth is, the King had no real intent to make her his Wife, from the beginning; only in Policy entertain'd this Treaty, as it appear'd afterward, when his Queen was Dead, and he had all fit Acceſſes withour any Impediment to marry her, yet did not; profeſſing he wooed her not to that end, but for ſome other Cauſes; and made Proteſtation (in the great Hall at Saint *Jones* near *Smithfield*, before all the Knights of *Malta*, and a great Aſſembly of Noble men; the Lord Maior, Aldermen, and many Citizens being preſent) that he had no purpoſe nor intent to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*: avowing, *Quod ea res (viz.) Voluntas contrahendi Matrimonium cum Conſanguinea Germana ſua, nunquam ei venerat in mentem*: that is, 'That this Matter, *viz.* a Deſign of 'contracting Matrimony with his Kinſwoman 'Elizabeth, had never entred into his Mind. For ſo it is teſtify'd by the Prior of *Croyland*. Yet it may not be denied, he pretended love to her, and a proffer of Marriage; which he projected in Policy, to divert her Affection from *Richmond* (whoſe Party the King apprehended privately wrought that way; of which the ſaid Author thus ſaith, *Non aliter videbat* Richardus *Rex regnum ſibi confirmari, neque ſpem competitoris ſui auferri poſſe, niſi in Matrimonio, cum dictâ* Elizabeth, *contrahendo vel ſimulando.* In *Engliſh* thus: 'King *Richard* did not ſee how 'otherways the Kingdom could be confirmed to 'himſelf, and his Competitor be deprived of all 'Hope, than by contracting a Marriage with the 'ſaid *Elizabeth*, or pretending it. And it is moſt likely the King had no other Aim but merely of Prevention: neither was there any Cauſe (had he been ſo wicked) to do it by Blood, nor any juſt Reaſon to frame ſo hard an Argument againſt him, being always ſo affectionately inclined to his Wife, that he was rather thought uxorious than otherwiſe; † which appeared unfeignedly at her Death, in the expreſſion of Sorrow and magnificent Exequies for her. *Non eum immorte honore quam Reginam dicunt*, as the Prior of *Croyland* teſtifieth. Let us look therefore with clearer Conſideration upon the Motion or Pretence of this Marriage: to call it Deteſtable and Cruel, is Ignorant and Malicious (tho' ſhe were ſo near a kin to him) for Marriages between Uncles and Nieces, have been very frequent and allowed in other Countries by the Church. In our time, the Daughter and Heir of Duke *Infantaſgo* in *Spain*, was married to his Brother *Don Alde Mendoza*: and more lately, the Earl of *Miranda* married his Brother's Daughter.

1485. The Cabinet of the Earl of *Arundel* now Earl of *Surrey* too.

Chronicle of *Croyland.*

Chronicle of *Croyland.*

The Q. died 11 *Mar.* 1484.

Prior of *Croyland.*

In the Houſe of *Auſtria*, Marriages in this kind have been very uſual, and thought lawful, the Pope diſpenſing with them; for they ſay in *Spain*, *Que el padre ſanto quiere Dios loquire*: Therefore how could it be ſo highly unlawful in K. *Richard?* Or if his Intents had been ſo forward, where was the Bar when his Wife was dead and he abſolute, unleſs the Lady's Averſeneſs? But that Suggeſtion is anſwer'd by her own Letter and other Teſtimonies. So the Account will be (if rightly ſum'd by what hath been produced) that he had never any ſerious Determination of Mrriage; only took the advantage of his Gain, by looking into her Hand; then no cauſe to make away his Queen; which his Ac-

† This is Another notorious Falſhood; he abandon'd her Bed, and ſent her word 'twas out of averſion to her Barrenneſs; if he did not poiſon her, he certainly was not Sorry for her Death. *Hellinſh.*

euſers

1485. cuſers themſelves directly and peremptorily charge him not with, but doubtfully ſay, The Queen (however it fortuned) departed out of this Life the 16th of *March*, in the *Lent*-Seaſon. But altho' he had the Commendations of a loving and indulgent Husband, I ſay not he lived always continently; for I find he had ſome Baſtards, two of them I have mention'd; yet peradventure he might have them before his Marriage, and then the fault was leſs. So then, let them that affect not blind and traditory Opinion, more than Juſtice and Reaſon, but equally examine his Slanders, they ſhall find Malice and Ignorance have been the King's greateſt Accuſers, which can only lay Suſpicion to his Charge: and Suſpicion in Law, is no more Guilt than Imagination: For tho' Suſpicion many times, lay a great Blame upon a Man, (Men holding him to be guilty whom Men ſuſpect to be ſo, tho' injuriouſly) yet the Law holds it not a Crime, becauſe Suſpicion, many times, ſuppoſeth thoſe to be culpable which are not: For an Inſtrument may as eaſily be condemn'd as a Malefactor, being an Evil grown from the Error of Men. Wherefore Suſpicion of it ſelf bringeth no Sentence by Law, Natural or Moral, Civil, or Divine, according to that of the old *Minographus*, *Suſpicio grave eſt hominibus malum.* And the Divine *Chryſoſtom* ſaith, *A good Man hardly ſuſpecteth another to be Evil; but an Evil Man ſcarcely ſuppoſeth any to be Good*; far from the Counſel of this Epigram:

Sir *Thom. Moor, Hollingſhead.*

Suſpicio eſt, opinio mali ex levibus ſignis B. Th. Aquinas. *Suſpicio eſt actus per quem in dubitationem trahimur.*

Culpare in quoquam quæ non ſunt nota, malignum (eſt; 1485.
Præſertim ſi quum cognita ſint bona ſunt.
Non pateant faciles duris rumoribus aures,
Quæ neſcire juvat, credere non libeat.
Linquantur ſecreta Deo, qui quicquid opertum eſt
Inſpicit, & nullis indiget indicibus.

Accuſe no Man of Faults to thee unknown,
And much leſs him from whom good Fruits have grown:
Lend not thine Ears to ſcandalous Reports;
Believe not that, which known, nought thee imports.
Leave ſecret Things to God, who knows all Hearts,
And hath no need of the Promoter's Arts.

But as *Julius Cæſar* who had many excellent Obſervations) was wont to ſay, *Vir bonus tam ſuſpicione quam crimine carere oportet:* That a good Man muſt be as well without Suſpicion as Crime: Yet none ſo innocent but may fall under the Laſh of the Malicious: For ſuch, like the *Polypus*, will take any Colour, or make any tincture of a Crime to ſerve their Ends. Of ſuch a Virtue is the never-underſtanding Vulgar, that like Kites and Daws can digeſt nought but Stench and Filth; their Ignorance being their Faith, and that drawn from looſe Pamphlets, and the Vomit of mercenary and mimick Pens; to which, and their uncurable Fits, I leave them.

Meos tam ſuſpicione quam crimine judico carere oportere. Suet. in vitâ Jul. Cæſ.

BOOK V.

The Argument of the Fifth Book of the Life and Reign of *RICHARD* III.

What a Tyrant is, and how a Tyrant and King Richard *differ. The Deſtruction of the* Plantagenets. *The Daughters of King* Edward *how beſtow'd. The Death of the Queen their Mother. The Virtues of King* Richard *the Third. The Elogy of the Three Brothers, King* Edward *the Fourth,* George *and* Richard. *The Magnificent, Publick and Charitable Buildings of King* Richard *the Third: His good Laws, and other good Works. That to die in the Wars is no Diſhonour, but an Honour:* Artes Regiæ Crimen Regale: *His Compariſon with other Kings accounted Good. King* James's *gracious Demeanour to his Couſins. A Character and Elogy of King* Richard *the Third. The Title of the* Norman *Race and of* York *defended. The ſundry Titles of King* James. *The Wedding Ring of* England. Lapis Regno fatalis. *King* Richard's *Sepulchre and Epitaph. The Author's Scope*; Peroratio & Votum.

What a Tyrant is.

WE will next endeavour to underſtand that Vocable or Term *Tyrannus* (that is, a Tyrant, or an Evil King) caſt upon King *Richard*; which indeed, comprehendeth all Scandals and Impieties whatſoever.

Ariſtot. in Ethic. idem.

Tyrannus eſt qui ſuis propriis Commodis ſtudet, & publicis adverſatur. And *Tyrannus eſt qui dominatu crudeliter abutitur.* That is,

"A Tyrant is one who endeavoureth only "his own Advantage, and is an Enemy to that "of the Publick. And again, A Tyrant is one "that abuſeth his Authority to Cruelty.

A Tyrant is, by another Wiſe Man, compar'd to a Dragon, who becometh not a Dragon until he hath devoured many Serpents: Of which Conceit this Epigram was wittily framed.

Poſt plures Coluber Serpentes Draco fit eſos,
Guſtatâ humanâ carne fit Homo Lupus.

The Dragon which doth many Serpents eat,
Becomes a Dragon of huge Shape and ſtrength;
And ſo the Man which makes his Fleſh Mans Meat,
Transformed is into a Wolf at length.

Another Philoſopher differeth not much from theſe, who ſaith, That of all Tame Beaſts the Flatterer is moſt pernicious; and of all Wild the Tyrant, who forbeareth not for any reſpect of Good, or Ill, but ſtudies Oppreſſions, Wrongs,

Bias apud Plut. Lib. de adulat. c. 37.

1485. Exactions, Robberies, Sacriledges, Bloodshed, Murder, Adultery, Incest, Rape, Riot, Gluttony, Luxuriousness, Prodigality, and all manner of Excesses: These be his Arts of Reigning, and these be his Virtues,

Lucan. *Invident Tyranni claris, forteſque trucidant.*

Tyrants with envious Eyes the Brave behold,
And murder in cool Blood the Valiant and the Bold.

Another saith,

Senec. Hercules Furens. *Tyrannus miſerum vetat perire, fœlicem jubet.*

They force the Wretch to live, the happy Man to die.

So it was truly said by the famous Orator of *Athens*,

Demoſth. *Liberalitas Tyranni nihil aliud eſt quam tranſlatio pecuniarum à juſtis Dominis ad alienos, idque indignos.* That is,

"The Liberality of a Tyrant is nothing else "but the Taking away from the rightful Owners "that which belongs to 'em, and giving it unto "others, and those unworthy thereof.

His Thirst and Covetousness, for his largitious Riots and Lusts, are so inordinate, that nothing can quench it.

Claudian. in Ruff. *Non Tarteſſiacis illum ſatiaret arenis*
Tempeſtas pretioſa Tagi, *non ſtagna rubentis*
Aurea Pactoli, *totumque exhauſerit* Hermum,
Ardebit majore ſiti, &c.

Not *Tagus* golden Tide can e're asswage,
Nor red *Pactolus* quench his avaricious Rage.
Give him whole *Hermus* at a Draught; his Thirst
Inflam'd demands yet more——

Quicquid conſpicuum pulchrumque ex Equore toto,
Res fiſci eſt, &c.

These may serve for the Notions of a Tyrant: to any of which Impieties our King *Richard* was very little, or not at all obnoxious.

Parliam. Ann. 1. Rich. III. For First, Whereas a Tyrant imposeth many grievous Taxes and Oppressions upon his Subjects, he took away such Grievances, and particularly, by Act of Parliament, a hateful Tax (tho' disguised with the name of a Benevolence) forbearing to impose any upon the People.

The D. of Buckingh. said, That the name of Benevolence, as it was taken in the Time of K. Edward IV. signified that every Man should pay, not what he of his own good Will he list, but what the King of his good Will list to take. D. Buck. apud Thom. Moor. Then, a Tyrant doth not only rapine his Subjects, but spoils and robs Churches and Church men; but King *Richard* did many good Things both for the Publick Good, advancing God's Service, and Maintenance of his Ministers and Church-men.

Tyrannum pium eſſe non eſt facile, (as *Sophocles* well observ'd.) And the Oracle pronounc'd, *Portæ fœlicitatis ad Tyrannidem clauſæ.* Tyrants be cruel and bloody; but this King, by the Testimony of his Enemies, was very Merciful and Mild; who confess he was of himself Gentle and affably disposed. These be their own Words.

Therefore, where tyrannical Acts be objected against him, they must be conceiv'd done by other Men, or by their Practice, or else before he was King; and what he did then, was not, nor cou'd be properly call'd Tyranny.

Amongst those they impute to him when he was King, which are call'd Tyrannies, the Beheading *Henry Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham* was the chiefest; yet that Act, the cause and just Motives of it being well perused, cannot be censured Tyranny; rather due and necessary Justice: For if the King had not put down the Duke, the Duke would have put down the King. 1485.

Then it is objected, he bare a tyrannical Hand over his Nephew *Edward* Earl of *Warwick*. True it is, he sent him to *Sheriff-Hutton*, a goodly and pleasant House of his own in *Yorkshire*, where he had Liberty, large Diet, all Pleasure and Safety; and if that were Imprisonment, it was a Prison *Curtoiſe* (as *John Froiſard* saith) yet this must not be less than Tyranny, according to the Stile of Sir *Thomas Moor*. When King *Henry* VII. as soon as he had got the Crown, sent this young Prince to the *Tower*, and afterwards cut off his Head; yet that was no Tyranny, after Sir *Thomas Moor*. But our King *James* (of ever happy Memory) hath thought it an Act of so much detestation, that particularly he protested against it, and shewed another temper of Justice and Power in his Royal Clemency to certain Noble Persons in one of his Kingdoms, who being Regal Titulars, and pretending Title to the Crown there (as descended from some King of that Country) his gracious and pious Inclination was so far from seeking their Ruin (or so much as the restraining them) that he suffer'd their Liberty, with Possession of what they had. Comes Arundel. vivâ voce. K. James.

Then they call the Punishment of *Jane Shore* a Tyranny: A common and notorious Adultress (as the Duke of *Buckingham*, who knew her very well, censured her) which she deserv'd so justly, that it was rather favourable, than severe or tyrannous. Jane Shore.

Next, the Death of *William Collingborn* is made one of his Tyrannies; who (as some trivial Romancers say) was hanged for making a Satyrical Rhime; when the Truth is, he had committed Treason, and was arraign'd and condemn'd of High Treason, as may be yet seen in the Record; and then it was Justice and not Tyranny. Anonymus Jurisperitus in Apologia. K. R. III.

Another Proof against their gross Paralogism, take from this Observation made by *Demosthenes*: *Tyrannus res eſt inimica Civibus, legibus contraria.* But King *Richard* was ever indulgent to his People, careful to have the Laws duly observed; his making so many good ones, being an evident Argument of his Love to Law and Justice. It is further observ'd, that Tyrants contemn good Counsel, are opinionated of their own Wisdoms, and obstinate to determine all Matters by themselves.

The Plaintiffs being call'd by the *Greeks* Ἰδιοσυμβούλους, that is, Self-counsellors, who say they are *Natura ſlerumque occulti & inſidioſi, & Arte, & Aſtu, ea tegere, & diſſimulare conantur, quæ agunt, non communicantes quicquid de ſuis Conciliis, aut rebus cum aliis, nec ab aliis Concilium petentes, neque admittentes, ſed tantum ſua Conciliа ſequuntur.* Axiom politic. cap. 219. Sententia Arabica.

That is,

"By Nature for the most part secret and "close, and also treacherous; and by Deceit "and Artifice endeavour to cover and dissemble "what they do, not communicating any of "their Designs or Affairs to others, nor asking "or admitting of any Advice, but are only "manag'd by their own Counsels.

Also *Erasmus* hath this Axiom; *Nullo Concilio quicquam magnæ rei aggredi, tyrannicum eſt.*

But King *Richard* neither did, nor would do any thing of importance, without Consultation with the wisest and noblest. And if in any Matters he had deliver'd his Judgment, yet his manner

(as

1485. (as his Detractors confeſs) was, to ſay in the End and Concluſion; *My Lords, this is my mind; if any of you know what may elſe be better, I ſhall be ready to change it: for I am not wedded to my own Will.* Thus Sir *Thomas Moor*. 1485.

Caligula ſpent 250 Millions of Crowns (leſs than a Year. *Nero* ſaid that there was no uſe of Money but for Riots and prodigal Expences.

Laſtly, Largition and exceſſive Expences are thought Vices proper to Tyrants; the rather, becauſe the *Roman* Tyrants, for their extreme Exceſſes, were call'd *Monſtra & prodigia, & lues Imperii, peſtes reipublicæ*, &c. As *Caligula*, *Nero*, *Vitellius*, *Domitian*, *Commodus*, *Heliogabalus*, *Caracalla*, &c.

King *Richard* was ever held to be frugal, with the Preſervation of his Honour; nor can they tax him with Palliardiſe, Luxury, Epicuriſm, nor Gluttony, Vices following many Tyrants; but moderate and temperate in all his Actions and Appetites; which is confeſs'd, and therefore needeth no further Proof. Indeed, it had been Advantage and Safety to him in the Event, if he had been a Tyrant a while; for then he might have preſerv'd his Life and Kingdom, and given a timely Check to the Practice of Biſhop *Morton*, the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, Earl of *Devon*, and his Brother the Biſhop, the Lord *Talbot*, the Lord *Stanley*, and his Brother Sir *William Stanley*, with the Counteſs of *Richmond* his Wife, and the reſt. But his Remiſneſs and Patience bred his Ruin, not his Tyranny; that had been his Protection.

K. *Richard* in this was lik *Julius Cæſar*, who knowing by certain intelligence the conſpiracy and Conſpirators againſt his Life, alſo the time and place of Execution, yet he ſeem'd to ſlight and not regard it.

And now the black Curtain of Malice and Detraction is drawn, let us ſee this King in his proper Royalty and * Virtues, caſting up the general and particular Notions of a good King and happy Government; then peruſe what was wanting in him.

* *K. Richard's* Virtues.

Firſt then, There is neceſſarily required proper to Empire, Wiſdom, Juſtice, Fortitude, Beauty, Magnificence, Temperance, and Piety.

That he had Wiſdom and Prudence, need no other Witneſs, than his wiſe and provident managing, both of his own private Affairs and Government of the Publick. Alſo in the military Actions, in which he was try'd, both as a Subject, and a King; his Adverſaries can allow him to be a wiſe, prudent, politick, and heroical Prince; his Wiſdom appearing with his Juſtice, very clearly in the good Laws he made, acknowledg'd and honourably predicated by our Reverend and moſt Learned Profeſſors of the Laws.

Juſtice *Shelly* commendeth the Laws of K. *Richard* 3. to Cardinal *Woolſey*. *Vide Joh. Stow in* H. 8. p. 882. *Claren. MS. in Quarto apud Dom.* R. Cotton.

For his further knowledge and love of Juſtice, there can be no fairer Argument than his Deſire and Cuſtom to ſit in the Courts of Juſtice, hearing and diſtributing Juſtice indifferently to all Men.

And when he made his Progreſs into *Yorkſhire*, being inform'd there of ſome Extortioners and foul Offenders, who were apprehended, not tried, he cauſed the Law to take the juſt current, giving ſtrict Charge and Commandment to all Officers of Juſtice, for juſt Adminiſtration to all Men, without Partiality or private Reſpects.

The Fortitude and Magnanimity of this Prince (tho' low of Stature) were ſo great and famous as they need no Trumpet or Præconomy, being bred from his Youth in martial Actions: And the Battles of *Barnet*, *Exham*, *Doncaſter*; the ſecond of St. *Albans* and of *Tewksbury*, will give him the Reputation of a Soldier and Captain.

Being made General of the King's Armies into *Scotland*, he prevail'd happily in his Expedition, and particularly recover'd that famous and ſtrong Hold of *Berwick*, which King *Henry* VI. had ſo weakly let go. 1485.

And in this you ſhall hear the Elogy of One that was loth to ſpeak much in his Favour, yet Occaſion forc'd him to ſpeak his Knowledge, tho coldly and ſparingly; "King *Richard* was no "ill Captain in the War; he had ſundry Vic- "tories, and ſometimes Overthrows, but never "by his own Default, for want of Hardineſs "or Politick Order. Whereunto he addeth, concerning his Bounty; "Free, was he call'd, "of Diſpence, and Liberal ſomewhat above his "Power. To which I will add one Elogy more, above all for Credit and Authority, recorded in an Act of Parliament, and addreſs'd to him in the Name of the whole High Court of Parliament, in theſe Words; "We conſider your "great Wit, Prudence, Juſtice and Courage; "and we know by Experience, the memorable "and laudable Acts done by you in ſeveral "Battles for the Salvation and Defence of this "Realm. Sir *Thom. Moor.* Dr. *Morton.* Parl. anno R. 3.

Here followeth another general and memorable Teſtimony of him, and of more regard and honour, becauſe it is averr'd by One that knew him from his Youth, the Duke of *Buckingham* who (after *Richard* was made King and this Duke became ill affected) acknowledg'd to Biſhop *Morton*, in private Speeches between them, (a) "That he thought King *Richard*, from his "firſt Knowledge even to that time, a Man "clean without Diſſimulation, tractable, and "without injury; and that for theſe Reſpects "he was very deſirous to advance him, and la- "bour'd earneſtly to make him Protector. Therefore, whatſoever the Duke ſaid after in reproach of the King, it may juſtly be thought to proceed from Spleen and Malice. *Morton*, *Moor apud Stow.* p. 774.

There is this Commendation of his Eloquence and pleaſing Speech; which tho' no Regal Virtue, yet it is an Ornament to the greateſt Princes and commendable. The Prior of *Croyland* repeating the Diſpute of a Controverſie between the two Brothers, *George* Duke of *Clarence* and this *Richard* of *Glouceſter*, at the Council-Table before the King their Brother, ſitting in his Chair of State, relates it thus: *Eloquentia Principibus maxime eſt ornamento.* Cic. de finibus.

Poſt ſuſcitatas, inter Duces Fratres, diſcordias, tot utrinque rationes acutiſſimæ allegatæ ſunt in preſentia Regis (ſedentis pro Tribunali in Camera Concilii) quod omnes circumſtantes etiam periti Legum, eam orationis abundantiam ipſis principibus in ſuis propriis cauſis adeſſe mirabantur, &c.

That is,

"A Diſpute ariſing betwixt the two Dukes, "being Brothers, ſo many pregnant Reaſons "were adduced by them on either Side, in the "Preſence of the King, ſitting in his Chair of "State in the Council Chamber, that all who "were there, even ſuch as were well ſkill'd in "the Laws, did admire that fluency of Speech "which the Princes had in readineſs in their "own Cauſe, &c.

Then ſpeaking of the excellent Wits, extraordinary Knowledge and Gifts of theſe three Brothers, maketh this honourable Præcony: *Hi tres* Germani, *Rex, & duo Duces, tam excellenti ingenio valebant, ut ſi diſcordare non voluiſſent, funiculus ille triplex difficillime rumperetur.* i. e. The Praiſe of the three princely Brothers.

(a) His kiſſing the two young Princes when they were deliver'd up to him by their Mother, and his ſhewing his wither'd Arm as he wiſh'd, are no great Proofs of his Sincerity.

1485. "These three Brothers, the King, and the "two Dukes, were of a Wit so excelling, that "if they had not disagreed amongst themselves, "such a threefold Cord cou'd not, without the "greatest difficulty, have been broken asunder.

The good Works of King *Richard.* *Fab. Stow Annal.*

Let us look upon his charitable, religious and magnificent Works.

He founded a Collegiate Church of Priests in *Middleham* in *Yorkshire*; another College of Priests in *London* in *Tower-street*, near to the Church call'd *our Lady Berking*. He built a Church or Chappel in *Towton* in *Glouceſterſhire*, a Monument of his Thankfulness to Almighty God, for the happy and great Victory his Brother had upon the Partisans of the Family of *Lancaſter*, and the Sons of *Henry* VI. who before slew *Richard* Duke of *York*, King designate, and Father of these two Kings.

Polid. lib. 25.

He founded a College in *York*, convenient for the Entertainment of an hundred Priests.

Richard lov'd not *Wichford* for his Brothers unhappy Marriage.

He disforested a great part of the Forrest of *Wichford*, and other vast Woods between *Woodſtock* and *Briſtow*, for the Good and Benefit of the People of *Oxfordſhire* and the Places adjacent.

He built the high Stone Tower at *Weſtminſter*, (which at this Day is a Work of good Use.) And when he had repair'd and fortify'd the Castle of *Carliſle*, he founded and built the Castle of *Penrith* in *Cumberland*.

He manumised many Bond men.

In Rot. in domo Conversorum, Ann. 1 R. 3.

For the better encouragement of the Easterling Hanses (their Trade being beneficial and profitable to this Kingdom) he granted them some good Privileges, as *Polidor* writeth.

Charles the Great instituted the College and Society of Armorists calling them Heralds of *Ehr* and *Halten*, (Dutch or Franchish words) and not of Hero's.

He also founded the College and Society of Heralds, and made them a Corporation; and (as the Words in the Charter are) he ordain'd it, *Ut ſint in perpetuum Corpus Corporatum in re & nomine, habeant Succeſſionem perpetuam*, &c. (a taste of his Love to Honour, and his noble Care for the Conservation of Nobility, Chevalry and Gentry.) Which Corporation this King eſtabliſh'd by his Royal Charter, and plac'd the Heralds in an ancient fair House, which was call'd *Yorkime* sometimes, after commonly *Colebarbour*, situate upon the *Thames*; ordaining four Kings at Arms, by the Names and Titles of *John Writh*, Garter; *Thomas Holme*, Clarenceux; *John Moor* Norway; and *Richard Champney*, Glouceſter.

For *Wales*, I have seen the Charter wherewith the King created first *Richard Champney*, Esq; King at Arms, by the Title and Name of *Glouceſter*, dated *Anno* 1 *R.* III. at *Weſtminſter*, in the Month of *March*, when the Charter of the Foundation was granted.

He further estabiish'd, that these four Kings at Arms and the rest of the Heralds, who are in the Charter call'd *Heraldi & Proſecutores ſive Purſevandi*, should lodge, and common together, in that House, where the Rolls Monuments and Writings (appertaining to the Office and Art of Heraldry and Armory) should be kept; giving also Lands and Tenements for the perpetual maintaining of a Chaplain or Chantry Priest, to say and sing Service every Day, and to pray for the King, Queen and Prince, and for their Souls when they were dead.

Lastly, He gave sundry good Privileges and Immunities to the said Corporation: Which Charter was kept continually in the Office until within these few Years, but now is in another place: The want of it importeth nothing, being the Duplicate is upon Record in the Archives, kept in the Convert-house, now call'd the Rolls. 1485. It was confirm'd by the Parliament, and dated 2°. *die Martii, anno Regni primo, apud* Westmonasterium, Baron': And underneath was written, *Per breve de privato Sigillo, de datu predicto, autoritate Parliamenti.*

He also built or repair'd some part of the *Tower* of *London* towards the *Thames*; in memory whereof, there be yet his Arms impaled with those of the Queen his Wife, standing upon the Arch adjoyning to the *Sluce-gate*.

He began many other good Works, which his sudden Fate prevented; as *Polidor* thus witnesseth.

Richardus *Tertius multa opera publica & privata inchoavit, quæ immaturâ morte præreptus non perfecit.* Which Works and Monuments of Piety shew not the Acts of a Tyrant. *Polidor Virgil*, being neither *Yorkiſt* nor *Lancaſtrian*, speaks much in Commendation of his pious and charitable Disposition; to which I refer the Readers, and put it to their indifferent Judgments, How many of those call'd Good Kings, have exceeded him in their longer and prosperous Time, being in quiet Possession too of their Crown and Kingdoms? Let me add for a Corollary, what that of the worthy Prelate *Archibald Quhitlaw* (Chief Secretary, and a Privy Counsellor of *Scotland*) in his Oration, when he was One of the Commissioners for a conclusion of a Peace and Marriage between Prince *James*, eldest Son to the King of *Scotland*, and the Lady *Anne*, Daughter to *John de la Poole*; from whence I have collected these.

Sereniſſime Princeps,

UNA me res consolatur, & juvat, tua (scil.) *in omni virtutis genere celeberrima fama per omnem Orbis terrarum ambitum disseminata, tuæ etiam innatæ benignitatis, clariſſima præſtanſque humanitas, tua manſuetudo, liberalitas, fides, ſumma juſtitia, incredibilis animi magnitudo, tua non humana, ſed pene divina ſapientia te non modo ſingulis facilem, verum vulgo & popularibus affabilem præbes, & quibus virtutibus altâque prudentiâ cuncta & pronunciata & dicta in meliora commutas. Sereniſſimus Princeps Rex* Scotorum, *Dominus meus, qui te alto amore proſequitur, te deſiderat, tuam amicitiam & affinitatem affectat, ſuprâ captum cogitationis meæ; ſi quid à me erratum erit, tuis & divinis virtutibus, quibus Commercium cum Cæleſtibus numinibus & Societatem contraxeris, tribuendum putato.*

Pacem & Uxorem neptem Regis petit.

Faciem tuam ſummo Imperio & Principatu dignam inſpicit, quam moralis & Heroica virtus illuſtrat, de te dici prædicarique poteſt quod Thebanorum Principi inclitiſſimo Poeta his Verbis attribuit.

——*Nunquam tantum animum natura minori*
Corpore, nec tantas viſa eſt includere vires.
Major in exiguo regnabat corpore virtus.

Richardus *fuit Statura parvâ.*

In te enim ſunt rei militaris, virtus, peritia, fælicitas, & autoritas, quæ omnia in optimo exercitus principe Cicero *requirit.*

In te (Sereniſſime Princeps) præclari Regis & Imperatoris præcepta ita concurrunt, ut nihil ad tuam bellicam, aut domeſticam virtutem cujuſquam oratoris verbis apponi poſſit.

Tu igitur (Sereniſſime Domine & Princeps) de ineunda inter te & noſtrum Principem charitate & amicitia, ſic age; & Angli & Scoti dilectionis reſpectu nullum penitus diſcrimen habeatur, ſed in unum amoris & benevolentiæ vinculum videantur eſſe connexi, ſic numerabiles commoditates ex tui & noſtri populi dilectione, dulci connubio, unione, Matrimonio, & affinitate conſurgent.

In freta dum fluvii current, dum montibus umbræ
Luſtrabunt, convexa polus dum ſidera paſcet,
Dum juga montis aper, fluvios dum piſcis amabit,
Dumque Thymo paſcentur apes, dum rore cicadæ,
Semper honos nomenque tuum, laudeſque manebunt.

In

1485.

In *Engliſh* thus;

Moſt Serene Prince,

"ONE thing is to me at this time favou-
" rable and encouraging, which is your
" Majeſties moſt high Renown in every Kind of
" excelling Qualities, extended even into the
" remoteſt Corners of the World; alſo the moſt
" illuſtrious and ſurpaſſing Excellency of your
" innate Goodneſs and Generoſity, your Cle-
" mency, Liberality, Truth, great Juſtice,
" Magnanimity ſurpaſſing Belief, your not hu-
" man, but almoſt Divine Wiſdom; you ſhew
" your ſelf gentle to all, and affable even to
" the meaneſt of your People; by which Vir-
" tues, and by your great Prudence, whatever is
" ſpoken and pronounc'd is by your Majeſty fa-
" vourably conſtrued and accepted. The moſt
" Serene Prince the King of the *Scots*, my Maſter,
" out of the high Love and Eſteem he has for
" your Majeſty, is deſirous of your Friendſhip
" and Alliance, even beyond what I am able to
" expreſs; the Faults that I may chance to
" commit, they find a Cauſe as well as an Ex-
" cuſe in your Divine Virtues whereby you
" are become like unto, and are, as it were,
" entered into the Society of, the celeſtial In-
" habitants.

" He beholds in your Face a Princely Majeſty
" and Authority Royal, ſparkling with the il-
" luſtrious Beams of all Moral and Heroical Vir-
" tues. To you may not unfitly be apply'd, what
" was ſaid by the Poet of a moſt renowned Prince
" of the *Thebans*;

——So great a Soul, ſuch Strength of Mind
Sage Nature ne'r to a leſs Body joyn'd.

" For in your Majeſty are Military Proweſs,
" Skill, Succeſs, and Authority; all which are
" by *Cicero* requir'd in an able General of an
" Army.

" In you (moſt Serene Prince) all the Excel-
" lent Qualifications of a Good King and Great
" Commander, are happily united; inſomuch, that
" to the Perfection of your Military and Civil
" Accompliſhments, nothing could be added,
" even by the higheſt Rhetorical Flights of a
" moſt conſummate Orator.

" You therefore (moſt Serene Prince) will be
" pleas'd in your Royal Wiſdom, to take ſuch
" Meaſures, upon your Part, for eſtabliſhing a
" Love and Friendſhip betwixt you and our
" Prince, that with reſpect to mutual Love,
" the Difference betwixt an *Engliſh* and a *Sco-*
" *tiſh* Man may not henceforth be remembred,
" but both Nations may be united by the Bond
" of Love and Benevolence. So from the Love,
" ſweet Agreement, Union, Alliance, and as it
" were Marriage of your People and theſe of
" ours, unto both innumerable Advantages ſhall
" accrue.

" While Flouds to th' Sea do roul, and Moun-
" tains high
" Caſt ſable Shades, Stars ſparkle in the Sky,
" Wild Boars on Hills, Fiſh wanton in the
" Streams,
" Bees feed on Thyme, at Titan's later Beams
" Locuſts on Dew, your high renowned Name
" Shall ever live, and fly on Wings of Fame.

But what is this, or more, to Malice and Detraction, that haunt him to his Death? and after that, making the Cataſtrophe, or laſt tragical Act of his Life at *Boſworth field*, an immediate Stroke of the Divine Vengeance, for ſuch Offences as they pleaſe to particular from Women or ſuperſtitious Clerks, whoſe Names ſtartle at the noiſe of War and Martial Trial, to whoſe Fears and Weakneſs ſuch Reaſons would ſound tolerable. But if Biſhop *Morton* and Sir *Thomas More* (altho' they were Men of the long Robe) had conſider'd with whom they converſed, and where they moſt liv'd; how could they forget, that to Die valiantly in the Field, for Country, Life and Friends, was always held a glorious Farewell to the World; or what infinite numbers of virtuous and moſt noble Captains have fallen ſo by the Sword and Fate of War?

1485. To be ſlain in War is no evil or unhappy Death.

Lampridius affirmeth, That all the beſt Men have died violent Deaths: And what higher Quarrel could call any heroical Spirit, than King *Richard*'s fighting for a Crown, Kingdom, and all his happy Fortunes here? God hath many times taken away Princes, and changed the Government of Kingdoms for the Iniquities of the People; why then ſhould not King *Richard*'s Fate be held in a modeſt Scale until we can better know or judge it? Nor can it be ſafe to enquire, or peremptorily to determine further after God's Proceedings in ſuch Caſes. He that owes him no Malice (things look'd upon thro' judgment and charity) may with more juſtice ſay, He died valiantly and in a juſt Quarrel, when many of his Enemies fell by Death's more vile, and ſhameful Executions.

Optimos quoſque violentâ morte conſumptos affirmat, Lam. Alexander.

But he that hath but a reaſonable pittance of Humanity, will cenſure no Man's Life by the manner of his Death; for many good and holy Men have ſuffer'd by violent Deaths; tho' it be this Prince's fortune to fall under the ill Affections of envious Pens, more than many that committed more publick and prov'd Crimes than he, which wanted much of his Virtues and Deſert.

K. *Richard* was ſlain *Aug.* 22. 1493. when he had reigned two Years and five Months, accounting his Protectorſhip; and about the 37th Year of his Age. K. *Henry* 1.

Examine him with *Henry* I. the good Clerk and learned Prince, but ſo covetous and ambitious, that he could not be content to uſurp in this Kingdom the Right and Primogeniture of his elder Brother *Robert Courthoſe*, but by force took the Dukedom of *Normandy* from him: And to make his Injuries more exact and monſtrous, caſt him into the Caſtle of *Glouceſter*, there kept him in cruel Durance, and cauſed his Eyes to be put out; ſo wearied him to moſt miſerable Death.

King *John*, by the general voice, is charg'd with the Murder of *Arthur Plantagenet*, the Son of his eldeſt Brother, and ſo the next Prince in right of Blood to King *Richard* I. King *John*.

And it is written by good Authors, That *Edward* III. was not only privy and conſenting to the depoſing the King his Father (a King anointed) but alſo to his Maſſacre. And becauſe *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *Kent*, Protector, and his Uncle, moved him to reſtore the Crown to his Father *Edward* II. he call'd him Traytor, and cut off his Head at *Weſtminſter*. King *Edward* 3.

How King *Henry* IV. cauſed King *Richard* II. (the true and anointed King) to be cruelly butcher'd at *Pomfret*, is too notorious; and this was *Scelera ſceleribus tueri*. King *Henry* 4.

King *Edward* IV. is accuſed of the Murder and Death of the King Saint *Henry*, and of *Edward* Prince of *Wales* his Son. (*Ut ſupra.*) K. *Edw.* 4. *Seneca de Clementia.*

King *Henry* VII. (altho' amongſt the beſt of Kings in his general Character) is not thought guiltleſs of that *Crimen ſacrum vel regale*, in cutting off *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *Warwick*, an Innocent. K. *Hen.* 7.

Edwardum *Filium Ducis* Clarenciæ, *Puerum & Infantem, in ſuam, & ſuorum ſecuritatem capite plexit.* Gul. Cambden in Brit. & Curt.

And

1485. And to ſecure his Eſtate, had more than learnt other ſmart Rules of Policy. That reach of State upon *Philip* of *Auſtrich*, Duke of *Burgundy*, King of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*, is not the leaſt memorable.

Grafton. Hollinſhead. This Prince *Philip* was by croſs Fortune put into the King's Hands: Purpoſing out of *Flanders* to go into *Spain*, with the Queen his Wife, took Shipping at *Sluce*, and paſſing by the Coaſts of *England*, was by a Tempeſt forced for his Safety to put into the Port of *Weymouth* in *Dorſetſhire*: The Queen being ill, and diſtemper'd much with the Storm, was compell'd to make ſome ſtay there.

Sir *John Carew*, and Sir *Thomas Trenchard* (principal Men in thoſe Parts) gave ſpeedy Intelligence of this to the King, who was glad of the Accident, and purpoſed to make good uſe of it, as ſpeedily returning his Command to give them all honourable Entertainment; but not ſuffer them to depart, until he had ſeen and ſaluted them.

The Duke ignorant of this, as ſoon as the Queen and the reſt had recover'd and refreſh'd themſelves, thought he was only to give thoſe Knights Thanks, and take his Leave; which they by way of courteſie and requeſt interpoſe, in behalf of the Kings vehement deſire to ſalute him and the Queen: A Motion the Duke much preſt to be excuſed from, as the Neceſſity of his Journey ſtood; but the Intreaty was ſo imperious, he muſt ſtay, and alter his Journey for *Windſor*, to meet the King, who received him there in a Magnificent manner; and at the height of a Feaſt, propounds a Suit to the Duke for *Edmund de la Pool* (then in his Dominions) a Pretender to the Crown of *England*, and not ſo ſoundly affected to him: A Suit of a harſh Expoſition, as the Duke apprehended it, and to the blemiſh of his Honour and Piety, as he nobly urged: but no Argument had Vertue, nor no Vertue Argument enough to excuſe it; the King muſt have him, or the Duke muſt ſtay. Caſt upon this Extream (and foreſeeing what Diſadvantages were upon him, ſome honourable Conditions granted, that he ſhould neither lay Puniſhment nor Death upon him) he gave his Promiſe to ſend him, and the King ſtrictly and religiouſly bound himſelf to the Exceptions.

The Duke accordingly ſent this *de la Pool* into *England*; who upon his Arrival was deliver'd to the *Tower*; but his Life not touch'd until the King lay a Dying; then he equivocated his Vow by a Mental Reſervation, enjoyning his Son after his Death to cut off his Head; which was done when he came to be King, and was held ſome taint to them both; tho' the Son held himſelf acquit and warranted by the Example of King *Solomon*, who was made the Inſtrument of ſuch another ſubtil Slaughter by his Father *David*, that thought he kept himſelf by Equivocation: Examples not to be imitated by any Chriſtian Prince, being a Sin; and Sins are to be avoided, not imitated.

Grafton. The eldeſt Brother of theſe *de la Pools*, *John de la Pool*, Heir to the Duke of *Suffolk*, and Head of this Family, was ſlain caſually at the Battel of *Stoke*; and is he who, as neareſt Kinſman to King *Richard* III. was proclaimed Heir apparent. The Siſter of theſe Princely *de la Pool's*, the Lady *Katharine*, was kept cloſe Priſoner in the *Tower*, until Grief and Sorrow bowed her to the Grave.

Nor is it much from our Purpoſe to note, that the chief *Plantagenets*, namely, the Children of King *Edward* IV. had but cold Influences then; for the Lady *Bridget* was thruſt into a Nunnery at *Dartford*, chiefly, (as it was thought) that ſhe ſhould live Sterile, and die without Iſſue. The Lady *Cecily* was married to a baſe fellow, that ſo her Iſſue might be ignoble and contemptible; the Wrong being the greater, in regard ſhe was offer'd Matches to her Quality; the King of *Scotland* propounding Prince *James* unto her; and the *French* King *Lewis* demanded her for the Dauphin *Charles* of *France*. 1485.

Polidor. lib. 4.

It was obſerved too, That this King was but an unkind and ſevere Husband to his Queen (indeed:) they had all but ſhort Lives; and our Stories report he pick'd a Quarrel with the Queen Dowager-Mother, for an old and venial Errour, becauſe ſhe deliver'd her Son *Richard* to the Protector; for which there was a Confiſcation upon all her Goods, Chattels and Revenues, and ſhe confin'd to *Bermondſey-Abbey*, where ſhe liv'd not long, Care and Grief untwiſting the Thread of her ſad Fate. And when Death had ſeized him from all the Glories and Policies of this World, his Son ſucceeds; and then *Reſiduum Locuſtæ Bruchus comedit; & reſiduum Bruchi comedit Rubigo*: for what remain'd of the Houſe of *York*, he gave the laſt blow to: and after the diſpatch of the aforeſaid *Edmund de la Pool*, caus'd the Lady *Margaret Plantagenet* Counteſs of *Salisbury*, then Daughter and Heir of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, to be attainted of Treaſon by Act of Parliament, and condemned unheard, being dragged to the Block barbarouſly by the Hair of her Head, tho' above Threeſcore Years in Age, *Anno* 33 *Hen.* 8. Not long after, Sir *Henry Pool* her eldeſt Son was put to Death, and her Son *Reynold Pool* was attainted of Treaſon with her (no Man knowing what the Treaſon was) but got ſuddenly out of the Kingdom into *Italy*, where he became much favoured by the Princes there, and by the Popes afterward made Cardinal, and highly renowned (in thoſe Times) for his Learning, Piety and other noble Merits. *Richard Pool*, another Son of the Counteſs of *Salisbury's* fled, and liv'd a baniſh'd Man in foreign Countries; yet at the height of a good Reputation, until he was ſlain at the Battel of *Pavia*.

Although the Lady *Anne* and the Lady *Katharine* were well married, that may not be alledged here; for they were beſtowed in the Time of *Rich.* 3. the one to the Lord *Haward*, after D. of *Norfolk*, the other to the Earl of *Devon*. *Robert Glover. Joel. c.* 1.

Dominus Joh Baro Lumley, viva voce.

Theſe be ſad Pauſes, which my Pen but touches at, to note the Partiality of ſome on one ſide, and the Malignity of ſome on the other ſide, who have made King *Richard* the worſt of all Princes; when other of our own have had as great an Appetite of Empire, whoſe Fames and ſacred Names we congratulate with Honour.

Nor let my juſt and plain Meaning be miſtaken, which urges nothing in Diſlike or Exprobration that King *Henry* the Seventh had the Crown, whom our Age muſt acknowledge a Wiſe, provident and Religious Prince, The Reſtorer of the ancient Line of the *Britiſh* Kings to their Reign and Kingdom, Nephew of King *Henry* the Sixth by his Grand-mother Queen *Katharine*, Widow of King *Henry* the Fifth, and Mother of King *Henry* the Sixth, and of his Brother Uterine *Edmund Tudor* Earl of *Richmond*, the Father of this King *Henry* the Seventh; and ſo he was Nephew alſo to *Charles* the Seventh King of *France*. I conceive he took it by too violent a hand, not ſtaying *tempus bene placiti*.

And here I may fitly take occaſion to make up a Defect or Brack covertly imputed to the Titles of the *Normans*, and *Princes of York*, by our vulgar Hiſtorians and Chroniclers.

The ſundry great Titles of our King to the Crown of England.

And firſt, we are to ſuppoſe, If there be, it grew by the Error of King *Edward's* Marriage, by which they hold that Title was weakned (at the leaſt blemiſh'd) but that could have no continuance,

1485. tinuance, being made ſound again as ſoon as King *Richard* came to reign, and after cured and confirmed by the mighty Power of ſundry Parliaments, by which it was made as ſtrong and firm as ever; beſides the aid of the Diſpenſations Apoſtolical (in thoſe times Sacred and Authentick.) And without that (if need were) our King now reigning hath other Royal Rights, more than *funiculus Triplex*; ſome more ancient, authentick and juſt, therefore more ſecured, and of more proſperous Hopes than that *Norman* Title, which was a violent acqueſt of the Sword, and a Purchaſe made by Blood ſo conſequently none of the beſt; which was well conceived by the great *Macedon*, when he ſaid, *Non eſt diuturna poſſeſſio in quam gladio inducimur.* Neither would it avail in this behalf to cite or avouch the Donation of this Kingdom, which the Confeſſor is ſaid to have made to *William* the Conqueror, being to no Purpoſe becauſe that Gift or Legacy was diſclaimed and diſallow'd by the Barons of this Land, and found to be void.

Alex. apud Curtium, lib. 8.

Yet Time now, and Preſcription, have alſo made that Title good: for Preſcription hath power to ratify and confirm the Titles both of Princes and of Private Men.

But our King is the immediate and ſole Lawful Heir of King *Egbert*, (who firſt gave the Name of *England* to this Land, and was abſolute Lord of it) from him, by the glorious Kings, *Edgar*, *Edmund*, *Athelſtan*, *Alfred*, and many others, as well *Saxons* and *Angles*, as *Anglo-Saxons*, the Right and Title of this Kingdom is duly deſcended and devolved to *Edmund Ironſide* King of *England*, who was Father to the moſt noble *Clyto*, *Edward* ſirnam'd *Exul*, whoſe fair Daughter and Heir (a religious Lady) the Princeſs *Margaret* of *England*, was married to *Malcom Cammoire* King of *Scotland*; from which Ancient and happy Alliance, the King our Sovereign Lord is directly and certainly deſcended, and is the true and only Heir to the Rights and Titles which were without flaw; ſo the moſt ancient and famous Title, and Right of the firſt Kings of *Britain* are in him, being the next Heir of our laſt *Britiſh* King *Henry Tudor*, whoſe Genealogy I have ſeen derived from the Antick Kings of *Britain*, and from divers other *Britiſh* Princes. And this *Henry Tudor* (or the Seventh) to confirm all the Titles of this Kingdom unto his Claim, by the ſtrongeſt and greateſt Authority, procur'd them Decreed to him and to his Iſſue (ſo eſtabliſhed in himſelf and his Poſterity for ever) by Act of Parliament, in this manner and words.

Clyto, that is a Prince of the Blood.

Anno 1 H. 7. in Parliamento in Novemb.

TO the Pleaſure of Almighty God, and for the Wealth and Proſperity and Surety of this Realm of England, to the ſingular Comfort of all the Subjects of the ſame, and for avoiding all Ambiguities and Queſtions: Be it ordained, Eſtabliſhed and Enacted by the Authority of this preſent Parliament, That the Inheritance of the Crown of the Realm of England, and alſo of France, with all the Preeminencies and Dignities Royal to the ſame appertaining, and all Liegancies to the King belonging beyond the Seas with the Appurtenances thereunto in any wiſe due or appertaining. To be, reſt, remain and abide in the moſt Royal Perſon of our Sovereign Lord King Henry the Seventh, and in the Heirs of his Body lawfully coming perpetually, with the Grace of God, and ſo to endure, and in no other.

1485.

Which is alſo another Title to our King, Heir to *Henry* the Seventh.

And this Act was renew'd and firmly eſtabliſh'd, for our Sovereign Lord King *James*, *Anno regni primo.*

Yet King *Henry* the Seventh obtain'd of the Pope another Title, *Jure Belli.*

All which Titles and Rights (which ever were appertaining to this Kingdom, and to the Empire of *Britain*) are coaleſced and met in our Sovereign King; for he hath not only the Claims of the ancient Kings of *Britain*, of the *Saxons*, and *Anglo-Saxon* Kings, and of the *Norman* Race; but alſo the Titles and Rights of the Royal Families of *York*, of *Lancaſter*, and of *Wales*, &c.

And (not as the leaſt, in reference with theſe) he hath in poſſeſſion alſo thoſe ſingular and particular Monuments of Empire and Reign, by ſome call'd *Fata Regni*, and *Inſtrumenta & Monumenta Regno, & imperio deſtinata.*

The Wedding Ring of England. *Edwardus Ethelredus d'Rivallis.*

One being the Ring of the accounted Holy King *Edward*, the Son of King *Etheldred*, which was conſecrated and extraordinarily bleſſed by St. *John Baptiſt* in *Paleſtine*, and ſent back by the King (as old Writers tell) which hath been religiouſly kept in the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*, and is (as Tradition goes) the Ring which the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* at the Inauguration and Conſecration of the Kings, puts upon their Finger; call'd in our Stories, *The Wedding Ring of* England.

The fatal Stone.

The other Monument of the *Britiſh* Empire, is the Marble Stone whereupon *Jacob* laid his Head, when he had thoſe Cœleſtial and Myſtical Viſions mention'd in Holy Writ; which Stone was brought out of *Paleſtine* into *Ireland*, and from thence carried into *Scotland* by King *Keneth*; after tranſlated to the City of *Scone*, and uſed for the Chair wherein the Kings ſate at their Coronation; brought out of *Scotland* by *Edward* the Firſt into *England*, as the beſt Hiſtorians of *Scotland* and *England* relate.

Hector Boetius lib. 4. Et Geo. Buchan. Gul. Cambden.

Cathedram Marmoream Regibus Scotorum fatalem (in qua inſidentes Scotorum Reges Coronari conſueverant.) Rex Edwardus primus è Scona Londinum tranſtulit, & in Weſtmonaſterio (ubi hodie viſitur) depoſuit.

That is, "The Marble Chair fatal to the "*Scotiſh* Kings, and in which they uſed to ſit "when they were crown'd, was by King *Ed*"*ward* I. removed from *Scone* to *London*, and "placed in *Weſtminſter Abbey*, where it yet re"mains.

It is ſet or born in a Chair of Wood, and for a perpetual Honour (upon a Table hanging in the Chappel at *Weſtminſter*) this is writ:

—Si quid habent veri vel Chronica cana, fideſve,
Clauditur hac Cathedra, Nobilis ille lapis,
— Ad caput, eximius Jacob *quondam Patriarcha,*
Quem poſuit cernens numina mirifica;
Quem tulit à Scotis Edwardus *primus*, &c.

----If old Records ſay true, this Chair
That noble Stone incloſ'd does bear,
On which the Patriarch did his Head recline
When he view'd Scenes all wondrous and divine;
This the firſt *Edward* did from *Scotland* bring.

In hoc lapide fatum regni Scotiæ continetur. Geor. Buchan.

George Buchananus ſaith, The People are ſeriouſly perſwaded that in this Stone (which he calleth *Lapidem Marmoreum rudem*) the Fate of the Kingdom is contained, and that *fatum Regni* is thus underſtood; *viz.* What King of *Scotland* ſoever is Lord of that Stone, and Sovereignly poſſeſſed thereof, ſhall be King, and reign

1485. in the Country where he findeth that Stone: Thus told in a Prophetical Diſtich.

Ni fallat fatum, Scotus quocunqae locatum
Inveniet lapidem, regnare tenetur ibidem.

Unleſs old Saws do fail, and Wizzards Wits go blind,
The *Scots* ſhall have the Rule where e'er this Stone they find.

Scotus primus Rex Scotiæ, ut Anglus Gallus Hiſpanus, &c. pro Rex Angliæ Galliæ Hiſpan. &c.

Which Prophecy was accompliſh'd in King *James*, when he came firſt into *England*: for his Titles were not only *funiculus triplex qui difficile rumpitur*; but alſo *funiculus multiplex qui nunquam rumpitur*. And may thoſe Titles for ever be eſtabliſh'd in his Loins, according to that of the Heavenly Meſſenger, *Regnum perpetuum, & cujus non eſt finis.* Amen.

Thus I have led you through the various Relations, and Tragical Interchanges of this Prince's Life, to his laſt Act and Place, where, (after Revenge and Rage had ſatiated their barbarous Cruelties upon his dead Body) they gave his Royal Earth a Bed of Earth, honourably, appointed by the Order of King *Henry* the Seventh, in the chief Church of *Leiceſter*, call'd St. *Maries*, belonging to the Order and Society of the Grey Friers; the King in ſhort time after cauſing a fair Tomb of mingled colour'd Marble, adorn'd with his Statue to be erected thereupon, to which ſome grateful Pen had alſo deſtined an Epitaph, the Copy whereof (never fixt to his Stone) I have ſeen in a recorded Manuſcript-Book chain'd to a Table in a Chamber in the *Guild-hall* of *London*: which (the Faults and Corruptions being amended) is thus repreſented together with the Title thereunto prefix'd as I found it. 1485.

Could this King be brought off from the horrid Imputation that lies upon his Memory, of much Bloodſhed, Oppreſſion and groſs Hypocriſy, to gain and keep the Crown, one might judge him a good King. For in ſeveral Paſſages of his Reign, and Publick Declarations by him made, he expreſs'd a Care of the good Eſtate of his People. and a Concern to have Sin and Wickedneſs checked, and carried himſelf with a Regard to Learning and Religion. Here follow a few Inſtances.

Upon the hurting of a Conſtable of *Glouceſter* in the Execution of his Office, the King taking particular Notice thereof, and of the Occaſion, ſent a ſpecial Letter to the chief Officer there, *viz.*

'*RICHARD, &c.* To the Major, Sheriffs and Aldermen of our Town of *Glouceſter*, that now be, or that 'hereafter for the time ſhal be, Greetyng. Foraſmoch as we well underſtond, that by means of Retainidors, and re-'ceyving and wearyng of Liveries, of clothing Baieux and other Signes, contrary to the Effects of the Statutes by 'our Noble Progenitors heretofore ordeyned and eſtablyſhed in that behalf, grete and manie Devyſions and Incon-'venyences have ryſen and grown in dyvers places within this our Realme, to the grete Troubles and annoyance of 'oure Subjects of the ſame: And eſpeciallie now of late among you within our ſaid Towne by evyl dyſpoſed Gen-'tlemen, *Jamys Gyſe*, *John Burdet*, *Edward Brigge*, and others in making Aſſault upon our Officers, a Conſtable of 'oure ſaid Towne, not onely beaten and grevouſly maimed, but alſo partly in dyſpair of his Lyfe, as it is to us 'ſhewed, to oure full grete dyſpleaſur. Wherefor We woll and charge you, that if ye have commytted them or 'any of them to Priſon, yee do ſurely kepe them there without Bayle or Mainprize, to ſoche tyme as ye ſhal undre-'ſtonde oure further pleaſur in that behaulf. And if No, to indeavour you thereunto. And over thys, that yee in 'nowyſe from henceforth ſuffre any Perſon dwellyng among you in oure ſaid Towne or Franchiſes, for to uſe or wear 'Lyvery of Clothyng bagien, ſigne, or other Connizance, of the Gyft of any Maner of Perſon of whate State, De-'gree or Condition ſoever he be, but only Oures. And that upon the Peine of Forfeiturs of their Lyberties, and 'Franchiſes. And if ye ſhal know any preſuming, or attempting ſo to do, that yee forthwith without delay com-'myt him in lykewiſe to ſure Priſon, and ſo remayne as above. Fayle yee not to accomplyſh this at your uttermoſt 'peryl. Yeven at *London* the 6th of *December*.

For the checking of Vice and promoting of Sobriety and Vertue, both in Temporal and Spiritual Men, the King wrote this Circular Letter to the Biſhops.

'Reverend Fadre in God, Right Truſtie and Welbeloved, We grete you wele; Aſcertayning you that amonges 'othre oure ſeculer beſyneſſes and Cares, oure principal Entent and fervent deſire is to ſee vertue and clenneſs of 'Lyving to be advanced, encreſed and multiplied, and vices and all othre thyngs repugnant to vertue, provoking 'the high Indignation and fereful Diſpleaſure of God, to be repreſſed and adnulled. And this perfitly followed 'and put in execution by Perſones of high Eſtate, Pre-eminence and Dignitie not oonly enduceth Perſones of lower 'degree to take thereof example, and to enſue the ſame, but alſo thereby the great and infinite Goodneſſe of God is 'made placable, and graciouſlie enclyned to the exaudition of our Peticions and Prayers. And foraſmoche as it is nota-'rily knowen, that in every Juriſdiction, as wele in their Paſtoral Cure, as othre, there be many, as wele of the Spi-'rituell Partie, as of the Temporall, delyring from the true weye of vertue and good lyving to the pernicious ex-'ample of othre, and lotheſomneſs of every weledi ſpoſed Perſonne; WEE therefore woll and deſire you, and on 'Goddes behalf inwardly exhort and require you, that according to the Charge of your Profeſſion, ye woll ſee, 'within th' Auctoritie of your Juriſdiction, al ſuche Perſonnes as ſet aparte Vertue and promote the dampnable 'execution of Sinne and Vices, to be refourmed, repreſſed and punyſhed condignely after their demeryts: not 'ſparing for any love, favour, drede or affection; whether th'offendour be Spirituell or Temporell. Wherein ye 'may be aſſured we ſhall yeve unto you oure favour, aide and aſſiſtence, if the Caas ſhall ſo require, and ſee to the 'ſharp Puniſhment of the Repugnatours and Interruptours, if any ſuche be.

'And if ye woll diligently applie you to th'execution and perfourmyng of this Matere, ye ſhall not oonly doo 'unto God right acceptable pleaſure, but over that we ſhall ſee ſuch Perſones Spirituell as ben undre your Paſto-'rell Cure, noon otherwiſe to be entreated or puniſshed for their Offences, but according to the Ordenaunces and 'Lawes of holy Churche. And if for the due execution of the Premiſes any Complaint or Suggeſtion be made unto 'us of you, We ſhall remytte the determynation thereof unto the Courts of our Couſin th'archebiſhop of *Canterbury* 'Cardinal. And thus proceeding to th'xecution hereof, ye ſhall doo unto your Self grete honour, and unto us right 'ſinglier pleaſure. Yeven, *&c.* at *Weſtminſter* the X day of *Marche*

And his Care of the good Government and Eaſe of his Subjects, part of his Proclamation againſt his Rebells in *Kent* wil ſhew. *Viz.*

'And over this, the Kinges Highneſs is fully determyned to ſee due Adminiſtration of Juſtice throughout this 'his Realme to be had: And to refourme, punishe, and to ſubdue al Extortion and Oppreſſions in the ſame. And 'for that Cauſe woll, that at his comyng now into the ſaid County of *Kent*, that every Perſone dwellyng within the 'ſame that fyndeth hym grieved, oppreſſed, or unlawfullie wronged, doo make a Byll of hys Complaynt, and put 'it to hys Highneſſe, and he ſhall be heard, and without delay have ſuche convenyent remedie as ſhall accord with 'hys Lawes. For his Grace is utterlie determyned, that al hys true Subjects ſhall lyve in reſt and quiet, and peace-'ably enjoy their Landes, Livelodes and Goodes according to the Laws of this hys Lande, which they be naturally 'born to enherytt. And therefore the King chargeth and commaundeth, that no maner Man of whatſoever Condi-'tion or Degree he bee, trouble, hurt or ſpoyle any of hys ſaid Subjects, in their Bodies or Goodes, upon paine of 'Death. And alſo, that no maner Man make ryke, or contrive any Quarrels to either for any old or new ran-'cour, hate, malyce or cauſe, or offre make, upon paine of Death. Nor alſo take Man's meat, Horſe meat, or any 'Vitall or Stuff, without he pay truly therefore to the Owner thereof, upon paine of leiſing of his Horſe harneſſe, 'Goods, and his Body to Priſon at the Kinges Wyll. And overthys, that no maner Man trouble or vex any Farmour, 'or Occupier of any of the Lands that apperteyned to the abovenamed Rebells and Traitors, otherwiſe than by the 'Kinges Commaundement or Authoritie. And that al ſuch Fermours and Occupiers reteyne and kepe ſtil in their 'own hand the Revenews and Mony grown, and to grow of the ſaid Lands, unto the tyme they know the Kynges 'pleaſure in that behalf. And the King our ſaid Soveraign Lord chargeth ſtrait all his Myniſters, Officers and Sub-'jects within the ſame County, to reſiſt and withſtand al Perſons that woll attempt any thing contrary to thys Pro-'clamation, and them take and ſure kepe in Priſon, unto they have from the Kinges Highneſs otherwiſe in command-'ment for their Delivery. *J. S.*

To

1485. To give you him in his equal Draught and Compoſition: He was of a mean or low Compact, but without Diſproportion and Unevenneſs either in Lineaments or Parts (as his ſeveral Pictures preſent him) His Aſpect had moſt of the Soldier in it; So his Natural Inclination (Complexions not uncertainly expounding our Diſpoſitions) but what wants of the Court-Planet, Effeminate Cenſures think muſt needs be harſh and crabbed (and Envy will pick Quarrels with an Hair, rather than want Subject.) The Judgment and Courage of his Sword-Actions, rendred him of a full Honour and Experience, which Fortune gratify'd with many Victories; never any Overthrows through his own Default, for lack of Valour or Policy. At Court, and in his general Deportment, of an affable Reſpect and tractable Clearneſs. In his Diſpenſe, of a magnificent liberal Hand, ſomewhat above his Power (as Sir *Thomas Moor* ſets down.) And ſurely the many Churches, with other good Works he Founded, (more than any one former King did in ſo ſhort a time) muſt commend him Charitable and Religious, as the excellent Laws he made, do his Wiſdom and Strain of Government, which all Men confeſs of the beſt. So having (even from thoſe his bittereſt times) the eſteem of a Valiant, Wiſe, Noble, Charitable and Religious Prince, why ſhould ours deprave him ſo much upon Truſt, and deny Works their Character and Place? 1485. Sir *Thoms Moor.* Duke of *Buckingham* in his Speech to Mr. *Morton.*

Epitaphium Regis *RICHARDI* Tertii, Sepulti ad *Leiceſtriam*, juſſu, & ſumptibus Sti Regis *Henrici* Septimi.

HIC ego, quem vario Tellus ſub Marmore claudit,
Tertius à juſta voce Richardus *eram;*
Tutor eram Patriæ, Patrius pro jure Nepotis;
Dirupta, tenui regna Britanna, *fide.*
Sexaginta dies binis duntaxat ademptis
Ætateſque, tuli tunc mea Sceptra, duas.
Fortiter in Bello certans deſertus ab Anglis,
Rex Henrice, *tibi, ſeptime, ſuccubui.*
At ſumptu, pius ipſe, tuo, ſic oſſa dicaras,
Regem olimque facis Regis honore coli.
Quatuor exceptis jam tantum, quinque bis annis
Acta trecenta quidem, luſtra ſalutis erant,
Anteque Septembris undena luce Kalendas,
Reddideram rubræ jura petita Roſæ.
At mea, quiſquis eris, propter commiſſa precare,
Sit Minor ut precibus pœna levata tuis.

Anno Dom. 1484. Die 21 Aug.

Deo O. M. Trino & Uno, ſit laus, & Gloria æterna. *Amen.*

Epitaph of Richard III. *bury'd at* Leiceſter *by the Order, and at the Expence of King* Henry *the Seventh.*

I Who am laid beneath this Marble Stone,
Richard the Third, poſſeſs'd the *Britiſh* Throne;
My Country's Guardian in my Nephew's Claim,
By Truſt betray'd I to the Kingdom came.
Two Years and ſixty Days, ſave two, I reign'd,
And bravely ſtrove in Fight, but unſuſtain'd
My *Engliſh* left me in the luckleſs Field,
Where I to *Henry*'s Arms was forc'd to yield.
Yet at his Charge, my Coarſe this Tomb obtains,
Who piouſly interr'd me, and ordains
That Regal Honours wait a King's Remains.
Th'Year fourteen hundred 'twas and eighty four
The twenty firſt of *Auguſt*, when its Pow'r
And all its Rights I did to the *Red Roſe* reſtore.
Reader, whoe're thou art, thy Pray'rs beſtow
T'atone my Crimes, and eaſe my Pain below.

Epigramma in *RICHARDOS* Angliæ Reges, ex vet. lib. *MS.* tranſcriptum.

TRes ſunt Richardi *quorum fortuna erat æqua,*
In tribus æſcariis ſua cujus propria ſors eſt,
Nam concors horum finis ſine poſteritate
Corporis, atque rapax vitæ modus, & violentus
Interitus fuerat; ſed major gloria primi,
Prælia terrarum qui geſſerat & redeuntem
Tela Baliſtarum feriunt apud extera regna.
Alter depoſitus regno, qui carcere clauſus,
Menſibus extiterat certis, fame velle perire
Elegit potius, quam famæ probra videre.
Tertius exhauſto ſtatim amplo divitiarum
Edwardi *cumulo, proſcribens auxiliares*
Henrici *partes, poſt annos denique binos*
Suſcepti regni, Bello confectus eiſdem
Mundanam vitam tum perdidit atque coronam!
Anno milleno; centum quater octuageno,
Adjunctis quinque, & cum lux Sextilis adeſt,
Undena duplex, dentes apri ſtupuerunt,
Et vindex albæ Roſa Rubra refloret in orbe.

Epigram on the Three Richards, *Kings of* England; *the Latin tranſcrib'd from an Old Manuſcript.*

THree *Richards* did in *England* wear the Crown,
An equal Fortune in the three was ſhown;
All Childleſs dy'd, and left no Race behind,
Rapacious were their Lives, to *Force* alike inclin'd;
Their Deaths were violent. The firſt excell'd
The reſt in Fame, and * Triumphs of the Field:
Returning home, he on a foreign Plain
Was by the fatal Darts of Archers ſlain.
The Second was from Sov'reign Sway depos'd.
For ſeveral Months in ſtrict Confinement clos'd,
He choſe to ſtarve, rather than ſee his Shame,
And bear the Inſults of reproaching Fame.
The Third profuſely ſpent the treaſur'd Store
That *Edward* rais'd, but when with warlike Pow'r
To cruſh brave *Henry*'s Partiſans he try'd,
Wounded in Fight, he fell himſelf and dy'd.
Thus the Red Roſes, their Oppoſers ſlain,
Reviv'd and flouriſh'd in the World again.

* His Expedition into the *Holy Land.*

THE LIFE and REIGN OF K. HENRY VII.

By the Right Honourable *FRANCIS* Lord *Verulam*, Viſcount St *Albans*.

1485. *Richard* the Third a Tyrant.

AFTER that *Richard* the Third of that Name, King in Fact only, but Tyrant both in Title and Regiment, and ſo commonly termed and reputed in all Times ſince, was by the Divine Revenge, favouring the Deſign of an exil'd Man, Overthrown and Slain at *Boſworth* Field: There ſucceeded in the Kingdom the Earl of *Richmond*, thenceforth ſtyl'd *Henry* the Seventh. The King immediately after the Victory, as one that had been bred under a devout Mother, and was in his Nature a great Obſerver of Religious Forms, caused *Te Deum Laudamus* to be ſolemnly ſung in the preſence of the whole Army upon the place, and was himſelf with general Applauſe and great Cries of Joy, in a kind of Militar Election or Recognition, ſaluted King. Mean while the Body of *Richard* after many Indignities and Reproaches (the *Dirgies* and *Obſequies* of the common People towards Tyrants) was obſcurely buried. For tho' the King of his Nobleneſs gave Charge unto the Fryars of *Leiceſter* to ſee an honourable Interrment to be given to it, yet the Religious People themſelves (being not free from the Humours of the Vulgar) neglected it; wherein nevertheleſs they did not then incur any Man's Blame or Cenſure. No Man thinking any Ignominy or Contumely unworthy of him, that had been the Executioner of King *Henry* VI. (that Innocent Prince) with his own Hands; the Contriver of the Death of the Duke of *Clarence*, his Brother; the Murderer of his two Nephews (one of them his Lawful King in the Preſent, and the other in the Future, failing of him) and vehemently ſuſpected to have been the Impoiſonet of his Wife, thereby to make Vacant his Bed, for a Marriage within the Degrees forbidden. And altho' he were a Prince in Militar Vertue approv'd, Jealous of the Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation, and likewiſe a good Law maker, for the Eaſe and Solace of the common People: Yet his Cruelties and Parricides in the Opinion of all Men, weigh'd down his Vertues and Merits; and in the Opinion of wiſe Men, even thoſe Vertues themſelves were conceived to be rather feign'd, and affected things to ſerve his Ambition, than true Qualities ingenerate in his Judgment or Nature. And therefore it was noted by Men of great Underſtanding (who ſeeing his After-Acts, look'd back upon his former Proceedings) that even in the Time of King *Edward* his Brother, he was not without ſecret Trains and Mines to turn Envy and Hatred upon his Brother's Government; as having an Expectation and a kind of Divination, that the King, by reaſon of his many Diſorders, could not be of long Life, but was like to leave his Sons of tender Years; and then he knew well how eaſie a Step it was from the Place of a Protector, and firſt Prince of the Blood, to the Crown. And that out of this deep Root of Ambition it ſprang, that as well at the Treaty of Peace that paſſed between *Edward* IV. and *Lewis* XI. of *France*, concluded by Interview of both Kings at *Piqueny*, as upon all other Occaſions, *Richard* then Duke of *Glouceſter*, ſtood ever upon the Side of Honour, raiſing his own Reputation to the Diſadvantage of the King his Brother, and drawing the Eyes of all, (eſpecially of the Nobles and Soldiers) upon himſelf; as if the King by his Voluptuous Life and mean Marriage, were become Effeminate and leſs ſenſible of Honour and Reaſon of State, than was fit for a King. And as for the Politick and wholeſome Laws which were enacted in his Time, they were interpreted to be but the Brocage of an Uſurper, thereby to woo and win the Hearts of the People, as being conſcious to himſelf, that the true Obligations of Sovereignty in him failed, and were wanting. But King *Henry* in the very Entrance of his Reign, and the inſtant of time, when the Kingdom was caſt into his Arms, met with a Point of great Difficulty and knotty to ſolve, able to trouble and confound the wiſeſt King in the newneſs of his Eſtate; and ſo much the more, becauſe it could not endure a Deliberation, but muſt be at once deliberated and determined.

There were fallen to his lot, and concurrent to his Perſon, three ſeveral Titles to the Imperial Crown; the firſt, the Title of the Lady *Elizabeth*, with whom, by precedent Pact with the

Boſworth Battel.

K *Henry's* Piety.

The Obſequies due to Tyrants.

King *Richard's* Ignominious Burial.

He murder'd his two Nephews, King *Edward's* Sons.

His Vices overballanc'd his Virtues.

1485.

K. *Richard* jealous of his Honour.

Made good Laws to win the Peoples Love.

K. *Henry's* Three Titles to the Crown.

E. Lutterell delin.
P. Vanderbanck Sculp:
KING HENRY THE VII.th

1485. the Party that brought him in, he was to marry. The ſecond the ancient and long diſputed Title (both by Plea and Arms) of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, to which he was Inheritor in his own Perſon. The third, the Title of the *Sword*, or *Conqueſt*, for that he came in by Victory of Battel, and that the King in poſſeſſion was ſlain in the Field. The firſt of theſe was faireſt, and moſt like to give Contentment to the People, who by Two and Twenty Years Reign of King *Edward* IV. had been fully made capable of the Clearneſs of the Title of the White Roſe, or Houſe of *York*; and by the mild and plauſible Reign of the ſame King toward his later Time, were become affectionate to that Line. But then it lay plain before his Eyes, that if he relied upon that Title, he could be but a King at courteſy; and have rather a matrimonial than a regular Power; the Right remaining in his Queen; upon whoſe Deceaſe, either with Iſſue, or without Iſſue, he was to give place and be removed. And tho' he ſhould obtain by Parliament to be continued, yet he knew there was a very great difference between a King that holdeth his Crown by a Civil Act of Eſtates, and One that holdeth it originally by the Law of Nature and Deſcent of Blood. Neither wanted there even at that time, ſecret Rumours and Whiſperings (which afterwards gather'd ſtrength, and turn'd to great Troubles) that the two young Sons of King *Edward* IV. or one of them (which were ſaid to be deſtroy'd in the *Tower*) were not indeed murder'd, but convey'd ſecretly away, and were yet living: Which if it had been true, had prevented the Title of the Lady *Elizabeth*. On the other ſide, if he ſtood upon his own Title of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, inherent in his Perſon, he knew it was a Title condemn'd by Parliament, and generally prejudg'd in the common Opinion of the Realm, and that it tended directly to the Diſinheriſon of the Line of *York*, held then the indubiate Heirs of the Crown. So that if he ſhould have no Iſſue by the Lady *Elizabeth*, which ſhould be Deſcendants of the Double Line, then the ancient Flames of Diſcord and inteſtine Wars upon the Competition of both Houſes, would again return and revive.

The Title of the White Roſe.

The *Lancaſter* Title condemn'd by Parliament.

As for Conqueſt, notwithſtanding Sir *William Stanley*, after ſome Acclamations of the Souldiers in the Field, had put a Crown of Ornament (which *Richard* wore in the Battel, and was found among the Spoils) upon King *Henry*'s Head, as if there were his chief Title; yet he remembr'd well upon what Conditions and Agreements he was brought in; and that to claim as Conqueror, was to put as well his own Party, as the reſt, into Terror and Fear; as that which gave him power of diſannulling of Laws, and diſpoſing of Men's Fortunes and Eſtates, and the like Points of abſolute Power, being in themſelves ſo harſh and odious, as that *William* himſelf, commonly call'd the Conqueror, howſoever he uſed and exerciſed the Power of a Conqueror to reward his *Normans*, yet he forbare to uſe that Claim in the beginning, but mixt it with a titulary Pretence, grounded upon the Will and Deſignation of *Edward* the Confeſſor. But the King, out of the Greatneſs of his own Mind, preſently caſt the Die, and the Inconveniencies appearing unto him on all parts; and knowing there could not be any Inter-reign, or Suſpenſion of Title; and preferring his Affection to his own Line and Blood; and liking that Title beſt that made him independent; and being in his Nature and Conſtitution of Mind not very apprehenſive or foreſ-

Sir *Will. Stanley* Crowns K. *Henry* in the Field.

caſting of future Events afar off, but an Entertainer of Fortune by the Day, reſolv'd to reſt upon the Title of *Lancaſter* as the main, and to uſe the other two, that of Marriage and that of Battel, but as Supporters; the one to appeaſe ſecret Diſcontents, and the other to beat down open Murmur and Diſpute; not forgetting that the ſame Title of *Lancaſter* had formerly maintain'd a poſſeſſion of Three Deſcents in the Crown, and might have proved a Perpetuity, had it not ended in the Weakneſs and Inability of the laſt Prince. Whereupon the King preſently, that very Day, being the 22th of *Auguſt*, aſſumed the Stile of King in his own Name, without mention of the Lady *Elizabeth* at all, or any relation thereunto, in which Courſe he ever after perſiſted, which did ſpin him a Thread of many Seditions and Troubles. The King full of theſe Thoughts, before his Departure from *Leiceſter*, diſpatch'd Sir *Robert Willoughby* to the Caſtle of *Sheriff Hutton* in *Yorkſhire*, where were kept in ſafe Cuſtody, by King *Richard*'s Commandment, both the Lady *Elizabeth*, Daughter of King *Edward*, and *Edward Plantagenet*, Son and Heir to *George* Duke of *Clarence*. This *Edward* was, by the King's Warrant deliver'd from the Conſtable of the Caſtle to the Hand of Sir *Robert Willoughby*, and by him, with all ſafety and diligence, convey'd to the *Tower* of *London*; where he was ſhut up cloſe Priſoner: Which Act of the King's (being an Act merely of Policy and Power) proceeded not ſo much from any apprehenſion he had of Doctor *Shaw*'s Tale at *Paul's* Croſs, for the baſtarding of *Edward* the Fourth's Iſſues, in which caſe this young Gentleman was to ſucceed (for that Fable was ever exploded) but upon a ſettled Diſpoſition to depreſs all Eminent Perſons of the Line of *York*; wherein, ſtill the King out of ſtrength or Will, or Weakneſs of Judgment, did uſe to ſhew a little more of the Party than of the King.

Edward Plantagenet Earl of *Warwick*, Son and Heir of *George* Duke of *Clarence* impriſon'd.

K. *Henry* reſolves to depreſs all the Chief Perſons of the Line of *York*.

For the Lady *Elizabeth* ſhe received alſo a Direction to repair with all convenient ſpeed to *London*, and there to remain with the Queen Dowager her Mother; which accordingly ſhe ſoon after did, accompanied with many Noblemen and Ladies of Honour. In the mean Seaſon the King ſet forwards by eaſy Journeys to the City of *London*, receiving the Acclamations and Applauſes of the People as he went, which indeed were true and unfeigned, as might well appear in the very Demonſtrations and Fulneſs of the Cry: For they thought generally, that he was a Prince as ordain'd and ſent down from Heaven, to unite and put an end to the long Diſſention of the two Houſes; which altho' they had in the Times of *Henry* IV. *Henry* V. and part of *Henry* VI: on the one ſide, and the Times of *Edward* IV. on the other, lucid Intervals and happy Pauſes; yet they did ever hang over the Kingdom, ready to break forth into new Perturbations and Calamities. And as his Victory gave him the Knee, ſo his Purpoſe of Marriage with the Lady *Elizabeth* gave him the Heart; ſo that both Knee and Heart did truly bow before him.

He on the other ſide with great Wiſdom (not ignorant of the Affections and Fears of the People) to diſperſe the Conceit and Terror of a Conqueſt, had given order that there ſhould be nothing in his Journey like unto a warlike March or Manner, but rather like unto the Progreſs of a King in full Peace and Aſſurance.

The Title of Conqueſt unpleaſing to the People.

He entred into the City upon a *Saturday*, as he had alſo obtain'd the Victory upon a *Saturday*, which Day of the Week, firſt upon an Obſer-

1485. vation, and after upon Memory and Fancy, he accounted and chose as a Day prosperous unto him.

The Mayor and Companies of the City receiv'd him at *Shore-ditch*; whence, with great and honourable Attendance and Troops of Noblemen, and Persons of Quality he entred the City; himself not being on Horseback, or in any open Chair, or Throne, but in a Close Chariot, as One that having been sometimes an Enemy to the whole State, and a proscrib'd Person, chose rather to keep State, and strike a Reverence into the People than to fawn upon them.

Why K. *Hen.* entred *London* in a close Chariot.

He went first into St. *Paul's* Church, where not meaning that the People should forget too soon that he came in by Battel, he made Offertory of his Standards, and had *Orizons* and *Te Deum* again sung, and went to his Lodging prepared in the Bishop of *London's* Palace, where he stay'd for a time.

During his abode there, he assembled his Council and other principal Persons, in presence of whom he did renew again his Promise to marry with the Lady *Elizabeth*. This he did the rather, because, having at his coming out of *Brittaine* given artificially, for serving of his own Turn, some Hopes, in case he obtain'd the Kingdom, to marry *Anne* Inheritress to the Dutchy of *Brittaine*, whom *Charles* the Eighth of *France* soon after married; it bred some doubt and suspicion amongst divers that he was not sincere, or at least not fix'd in going on with the Match of *England* so much desir'd: Which Conceit also, tho' it were but Talk and Discourse, did much afflict the poor Lady *Elizabeth* her self. But, howsoever he both truly intended it, and desired also it shou'd be so believ'd, (the better to extinguish Envy and Contradiction to his other Purposes) yet was he so resolv'd in himself not to proceed to the Consummation thereof till his Coronation and a Parliament were past; the one, least a joynt Coronation of himself and his Queen might give any Countenance of participation of Title; the other, least in the intailing of the Crown to himself, which he hoped to obtain by Parliament, the Votes of the Parliament might any ways reflect upon her.

About this time, in Autumn, towards the end of *September*, there began and reign'd in the City and other Parts of the Kingdom, a Disease then new; which of the Accidents and Manner thereof, they call'd the Sweating Sickness. This Disease had a swift Course both in the Sick Body, and in the Time and Period of the lasting thereof: For they that were taken with it, upon Four and Twenty Hours escaping, were thought almost assured: And as to the Time of the Malice and Reign of the Disease e're it ceased; it began about the 21. of *September*, and clear'd up before the end of *October*; insomuch as it was no hindrance to the King's Coronation, which was the last of *October*; nor (which was more) to the holding of the Parliament, which began but seven Days after. It was a pestilent Fever, but as it seemed not seated in the Veins or Humours, for that there follow'd no Carbuncle, no purple or livid Spots, or the like, the Mass of the Body being not tainted, only a malign Vapour flew to the Heart, and seized the vital Spirits; which stirr'd Nature to strive to send it forth by an extreme Sweat. And it appear'd by experience that this Disease was rather a Surprize of Nature than obstinate to Remedies, if it were in time look'd unto: For if the Patient were kept in an equal Temper, both for Cloaths, Fire, and Drink moderately warm, with temperate Cordials, whereby Nature's Work were neither irritated by Heat, nor turn'd back by Cold, he commonly recover'd. But infinite Persons died suddenly of it, before the manner of the Cure and Attendance was known. It was conceiv'd not to be an Epidemick Disease, but to proceed from a Malignity in the Constitution of the Air, gathered by the Pre-dispositions of Seasons; and the speedy Cessation declared as much.

Sweating Sickness.

Its Cure.

1485.

On *Simon* and *Jude's* Even the King dined with *Thomas Bourchier*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* and Cardinal; and from *Lambeth* went by Land over the Bridge to the *Tower*, where the Morrow after he made Twelve Knight Bannerets. But for Creations he dispensed them with a sparing Hand: For notwithstanding a Field so lately fought, and a Coronation so near at hand, he only created three. *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke* (the King's Uncle) was created Duke of *Bedford*; *Thomas* the Lord *Stanley* (the King's Father in Law) Earl of *Darby*; and *Edward Courtney* Earl of *Devon*; tho' the King had then nevertheless a Purpose in himself to make more in time of Parliament, bearing a wise and decent respect to distribute his Creations, some to honour his Coronation, and some his Parliament.

Creations of Noblemen.

The Coronation follow'd two Days after, upon the 30th Day of *October*, in the Year of our Lord 1485; at which time *Innocent* the Eighth was Pope of *Rome*; *Frederick* the Third, Emperor of *Almaine*; and *Maximilian* his Son, newly chosen King of the *Romans*; *Charles* the Eighth King of *France*; *Ferdinando* and *Isabella* Kings of *Spain*; and *James* the Third, King of *Scotland*; with all which Kings and States, the King was at that time at good Peace and Amity. At which Day also (as if the Crown upon his Head had put Perils into his Thoughts) he did institute, for the better security of his Person, a Band of fifty Archers under a Captain to attend him, by the Name of Yeomen of his Guard; and yet that it might be thought to be rather a matter of Dignity, after the imitation of that he had known abroad, than any matter of Diffidence appropriate to his own Case, he made it to be understood for an Ordinance not temporary, but to hold in succession for ever after.

K. Henry crown'd.

Yeomen of the Guard first instituted.

The Seventh of *November* the King held his Parliament at *Westminster*, which he had summon'd immediately after his coming to *London*. His Ends in calling a Parliament (and that so speedily) were chiefly three; First, to procure the Crown to be intail'd upon himself; Next, To have the Attainders of all his Party (which were in no small number) reversed, and all Acts of Hostility by them done in his Quarrel, remitted and discharged; and on the other side, to attaint by Parliament the Heads and Principals of his Enemies The Third, To calm and quiet the Fears of the rest of that Party by a general Pardon: Not being ignorant in how great danger a King stands from his Subjects, when most of his Subjects are conscious in themselves that they stand in his Danger Unto these three special Motives of a Parliament, was added, That he, as a prudent and moderate Prince made this Judgment; That it was fit for him to hasten to let his People see that he meant to govern by Law, howsoever he came in by the Sword; and fit also to reclaim them to know him for their King, whom they had so lately talk'd of as an Enemy or Banish'd Man. For that which concern'd the Entailing of the Crown, (more than that he was true to his own Will, that he wou'd not endure any mention of

A Parliament called.

The Crown entailed on K. *Hen.*

Qui tarret, plus ipse timet

1485. the Lady *Elizabeth*, no not in the nature of Special Entail) he carried it otherwiſe with great Wiſdom and Meaſure: For he did not preſs to have the Act penn'd by way of Declaration or Recognition of Right; as on the other ſide he avoided to have it by New Law or Ordinance; but choſe rather a kind of middle-way, by way of Eſtabliſhment, and that under Covert and indifferent Words; *That the Inheritance of the Crown ſhould reſt, remain, and abide in the King, &c.* which Words might equally be apply'd; That the Crown ſhould continue to him; but whether as having former Right to it, (which was doubtful) or having it then in Fact and Poſſeſſion (which no Man denied) was left fair to interpretation either way. And again, for the Limitation of the Entail, he did not preſs it to go further than to himſelf and to the Heirs of his Body, not ſpeaking of his Right Heirs; but leaving that to the Law to decide: So as the Entail might ſeem rather a perſonal Favour to him and his Children, than a total Diſ-inheriſon to the Houſe of *York*. And in this Form was the Law drawn and paſs'd; which Statute he procured to be confirm'd by the Pope's Bull the Year following, with mention, nevertheleſs, (by way of Recital) of his other Titles, both of Deſcent and Conqueſt: So as now the Wreath of Three was made a Wreath of Five; for to the three firſt Titles of the Two Houſes, or Lines, and Conqueſt, were added Two more, the Authorities Parliamentary and Papal.

Perſons attainted excepted againſt as Members of Parliament.

The King likewiſe in the Reverſal of the Attainders of his Partakers, and diſcharging them of all Offences incident to his Service and Succour, had his Will, and Acts did paſs accordingly: In the Paſſage whereof, Exception was taken to divers Perſons in the Houſe of Commons for that they were attainted, and thereby not legal, nor habilitate to ſerve in Parliament, being diſabled in the higheſt degree: and that it ſhould be a great Incongruity to have them to make Laws, who themſelves were not inlaw'd. The Truth was, that divers of thoſe which had in the Time of King *Richard* been ſtrongeſt and moſt declared for the King's Party, were return'd Knights and Burgeſſes for the Parliament, whether by Care or Recommendation from the State, or the voluntary Inclination of the People; many of them which had been by *Richard* III. attainted by Outlawries, or otherwiſe. The King was ſomewhat troubled with this: For tho' it had a grave and ſpecious Shew, yet it reflected upon his Party. But wiſely not ſhewing himſelf at all moved therewith, he would not underſtand it but as a Caſe in Law, and wiſh'd the Judges to be adviſed thereupon; who, for that purpoſe, were forthwith aſſembled in the *Exchequer-Chamber* (which is the Council-Chamber of the Judges) and upon deliberation, they gave a grave and ſafe Opinion and Advice, mix'd with Law and Convenience; which was, That the Knights and Burgeſſes attainted by the Courſe of Law, ſhould forbear to come into the Houſe, till a Law were made for the Reverſal of their Attainders.

Attainder of the Blood reaches not the Crown.

It was at that time incidently moved among the Judges in their Conſultation, what ſhould be done for the King himſelf, who likewiſe was attainted? But it was with unanimous conſent reſolv'd, *That the Crown takes away all Defects and Stops in Blood; and that from the time the King did aſſure the Crown, the Fountain was clear'd, and all Attainders and Corruption of Blood diſcharged.* But nevertheleſs, for Honour's ſake, it was ordain'd by Parliament, that all Records wherein there was any memory or mention of the King's Attainder, ſhould be defaced, cancel'd, and taken off the File. 1485.

But on the Part of the King's Enemies, there were by Parliament attainted the late Duke of *Glouceſter*, calling himſelf *Richard* the Third; the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Surrey*, Viſcount *Lovel*, the Lord *Ferrers*, the Lord *Zouch*, *Richard Ratcliffe*, *William Catesby*, and many others of Degree and (*a*) Quality. In which Bills of Attainders, nevertheleſs there were contain'd many juſt and temperate Clauſes, Savings, and Proviſo's, well ſhewing and fore-tokening the Wiſdom, Stay, and Moderation of the King's Spirit of Government. And for the Pardon of the reſt, that had ſtood againſt the King; the King, upon a ſecond Advice, thought it not fit it ſhould paſs by Parliament, the better (being matter of Grace) to impropriate the Thanks to himſelf, uſing only the Opportunity of a Parliament time, the better to diſperſe it into the Veins of the Kingdom: Therefore during the Parliament, he publiſh'd his Royal Proclamation, offering Pardon and Grace of Reſtitution to all ſuch as had taken Arms, or been Participant of any Attempts againſt him; ſo as they ſubmitted themſelves to his Mercy by a Day, and took the Oath of Allegiance and Fidelity to him: Whereupon many came out of Sanctuary, and many more came out of Fear, no leſs guilty than thoſe that had taken Sanctuary.

A Pardon put forth.

As for Money or Treaſure, the King thought it not ſeaſonable, or fit to demand any of his Subjects at this Parliament; both becauſe he had received ſatisfaction from them in Matters of ſo great Importance: And becauſe he could not remunerate them with any General Pardon, being prevented therein by the Coronation Pardon, paſs'd immediately before; but chiefly, for that it was in every Man's Eye, what great Forfeitures and Confiſcations he had at that preſent to help himſelf; whereby thoſe Caſualties of the Crown, might in reaſon ſpare the Purſes of the Subject, eſpecially in a time when he was in Peace with all his Neighbours. Some few Laws paſs'd at that Parliament, almoſt for form ſake; amongſt which, there was One to reduce Aliens, being made Denizens, to pay Strangers Cuſtoms; and another, To draw to himſelf the Seiſures and Compoſitions of *Italian* Goods, for not Employment, being Points of Profit to his Coffers, whereof from the very beginning he was not forgetful, and had been more happy at the latter end, if his early Providence (which kept him from all neceſſity of exacting upon his People) could likewiſe have attemp'red his Nature therein. He added, during Parliament, to his former Creations, the Innoblement or Advancement in Nobility of a few others: The *Chandos* of *Brittain* was made Earl of *Bath*; and Sir *Giles Daubeny* was made Lord *Dawbeny*; and Sir *Robert Willoughby* Lord *Brooke*.

Forfeitures and Confiſcations ſupply the King's Wants.

The Lord *Stafford* reſtored to the Honours and Eſtate of his Father the late Duke of *Buckingham*.

The King did alſo with great Nobleneſs and Bounty (which Virtues at that time had their turns in his Nature) reſtore *Edward Stafford*, eldeſt Son to *Henry* Duke of *Buckingham*, attainted

(*a*) Amongſt whom was *John Buck*, a Relation of *George Buck* the Author of the Life of King *Richard* III. which perhaps was the reaſon why that Hiſtorian, in oppoſition to other Writers on the ſame Subject, endeavours to have it believed, That King *Richard* was both a Great and a Good Man. This *John Buck* was a Creature of the Duke of *Norfolk*, a faſt Friend to King *Richard* III. *Buck* loſt his Head at *Boſworth*.

1485. in the Time of King *Richard*) not only to his Dignities, but to his Fortunes and Poſſeſſions, which were great; to which he was moved alſo by a kind of Gratitude, for that the Duke was the Man that mov'd the firſt Stone againſt the Tyranny of King *Richard*, and indeed made the King a Bridge to the Crown upon his own Ruins. Thus the Parliament brake up.

The Parliament being diſſolv'd, the King ſent forthwith Money to redeem the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, and Sir *John Bouchier*, whom he had left as his Pledges at *Paris*, for Money which he had borrow'd when he made his Expedition for *England*. And thereupon he took a fit Occaſion to ſend the Lord Treaſurer and Mr. *Bray* (whom he uſed as Counſellor) to the Lord Mayor of *London*, requiring of the City a Preſt of ſix thouſand Marks: But after many Parleys, he could obtain but Two thouſand Pounds. Which nevertheleſs the King took in good part; as Men uſe to do that practiſe to borrow Money when they have no need. About this time, the King called unto his Privy-Council *John Morton* and *Richard Fox*, the one Biſhop of *Ely* the other Biſhop of *Exeter*, vigilant Men and ſecret, and ſuch as kept watch with him almoſt upon all Men elſe. They had been both vers'd in his Affairs, before he came to the Crown, and were Partakers of his adverſe Fortune. This *Moreton* ſoon after upon the Death of *Bouchier*, he made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. And for *Fox*, he made him Lord Keeper of his Privy-Seal, and afterwards advanc'd him by degrees, from *Exeter* to *Bathe* and *Wells*, thence to *Durham*, and laſt to *Winchester*. For altho' the King lov'd to employ and advance Biſhops, becauſe having rich Biſhopricks, they carried their Reward upon themſelves: Yet he did uſe to raiſe them by Steps, that he might not loſe the Profit of the Firſt-fruits, which by that courſe of Gradation was multiplied.

Fox Biſhop of *Exeter*, made Ld. Keeper of the Privy-Seal.

Why the King employ'd Biſhops.

1486. At laſt upon the 18th of *January*, was ſolemnized the ſo long expected and ſo much deſir'd, Marriage, between the King and the Lady *Elizabeth*: † Which Day of Marriage was celebrated with greater Triumph and Demonſtrations (eſpecially on the Peoples part) of Joy and Gladneſs, than the Days either of his Entry or Coronation; which the King rather noted than liked. And it is true, that all his Lifetime, whilſt the Lady *Elizabeth* liv'd with him, (for ſhe died before him) he ſhew'd himſelf no very indulgent Husband towards her, tho' ſhe was Beautiful, Gentle, and Fruitful. But his Averſion towards the Houſe of *York* was ſo predominant in him, as it found place, not only in his Wars and Counſels, but in his Chamber and Bed.

K. *Henry* marries the Princeſs *Elizabeth*.

† In the 19th Year of her Age.

He hated the Houſe of *York*.

Towards the Middle of the Spring, the King full of Confidence and Aſſurance, as a Prince that had been Victorious in Battel, and had prevail'd with his Parliament in all that he deſir'd, and had the Ring of Acclamations freſh in his Ears, thought the reſt of his Reign ſhould be but Play, and the enjoying of a Kingdom. Yet as a wiſe and watchful King, he would not neglect any thing for his Safety; thinking nevertheleſs to perform all things now, rather as an Exerciſe, than as a Labour. So he being truly inform'd that the Northern Parts were not only Affectionate to the Houſe of *York*, but particularly had been devoted to King *Richard* the Third; thought it would be a Summer well ſpent to Viſit thoſe Parts, and by his Preſence and Application of himſelf) to reclaim and rectifie thoſe Humours. But the King in his Accompt of Peace and Calms, did much Overcaſt his Fortunes; which proved for many Years together full of Broken Seas, Tides and Tempeſts. For he was no ſooner come to *Lincoln*, where he kept his *Eaſter*, but he receiv'd News, That the Lord *Lovel*, *Humphrey Stafford*, and *Thomas Stafford* (who had formerly taken Sanctuary at *Colcheſter*) were departed out of Sanctuary; but to what place, no Man could tell. Which Advertiſement the King deſpiſed, and continued his Journey to *York*. At *York* there came freſh and more certain Advertiſement, That the Lord *Lovel* was at hand with a great Power of Men, and that the *Staffords* were in Arms in *Worceſterſhire*, and had made their Approaches to the City of *Worceſter* to Aſſail it. The King, as a Prince of great and profound Judgment, was not much moved with it; for that he thought it was but a Rag or Remnant of *Boſworth-Field*, and had Nothing in it of the main Party of the Houſe of *York*. But he was more doubtful of the raiſing of Forces to reſiſt the Rebels, than of the Reſiſtance it ſelf; for that he was in a Core of People whoſe Affections he ſuſpected. But the Action enduring no Delay, he did ſpeedily levy and ſend againſt the Lord *Lovel* to the Number of Three thouſand Men, ill arm'd, but well aſſur'd (being taken ſome few out of his own Train, and the reſt out of the Tenants and Followers of ſuch as were ſafe to be truſted) under the Conduct of the Duke of *Bedford*. And as his manner was to ſend his Pardons rather before the Sword than after, he gave Commiſſion to the Duke to proclaim Pardon to all that would come in: Which the Duke, upon his Approach to the Lord *Lovel*'s Camp, did perform. And it fell out as the King expected; the Heralds were the great Ordnance. For the Lord *Lovel* upon Proclamation of Pardon, miſtruſting his Men, fled into *Lancaſhire*, and lurking for a time with Sir *Thomas Broughton*, after ſail'd over into *Flanders* to the Lady *Margaret*: And his Men, forſaken of their Captain, did preſently ſubmit themſelves to the Duke. The *Staffords* likewiſe, and their Forces, hearing what had happen'd to the Lord *Lovel* (in whoſe Succeſs their chief Truſt was) deſpair'd and diſpers'd. The two Brothers taking Sanctuary at *Colnham*, a Village near *Abingdon*; which place upon View of their Priviledge in the *King's-Bench*, being judged no ſufficient Sanctuary for Traitors, *Humphrey* was executed at *Tyburn*; and *Thomas*, as being led by his Elder Brother, was pardon'd. So this Rebellion prov'd but a Blaſt, and the King having by his Journey purg'd a little the Dregs and Leaven of the Northern People, that were before in no good Affection towards him, return'd to *London*.

1486.

The Lords *Lovel* and *Stafford* Rebel.

Pardon proclaimed.

Humphrey Stafford executed at *Tyburn*.

K. *Henry* goes into the Northern Counties.

In *September* following; * the Queen was deliver'd of her Son, whom the King (in Honour of the *Britiſh* Race, of which himſelf was) nam'd *Arthur*, according to the Name of that Ancient worthy King of the *Britains*; in whoſe Acts there is Truth enough to make him Famous, beſides that which is Fabulous. The Child was Strong and Able, tho' he was Born in the Eighth Month, which the Phyſicians do prejudge.

* *Holinſhead* writes, The Queen was deliver'd at *Winchester*, in *Sept* 1488. which is more probable than that ſhe ſhould be deliver'd now; for ſhe was married but on the 18 of *January* in this Year.

There

1486. There follow'd this Year, being the Second of the King's Reign, a ſtrange Accident of State, whereof the Relations which we have are ſo naked, as they leave it ſcarce credible; not for the Nature of it (for it hath faln out oft) but for the Manner and Circumſtance of it, eſpecially in the Beginnings. Therefore we ſhall make our Judgment upon the things themſelves, as they give Light one to another, and (as we can) dig Truth out of the Mine. The King was green in his Eſtate; and, contrary to his own Opinion and Deſert both, was not without much Hatred throughout the Realm. The Root of all, was the diſcountenancing of the Houſe of *York*, which the general Body of the Realm ſtill affected. This did alienate the Hearts of the Subjects from him daily more and more, eſpecially when they ſaw, that after his Marriage, and after a Son born, the King did nevertheleſs not ſo much as proceed to the Coronation of the Queen, not vouchſafing her the Honour of a Matrimonial Crown; for the Coronation of her was not till almoſt two Years after, when Danger had taught him what to do. But much more when it was ſpread abroad (whether by Errour, or the Cunning of Malecontents) that the King had a purpoſe to put to Death *Edward Plantagenet* cloſely in the *Tower*; whoſe Caſe was ſo nearly parallel'd with that of *Edward* the Fourth's Children, in reſpect of the Blood, like Age, and the very place of the *Tower*, as it did refreſh and reflect upon the King a moſt odious reſemblance, as if he would be another King *Richard*. And all this time it was ſtill whiſper'd every where, that at leaſt one of the Children of *Edward* IV. was living. Which Bruit was cunningly fomented by ſuch as deſir'd Innovation. Neither was the King's Nature and Cuſtoms greatly fit to diſperſe theſe Miſts; but contrariwiſe he had a faſhion rather to create Doubts than Aſſurance. Thus was Fuel prepar'd for the Spark; the Spark that afterwards kindled with ſuch a Fire and Combuſtion was at the firſt contemptible.

The King hated, and why.

Simon an *Oxford* Prieſt, ſets up the Impoſtor *Lambert Simnell*.

There was a ſubtil Prieſt call'd *Richard Simon*, that liv'd in *Oxford*, and had to his Pupil a Baker's Son nam'd *Lambert Simnell*, of the Age of ſome Fifteen Years; a comely Youth, and well favour'd, not without ſome extraordinary Dignity and Grace of Aſpect. It came into this Prieſt's Fancy (hearing what Men talk'd, and in hope to raiſe himſelf to ſome great Biſhoprick) to cauſe this Lad to counterfeit and perſonate the ſecond Son of *Edward* IV. ſuppos'd to be murder'd; and afterward (for he chang'd his Intention in the Menage) the Lord *Edward Plantagenet*, then Priſoner in the *Tower*, and accordingly to frame him and inſtruct him in the Part he was to play. This is that which (as was touch'd before) ſeemeth ſcarce credible; Not that a Falſe Perſon ſhould be aſſum'd to gain a Kingdom, for it hath been ſeen in ancient and late Times; nor that it ſhould come into the Mind of ſuch an abject Fellow, to enterprize ſo great a Matter; for high Conceits do ſometimes come ſtreaming into the Imaginations of baſe Perſons, eſpecially when they are drunk with News and Talk of the People. But here is that which hath no Appearance; That this Prieſt being utterly unacquainted with the true Perſon, according to whoſe pattern he ſhould ſhape his *Counterfeit*, ſhould think it poſſible for him to inſtruct his Player, either in Geſture and Faſhions, or in recounting paſt Matters of his Life and Education; or in fit Anſwers to Queſtions, or the like, any ways to come near the reſemblance of him whom he was to preſent. For this Lad was not to perſonate one that had been long before taken out of his Cradle, or convey'd away in his Infancy, known to few; but a Youth that till the Age almoſt of Ten Years had been brought up in a Court, where infinite Eyes had been upon him. For King *Edward* touch'd with Remorſe of his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*'s Death would not indeed reſtore his Son, (of whom we ſpeak) to be Duke of *Clarence*; but yet created him Earl of *Warwick*, reviving his Honour on the Mother's ſide, and uſed him honourably during his Time, tho' *Richard* III. afterwards confin'd him. So that it cannot be, but that ſome great Perſon, that knew particularly and familiarly *Edward Plantagenet*, had a hand in the Buſineſs, from whom the Prieſt might take his Aim. That which is moſt probable, out of the precedent and ſubſequent Acts, is, that it was the Queen Dowager, from whom this Action had the principal Source and Motion: For certain it is, ſhe was a buſy negociating Woman, and in her Withdrawing Chamber had the fortunate Conſpiracy for the King againſt K. *Richard* the Third been hatch'd; which the King knew, and remembred perhaps but too well; and was at this time extremely diſcontent with the King, thinking her Daughter (as the King handled the Matter) not advanced but depreſſed: And none could hold the Book ſo well to Prompt and Inſtruct this Stage-Play, as ſhe could. Nevertheleſs it was not her meaning, nor no more was it the meaning of any of the better and ſager Sort that favour'd this Enterprize, and knew the Secret, that this diſguiſed Idol ſhould poſſeſs the Crown; but at his Peril to make way to the Overthrow of the King: And that done, they had their ſeveral Hopes and Ways. That which doth chiefly fortifie this Conjecture is, that as ſoon as the Matter brake forth in any Strength, it was one of the King's firſt Acts to cloiſter the Queen Dowager in the Nunnery of *Bermondſey*, and to take away all her Lands and Eſtate; and this by cloſe Council without any legal Proceeding, upon far-fetch'd Pretences; *That ſhe had deliver'd her two Daughters out of Sanctuary to King* Richard *contrary to Promiſe*. Which Proceeding being even at that time taxed for Rigorous and Undue, both in Matter and Manner, makes it very probable there was ſome greater Matter againſt her, which the King upon reaſon of Policy, and to avoid Envy would not publiſh. It is likewiſe no ſmall Argument that there was ſome Secret in it, and ſome ſuppreſſing of Examinations; for that the Prieſt *Simon* himſelf, after he was taken, was never brought to Execution; no not ſo much as to publick Trial (as many Clergymen were upon leſs Treaſons) but was only ſhut up cloſe in a Dungeon. Add to this, that after the Earl of *Lincoln* (a principal Perſon of the Houſe of *York*) was ſlain in *Stoke field*, the King open'd himſelf to ſome of his Council, that he was ſorry for the Earl's Death, becauſe by him (he ſaid) he might have known the bottom of his Danger.

1486.

But to return to the Narration it ſelf; *Simon* did firſt inſtruct his Scholar for the part of *Richard* Duke of *York*, ſecond Son to King *Edward* IV. and this was at ſuch time as it was voiced that the King purpoſed to put to Death *Edward Plantagenet* Priſoner in the *Tower*, whereat there was great Murmur. But hearing ſoon after a general Bruit that *Plantagenet* had eſcap'd out of the *Tower*, and thereby finding him ſo much beloved amongſt the People, and ſuch rejoycing at his Eſcape, the cunning Prieſt chang'd his Copy, and choſe now *Plantagenet* to be the

Subject

1486. Subject his Pupil ſhould perſonate, becauſe he was more in the preſent Speech and Votes of the People; and it pieced better, and follow'd more cloſe and handſomly upon the Bruit of *Plantagenet*'s Eſcape. But yet doubting that there would be too near looking and too much perſpective into his Diſguiſe, if he ſhould ſhew it here in *England*; he thought good (after the manner of Scenes in Stage-Plays and Masks) to ſhew it afar off; and therefore ſail'd with his Scholar into *Ireland*, where the Affection to the Houſe of *York* was moſt in height. The King had been a little improvident in the Matters of *Ireland*, and had not remov'd Officers and Councellors, and put in their Places, or at leaſt intermingled Perſons, of whom he ſtood aſſured, as he ſhould have done, ſince he knew the ſtrong Bent of that Country towards the Houſe of *York*; and that it was a tickliſh and unſetled State, more eaſy to receive Diſtempers and Mutations than *England* was. But truſting to the Reputation of his Victories and Succeſſes in *England*, he thought he ſhould have time enough to extend his Cares afterwards to that ſecond Kingdom.

Ireland favour'd the Houſe of York.

Wherefore through this Neglect, upon the coming of *Simon* with his pretended *Plantagenet* into *Ireland*, all things were prepar'd for Revolt and Sedition, almoſt as if they had been ſet and plotted beforehand. *Simon*'s firſt Addreſs was to the Lord (*a*) *Thomas Fitz gerard*, Earl of *Kildare*, and Deputy of *Ireland*: Before whoſe Eyes he did caſt ſuch a Miſt (by his own Inſinuation, and by the Carriage of his Youth, that expreſs'd a Natural Princely Behaviour) as joyn'd perhaps with ſome inward Vapours of Ambition and Affection in the Earl's own Mind, left him fully poſſeſs'd that it was the true *Plantagenet*. The Earl preſently communicated the Matter with ſome of the *Nobles* (*b*) and others there, at the firſt Secretly. But finding them of like Affection to himſelf, he ſuffer'd it of purpoſe to vent and paſs Abroad; becauſe they thought it not ſafe to Reſolve, till they had a taſte of the Peoples Inclination. But if the Great ones were in Forwardneſs, the People were in Fury, entertaining this Airy Body or Phantaſm with incredible Affection; partly, out of their great Devotion to the Houſe of *York*; partly out of a Proud Humour in the Nation, to give a King to the Realm of *England*. Neither did the Party in this Heat of Affection much trouble themſelves with the Attainder of *George* Duke of *Clarence*; having newly learn'd by the King's Example, that Attainders do not interrupt the conveying of Title to the Crown. And as for the Daughters of K. *Edward* IV. they thought King *Richard* had ſaid enough for them; and took them to be but as of the King's Party, becauſe they were in his Power and at his Diſpoſing. So that with marvellous Conſent and Applauſe, this Counterfeit *Plantagenet* was brought with great Solemnity to the Caſtle of *Dublin*, and there ſaluted, ſerv'd and honour'd as King; the Boy becoming it well, and doing nothing that did bewray the Baſeneſs of his Condition. And within a few days after he was proclaim'd King in *Dublin*, by the Name of K. *Edward* the Sixth; there being not a Sword drawn in King *Henry*'s Quarrel.

The Iriſh receive Simon the Prieſt and his Pupil Simnel.

Lambert Simnell, the Counterfeit Earl of Warwick Proclaim'd at Dublin.

The King was much moved with this unexpected Accident when it came to his Ears; both becauſe it ſtruck upon that String which ever he moſt fear'd, as alſo becauſe it was ſtirred in ſuch a place, where he could not with Safety transferr his own Perſon to ſuppreſs it. For partly thro' Natural Valour, and partly thro' an Univerſal Suſpicion (not knowing whom to truſt) he was ever ready to wait upon all his Atchievements in Perſon. The King therefore firſt called his Council together at the *Charterhouſe* at *Shine*; which *Council* was held with great Secrecy; but the open Decrees thereof which preſently came abroad were Three. 1486.

The Firſt was, That the Queen Dowager, for that ſhe, contrary to her Pact and Agreement with thoſe that had concluded with her concerning the Marriage of her Daughter *Elizabeth* with King *Henry*, had nevertheleſs deliver'd her Daughters out of Sanctuary into King *Richard*'s Hands; ſhould be cloiſter'd in the Nunnery of *Bermondſey*, and forfeit all her Lands and Goods.

The next was, That *Edward Plantagenet* then Cloſe Priſoner in the *Tower*, ſhould be in the moſt Publick and Notorious manner, that could be deviſed, ſhew'd unto the People: In part to diſcharge the King of the Envy of that Opinion and Bruit, how he had been put to Death privily in the *Tower*; but chiefly to make the People ſee the Levity and Impoſture of the Proceedings of *Ireland*, and that their *Plantagenet* (*c*) was indeed but a Puppit, or a Counterfeit.

The Third was, That there ſhould be again proclaim'd a general Pardon to all that would reveal their Offences, and ſubmit themſelves by a Day. And that this Pardon ſhould be conceiv'd in ſo ample and liberal a manner, as no High Treaſon (no not againſt the King's own Perſon) ſhould be excepted. Which tho' it might ſeem ſtrange, yet was it not ſo to a Wiſe King, that knew his greateſt Dangers were not from the leaſt Treaſons, but from the greateſt. Theſe Reſolutions of the King and his Council were immediately put in Execution. And firſt, the Queen Dowager was put into the Monaſtery of *Bermondſey*, and all her Eſtate ſeiz'd into the King's Hands, whereat there was much wondering; That a weak Woman, for the yielding to the Menaces and Promiſes of a Tyrant, after ſuch a diſtance of time (wherein the King had ſhew'd no Diſpleaſure nor Alteration) but much more after ſo happy a Marriage, between the King and her Daughter, bleſſed with Iſſue-Male, ſhould upon ſo ſudden mutability or diſcloſure of the King's Mind be ſo ſeverely handled.

A general Pardon publiſh'd.

This Lady was amongſt the Examples of great variety of Fortune. She had firſt from a diſtreſſed Suitor and deſolate Widow, been taken to the Marriage-Bed of a Batchelor-King, the goodlieſt Perſonage of his Time; and even in his Reign ſhe had endur'd a ſtrange Eclipſe by the King's Flight, and temporary depriving from the Crown. She was alſo very happy, in that ſhe had by him a fair Iſſue, and continu'd his Nuptial Love (helping her ſelf by ſome obſequious bearing and diſſembling of his Pleaſures) to the very end. She was much Affectionate to her own Kindred, even unto Faction; which

Q. Elizabeth Gray's various Fortune.

(*a*) The Lord *Thomas Fitzgerald* was Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, and Brother to *Gerald* Earl of *Kildare*, Deputy to *Jaſper* Duke of *Bedford*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. *Sir* James Ware, *Annals* of Hen. 7. *Cap.* 1.

(*b*) His Brother the Lord Chancellor and the Lord *Portleſter* Lord Treaſurer, who were devoted to the Houſe of *York*, the King had written to the Lord Deputy to come over to *England* ſome time before, ſuſpecting his Fidelity; but he excus'd himſelf till ſome Matters of great Conſequence then depending were finiſh'd, and the Lords Spiritual and Temporal ſign'd a Letter to the King to deſire he might ſtay. The Lord *Heath* advis'd him of it. *Sir* J. Ware *Cap.* 11.

(*c*) In *Ireland* the Impoſtor was retorted on the King, as if he had impos'd a Counterfeit Earl of *Warwick* on the People. *Ibid.*

1486. did ſtir great Envy in the Lords of the King's Side, who counted her Blood a Diſparagement to be mingled with the King's. With which Lords of the King's Blood, joyn'd alſo the King's Favourite the Lord *Haſtings*; who, not withſtanding the King's great Affection to him, was thought at times, through her Malice and Spleen, not to be out of Danger of Falling. After her Husband's Death, ſhe was matter of Tragedy, having liv'd to ſee her Brother Beheaded, and her two Sons depoſed from the Crown, Baſtarded in their Blood, and cruelly Murthered. All this while nevertheleſs ſhe injoy'd her Liberty, State, and Fortunes. But afterwards again, upon the Riſe of the Wheel, when ſhe had a King to her Son in Law, and was made Grandmother to a Grandchild of the beſt Sex; yet was ſhe (upon dark and unknown Reaſons, and no leſs ſtrange Pretences) precipitated and baniſh'd the World into a Nunnery; where it was almoſt thought dangerous to viſit her, or ſee her; and where not long after ſhe ended her Life: But was by the King's Commandment buried with the King her Husband at *Windſor*. She was Foundreſs of *Queens-College* in *Cambridge*. For this Act the King ſuſtain'd great Obloquy, which nevertheleſs (beſides the reaſon of State) was ſomewhat ſweetned to him by a great Confiſcation.

Queens-College in *Cambridge* Founded.

The E. of *Warwick* ſhewn to the People.

About this time alſo *Edward Plantagenet* was upon a *Sunday* brought throughout all the principal Streets of *London*, to be ſeen of the People. And having paſs'd the View of the Streets, was conducted to *Paul's* Church in ſolemn Proceſſion, where great ſtore of People were aſſembled. And it was provided alſo in good faſhion, that divers of the Nobility, and others of Quality (eſpecially of thoſe that the King moſt ſuſpected, and knew the Perſon of *Plantagenet* beſt) had Communication with the young Gentleman by the way, and entertain'd him with Speech and Diſcourſe; which did in effect mar the Pageant in *Ireland* with the Subjects here, at leaſt with ſo many as out of Error, and not out of Malice, might be miſled. Nevertheleſs, it wrought little or no Effect. But contrariwiſe, in *Ireland* (where it was too late to go back) they turn'd the Impoſture upon the King, and gave out, That the King, to defeat the true Inheritor, and to mock the World and blind the Eyes of ſimple Men, had trick'd up a Boy in the likeneſs of *Edward Plantagenet*, and ſhewed him to the People, not ſparing to prophane the Ceremony of a Proceſſion, the more to countenance the Fable.

The General Pardon likewiſe near the ſame time came forth; and the King therewithal omitted no diligence, in giving ſtraight order for the keeping of the Ports; that Fugitives, Malecontents, or ſuſpected Perſons might not paſs over into *Ireland* and *Flanders*.

Mean while the Rebels in *Ireland* had ſent privy Meſſengers both into *England* and into *Flanders*, who in both places had wrought Effects of no ſmall Importance. For in *England* they won to their Party *John* Earl of *Lincoln*, Son of *John de la Pole*, Duke of *Suffolk*, and of *Elizabeth*, King *Edward* IV's eldeſt Siſter. This Earl was a Man of great Wit and Courage, and had his Thoughts highly rais'd by Hopes and Expectations for a time. For *Richard* III. had a Reſolution, out of his Hatred to both his Brethren, King *Edward* and the Duke of *Clarence*, and their Lines, (having had his Hand in both their Bloods) to diſable their Iſſues upon falſe and incompetent Pretexts; the one of Attainder, the other of Illegitimation; and to deſign this Gentleman (in caſe himſelf ſhould dye without Children) for Inheritor of the Crown. Neither was this unknown to the King, who had ſecretly an Eye upon him. But the King having taſted of the Envy of the People, for his Impriſonment of *Edward Plantagenet*, was doubtful to heap up any more Diſtaſtes of that Kind, by the Impriſonment of *de la Pole* alſo; the rather thinking it Policy to conſerve him as a Corrival unto the other. The Earl of *Lincoln* was induced to participate with the Action of *Ireland*, not lightly upon the ſtrength of the Proceedings there, which was but a Bubble, but upon Letters from the Lady *Margaret* of *Burgundy*, in whoſe Succours and Declaration for the Enterprize, there ſeemed to be a more ſolid Foundation, both for Reputation and Forces. Neither did the Earl refrain the Buſineſs, for that he knew the pretended *Plantagenet* to be but an Idol: But contrariwiſe, he was more glad it ſhould be the falſe *Plantagenet* than the true; becauſe the Falſe being ſure to fall away of himſelf, and the True to be made ſure of by the King; it might open and pave a fair and prepar'd way to his own Title. With this Reſolution he ſail'd ſecretly into *Flanders*, where was a little before arriv'd the Lord *Lovel* (*d*) leaving a Correſpondence here in *England* with Sir *Thomas Broughton*, a Man of great Power and Dependencies in *Lancaſhire*. For before this time, when the pretended *Plantagenet* was firſt receiv'd in *Ireland*, ſecret Meſſengers had been alſo ſent to the Lady *Margaret*, advertiſing her what was paſs'd in *Ireland*, imploring Succours in an Enterprize (as they ſaid) ſo Pious and Juſt, and that God had ſo miraculouſly proſper'd the beginning thereof; and making offer, that all things ſhould be guided by her Will and Direction, as the Sovereign Patroneſs and Protectreſs of the Enterprize. *Margaret* was ſecond Siſter to King *Edward* IV. and had been ſecond Wife to *Charles*, ſirnam'd *the Hardy*, Duke of *Burgundy*; by whom having no Children of her own, ſhe did with ſingular Care and Tenderneſs intend the Education of *Philip* and *Margaret*, Grandchildren to her former Husband; which won her great Love and Authority among the *Dutch*. This Princeſs (having the Spirit of a Man, and Malice of a Woman) abounding in Treaſure, by the greatneſs of her Dower, and her provident Government, and being Childleſs, and without any nearer Care, made it her Deſign and Enterprize to ſee the Majeſty Royal of *England* once again replaced in her Houſe, and had ſet up King *Henry* as a Mark, at whoſe Overthrow all her Actions ſhould aim and ſhoot; inſomuch as all the Counſels of his ſucceeding Troubles came chiefly out of that Quiver. And ſhe bare ſuch a mortal Hatred to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and perſonally to the King, as ſhe was no ways mollify'd by the Conjunction of the Houſes in her Niece's Marriage, but rather hated her Niece, as the means of the King's Aſcent to the Crown, and Aſſurance therein. Wherefore with great Violence of Affection ſhe embraced this Overture. And upon Counſel taken with the Earl of *Lincoln* and the Lord *Lovel*, and ſome other of the Party, it was reſolv'd with all ſpeed, the two Lords aſſiſted with a Regiment of two thouſand *Almains*, being Choice and Veteran Bands, under the Com-

Margaret Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, K. *Henry*'s great Enemy.

(*d*) *Francis* Viſcount *Lovell*, Lord Chamberlain to *Richard* III.

1487. mand of *Martin Swart* (a Valiant and Experimented Captain) ſhould paſs over into *Ireland* to the new King. Hoping, that when the Action ſhould have the face of a received and ſettled Regality (with ſuch a ſecond Perſon, as the Earl of *Lincoln* and the Conjunction and Reputation of Foreign Succours) the Fame of it would embolden and prepare all the Party of the Confederates and Malecontents within the Realm of *England*, to give them Aſſiſtance, when they ſhould come over there. And for the Perſon of the Counterfeit, it was agreed, That if all things ſucceeded well, he ſhould be put down, and the true *Plantagenet* received: Wherein nevertheleſs the Earl of *Lincoln* had his particular Hopes. After they were come into *Ireland*, and that the Party took Courage, by ſeeing themſelves together in a Body, they grew very confident of Succeſs, conceiving and diſcourſing amongſt themſelves, that they went in upon far better Cards to overthrow King *Henry*, than King *Henry* had to overthrow King *Richard*. And that if there were not a Sword drawn againſt them in *Ireland*, it was a ſign the Swords in *England* would be ſoon ſheath'd, or beaten down. And firſt, for a Bravery upon this Acceſſion of Power, they crown'd their new King in the Cathedral Church of *Dublin*; (*e*) who formerly had been but proclaim'd only; and then ſate in Council what ſhould further be done. At which Council, tho' it were propounded by ſome, that it were the beſt way to Eſtabliſh themſelves firſt in *Ireland*, and to make that the Seat of the War, and to draw King *Henry* thither in Perſon, by whoſe Abſence they thought there would be great Alterations and Commotions in *England*; yet becauſe the Kingdom there was poor, and they ſhould not be able to keep their Army together, nor pay their *German* Soldiers, and for that alſo the Sway of the *Iriſhmen*, and generally of the Men of War, which (as in ſuch caſes of Popular Tumults is uſual) did in Effect govern their Leaders, was eager, and in affection to make their Fortunes upon *England*: It was concluded with all poſſible ſpeed to Tranſport their Forces into *England*. The King in the mean time, who at the firſt when he heard what was done in *Ireland*, tho' it troubled him, yet thought he ſhould be well enough able to ſcatter the *Iriſh* as a Flight of Birds, and rattle away this Swarm of Bees, with their King; when he heard afterwards that the Earl of *Lincoln* was Embark'd in the Action, and that the Lady *Margaret* was declared for it, he apprehended the Danger in a true Degree as it was, and ſaw plainly that his Kingdom muſt again be put to the Stake, and that he muſt fight for it. And firſt he did conceive, before he underſtood of the Earl of *Lincoln*'s ſailing into *Ireland* out of *Flanders*, that he ſhould be aſſail'd both upon the Eaſt-parts of the Kingdom of *England* by ſome Impreſſion from *Flanders*, and upon the North-weſt out of *Ireland*: And therefore having order'd Muſters to be made in both parts, and having proviſionally deſign'd two Generals, *Jaſper* Earl of *Bedford*, and *John* Earl of *Oxford*, (meaning himſelf alſo to go in Perſon where the Affairs ſhould moſt require it) and nevertheleſs not expecting any actual Invaſion at that time (the Winter being far on) he took his Journey himſelf towards *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, for the confirming of thoſe Parts. And being come to St. *Edmonds-bury*, he underſtood that *Thomas* Marqueſs of *Dorſet* (who had been one of the Pledges in *France*) was haſtning towards him, to purge himſelf of ſome Accuſations which had been made againſt him. But the King, tho' he kept an Ear for him, yet was the time ſo doubtful, that he ſent the Earl of *Oxford* to meet him, and forthwith to carry him to the *Tower*; with a fair Meſſage nevertheleſs, that he ſhould bear that Diſgrace with Patience, for that the King meant not his hurt, but only to preſerve him from doing hurt, either to the King's Service, or to himſelf; and that the King ſhould always be able (when he had cleared himſelf) to make him Reparation. 1487.

From St. *Edmonds-bury* he went to *Norwich*, where he kept his *Chriſtmas*. And from thence he went (in a manner of Pilgrimage) to *Walſingham*, where he viſited our Ladies Church, famous for Miracles, and made his Prayers and Vows for Help and Deliverance. And from thence he return'd by *Cambridge* to *London*. Not long after, the Rebels, with their King, (under the Leading of the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Earl of *Kildare*, the Lord *Lovel*, and Collonel *Swart*) landed at *Fouldrey* in *Lancaſhire*, whither there repair'd to them Sir *Thomas Broughton* with ſome ſmall Company of *Engliſh*. The King by that time (knowing now the Storm would not divide, but fall in one place) had levied Forces in good number: And in Perſon (taking with him his two deſigned Generals, the Duke of *Bedford* and the Earl of *Oxford*) was come on his way towards them as far as *Coventry*, whence he ſent forth a Troop of Light Horſemen for Diſcovery, and to intercept ſome Straglers of the Enemies, by whom he might the better underſtand the particulars of their Progreſs and Purpoſes, which was accordingly done; tho' the King otherwiſe was not without Intelligence from Eſpials in the Camp.

Lambert Simnell crown'd King at *Dublin*.

In June Sir *Thomas Broughton* joins the Rebels.

The King has Spies in the Rebels Camp.

The Rebels took their way towards *York*, without ſpoiling the Country, or any Act of Hoſtility, the better to put themſelves into favour of the People, and to perſonate their King: Who (no doubt of a Princely feeling) was Sparing and Compaſſionate towards his Subjects. But their Snow-ball did not gather as it went: For the People came not in to them; neither did any Riſe or Declare themſelves in other parts of the Kingdom for them, which was cauſed partly by the good taſte that the King had given his People of his Government, joyned with the Reputation of his Felicity; and partly for that it was an odious thing to the People of *England*, to have a King brought into them upon the Shoulders of *Iriſh* and *Dutch*, of which their Army was in ſubſtance compounded. Neither was it a thing done with any great Judgment on the Party of the Rebels, for them to take way towards *York*: Conſidering that howſoever thoſe parts had formerly been a Nurſery of their Friends; yet it was there where the Lord *Lovel* had ſo lately Diſbanded, and where the King's preſence had a little before qualify'd Diſcontents. The Earl of *Lincoln* deceived of his Hopes of the Countries Concourſe unto him (in which caſe he

(*e*) He was crown'd with a Crown taken from a Statue of the Virgin *Mary* in our Lady's Church near *Dameſgate*. Dr. *Payn* Biſhop of *Meath* preach'd his Coronation Sermon; and the Deputy, Lord Chancellor, Lord Treaſurer, Earl of *Lincoln*, Lord *Lovel*, and many more Perſons of Quality aſſiſted at the Ceremony: The Archbiſhop of *Armagh* refuſ'd to attend at it. Sir *J. Ware*, Cap. III.

1487. would have temporized) and ſeeing the Buſineſs paſt Retract reſolv'd to make on where the King was, and to give him Battel; and thereupon march'd towards *Newark*, thinking to have ſurprized the Town. But the King was ſomewhat before this time come to *Nottingham*, where he call'd a Council of War, at which was conſulted, whether it were beſt to protract time, or ſpeedily to ſet upon the Rebels. In which Council the King himſelf (whoſe continual Vigilancy did ſuck in ſometimes cauſeleſs Suſpicions which few elſe knew) inclined to the accelerating a Battel. But this was preſently put out of doubt by the great Aids that came in to him in the inſtant of this Conſultation; partly upon Miſſives, and partly Voluntaries from many Parts of the Kingdom.

The Principal Perſons that came then to the King's Aid, were the Earl of *Shrewſbury* and the Lord *Strange*, of the Nobility; and of Knights and Gentlemen to the Number of at leaſt Threeſcore and ten Perſons, with their Companies, making in the whole at the leaſt Six thouſand fighting Men, beſides the Forces that were with the King before. Whereupon the King, finding his Army ſo bravely re-enforced, and a great Alacrity in all his Men to fight, was confirm'd in his former Reſolution, and march'd ſpeedily, ſo as he put himſelf between the Enemies Camp and *Newark*; being loth their Army ſhould get the Commodity of that Town. The Earl nothing diſmay'd, came forwards that Day unto a little Village call'd *Stoke*, and there encamp'd that Night upon the Brow or hanging of a Hill. The King the next Day (*f*) preſented him Battel upon the Plain, the Fields there being open and Champion. The Earl couragiouſly came down and joyned Battel with him. Concerning which Battel, the Relations that are left unto us are ſo naked and negligent (though it be an Action of ſo recent Memory) as they rather declare the Succeſs of the Day, than the Manner of the Fight. They ſay, that the King divided his Army into three Battels; whereof the Van-Guard only, well ſtrengthen'd with Wings, came to fight. That the Fight was fierce and obſtinate, and laſted three Hours, before the Victory inclined either way; ſave that Judgment might be made, by that the King's Van Guard of it ſelf maintain'd Fight againſt the whole Power of the Enemies, (the other two Battels remaining out of Action) what the Succeſs was like to be in the end. That *Martin Swart* with his *Germans* perform'd bravely; and ſo did thoſe few *Engliſh* that were on that ſide; neither did the *Iriſh* fail in Courage or Fierceneſs, but being almoſt naked Men, only arm'd with Darts and Skeins, it was rather an Execution, than a Fight upon them; inſomuch as the furious Slaughter of them was a great diſcouragement and appalement to the reſt; That there died upon the place all the Chieftains; That is, the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Earl of *Kildare*, (*g*) *Francis* Lord *Lovel*, *Martin Swart*, and Sir *Thomas Broughton*; all making good the Fight without any Ground given. Only of the Lord *Lovel* there went a Report, that he fled and ſwam over *Trent* on Horſeback, but could not recover the further Side, by reaſon of the ſteepneſs of the Bank, and ſo was drown'd in the River. But another Report leaves him not there, but that he liv'd long after in a Cave or Vault. The Number that was ſlain in the Field, was of the Enemies part Four thouſand at the leaſt; and of the King's part, one half of his Van-guard, beſides many hurt, but none of Name. There were taken Priſoners amongſt others, the Counterfeit *Plantagenet* (now *Lambert Simnell* again) and the crafty Prieſt his Tutor. For *Lambert*, the King would not take his Life, both out of Magnanimity, taking him but as an Image of Wax that others had temper'd and moulded; and likewiſe out of Wiſdom, thinking that if he ſuffer'd Death, he would be forgotten too ſoon; but being kept alive, he would be a continual Spectacle, and a kind of Remedy againſt the like Inchantments of People in time to come. For which cauſe he was taken into Service in his Court to a baſe Office in his Kitchin; ſo that (in a kind of *Mattacina* of Human Fortune) he turn'd a Broach that had worn a Crown. Whereas Fortune commonly doth not bring in a Comedy or Farce after a Tragedy. And afterwards he was preferred to be one of the King's Falconers. As to the Prieſt, he was committed cloſe Priſoner, and heard of no more; the King loving to ſeal up his own Dangers (*h*).

1487.

Lambert Simnell taken.

Is put in to the King's Kitchin. Made one of his Falconers.

After the Battel the King went to *Lincoln*, where he cauſed Supplications and Thankſgivings to be made for his Deliverance and Victory. And that his Devotions might go round in Circle, he ſent his Banner to be offer'd to our Lady of *Walſingham*, where before he made his Vows. And thus deliver'd of this ſo ſtrange an Engine and new Invention of Fortune, he return'd to his former Confidence of Mind; thinking now, that all his Misfortunes had come at once: but it fell out unto him according to the Speech of the Common People in the beginning of his Reign, that ſaid, *It was a Token he ſhould reign in labour, becauſe his Reign began with a Sickneſs of Sweat.* But howſoever the King thought himſelf now in a Haven, yet ſuch was his Wiſdom, as his Confidence did ſeldom darken his Foreſight, eſpecially in things near hand. And therefore awaken'd by ſo freſh and unexpected Dangers, he entered into due Conſideration, as well how to weed out the Partakers of the former Rebellion, as to kill the Seeds of the like in time to come; and withal to take away all Shelters and Harbours for diſcontented Perſons, where they might hatch and foſter Rebellions, which afterwards might gather Strength and Motion. And Firſt, He did yet again make a Progreſs from *Lincoln* to the Northern Parts, tho' indeed it were rather an Itinerary Circuit of Juſtice, than a Progreſs: For all along as he went, with much Severity and ſtrict Inquiſition, partly by Martial Law, and partly by Commiſſion, were puniſhed, the Adherents and Aiders of the late Rebels: Not all by Death, (for the Field had drawn much Blood) but by Fines and Ranſoms which ſpared Life and raiſed Treaſure. Amongſt other Crimes of this na-

The Battel was fought on Saturday the 6th of June according to our Engliſh Hiſtorians.

Aiders of the Rebels puniſh'd.

In *Nottinghamſhire.*

20th of *June* S. *J. W.*

The Battel of *Stokefield.*

(*f*.) *Polydore Virgil* places this Battel in the Year 1485. But that is not one of the leaſt Miſtakes in his Hiſtory.

(*g*) 'Twas the Lord *Thomas Fitzgerald*, whom, ſays Sir *James Ware*, Some do erroneouſly call the Earl of *Kildare*. There fell alſo *Maurice Fitz-Thomas* a Geraldine, and *Plunket* the Baron of *Kelleny's* Son.

(*h*) The King wrote to the Mayor and Citizens of *Waterford* in *Ireland*, to Commend their Fidelity, which he next Year rewarded with new Privileges and Immunities. The Earl of *Kildare* and the Lords who had ſided with *Lambert*, ſent over Letters to the King and begg'd Pardon; which he not only granted them, but continued the *Earl* of *Kildare* Lord Deputy. *Sir* J. Ware. *Cap.* 111.

In the Year following, Sir *Richard Edgcomb* was ſent over to *Ireland* with 500 Men to take new Oaths of Allegiance of the Nobility, and King *Henry* order'd them to come to *England*; where he Feaſted them all, and gave the Lord *Heath* 3 o *l.* in Gold.

1487. ture, there was diligent Inquiry made of ſuch as had raiſed and diſperſed a Bruit and Rumour, a little before the Field fought, *That the Rebels had the Day, and that the King's Army was overthrown, and the King fled*: Whereby it was ſuppoſed, that many Succours, which otherwiſe would have come unto the King, were cunningly put off and kept back. Which Charge and Accuſation, though it had ſome ground, yet it was induſtriouſly embraced and put on by divers, who having been in themſelves not the beſt affected to the King's Part, nor forward to come to his Aid, were glad to apprehend this Colour to cover their Neglect and Coldneſs, under the pretence of ſuch Diſcouragements. Which cunning nevertheleſs the King would not underſtand, tho' he lodg'd it, and noted it in ſome particulars, as his manner was.

But for the extirpating of the Roots and Cauſes of the like Commotions in time to come, the King began to find where his Shoe did wring him, and that it was his depreſſing of the Houſe of *York*, that did rancle and feſter the Affections of his People. And therefore being now too wiſe to diſdain Perils any longer, and willing to give ſome Contentment in that Kind (at leaſt in *Ceremony*) he reſolv'd at laſt to proceed to the Coronation of his Queen. And therefore at his coming to *London*, where he entred in State, and in a kind of Triumph, and celebrated his Victory with two Days of Devotion, (for the firſt Day he repair'd to *Paul's*, and had the Hymn of *Te Deum* ſung, and the Morrow after he went in Proceſſion, and heard the Sermon at the Croſs) the Queen was with great Solemnity crown'd at *Weſtminſter*, the Five and twentieth of *November*, in the Third Year of his Reign, which was about two Years after the Marriage; *Like an old Chriſtning, that had ſtayed long for Godfathers.* Which ſtrange and unuſual diſtance of Time, made it ſubject to every Man's note, that it was an Act againſt his Stomach, and put upon him by Neceſſity and Reaſon of State. Soon after, to ſhew that it was now fair Weather again, and that the Impriſonment of *Thomas* Marqueſs *Dorſet*, was rather upon Suſpicion of the Time than of the Man, he the ſaid Marqueſs was ſet at Liberty without Examination, or other Circumſtance. At that time alſo the King ſent an Ambaſſadour unto Pope *Innocent*, ſignifying unto him this his Marriage, and that now (like another *Æneas*) he had paſſed through the Floods of his former Troubles and Travels, and was arriv'd unto a ſafe Haven: And thanking his Holineſs that he had honour'd the Celebration of his Marriage with the preſence of his Ambaſſador; and offering both his Perſon and the Forces of his Kingdom upon all Occaſions to do him Service.

Queen Elizabeth's Coronation, after ſtaying for it two Years.

An Ambaſſador ſent to the Pope.

The Ambaſſador making his Oration to the Pope, in the preſence of the Cardinals, did ſo magnifie the King and Queen, as was enough to glut the hearers. But then he did again ſo extol and deify the Pope, as made all that he had ſaid in Praiſe of his Maſter and Miſtreſs ſeem temperate and paſſable. But he was very honourably entertain'd, and extremely much made on by the Pope: Who knowing himſelf to be lazy and unprofitable to the Chriſtian World, was wonderfully glad to hear that there were ſuch Echoes of him ſounding in remote Parts. He obtain'd alſo of the Pope a very Juſt and Honourable Bull, qualifying the Privileges of Sanctuary (wherewith the King had been extremely gauled) in three Points.

The King procures a Bull from the Pope about Sanctuaries.

The firſt, That if any Sanctuary-man did by Night, or otherwiſe, get out of Sanctuary privily and commit Miſchief and Treſpaſs, and then come in again, he ſhould loſe the Benefit of Sanctuary for ever after. The Second, That howſoever the Perſon of the Sanctuary-man was protected from his Creditors, yet his Goods out of Sanctuary ſhould not. The Third, That if any took Sanctuary for Caſe of Treaſon the King might appoint him Keepers to look to him in Sanctuary. 1486.

The King alſo for the better ſecuring of his Eſtate, againſt mutinous and malecontented Subjects (whereof he ſaw the Realm was full) who might have their Refuge into *Scotland*, which was not under Key, as the Ports were; For that Cauſe, rather than for any doubt of Hoſtility from thoſe Parts, before his coming to *London* (when he was at *New-Caſtle*) had * ſent a Solemn Embaſſage unto *James* III. King of *Scotland*, to Treat and Conclude a Peace with him. The Ambaſſadors were *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Exeter*, and Sir *Richard Edgcomb*, Comptroller of the King's Houſe, who were honourably receiv'd and entertain'd there. But the King of *Scotland* labouring of the ſame Diſeaſe that King *Henry* did (tho' more Mortal, as afterwards appear'd) that is, Diſcontented Subjects, apt to riſe and raiſe Tumult, altho' in his own Affection he did much deſire to make a Peace with the King; yet finding his Nobles averſe, and not daring to diſpleaſe them, concluded only a Truce for Seven Years; giving nevertheleſs Promiſe in Private, that it ſhould be renew'd from time to time, during the two Kings Lives.

An Embaſſy into *Scotland*. * In. *Aug.* 1487.

Hitherto the King had been exercis'd in ſetling his Affairs at Home. But about this time brake forth an Occaſion that drew him to look abroad, and to hearken to foreign Buſineſs. *Charles* VIII. the *French* King, by the Vertue and good Fortune of his two immediate Predeceſſors, *Charles* VII. his Grandfather, and *Lewis* XI. his Father, receiv'd the Kingdom of *France* in more flouriſhing and ſpreading Eſtate than it had been of many Years before; being redintegrate in thoſe Principal Members which anciently had been Portions of the Crown of *France*, and were after diſſevered, ſo as they remain'd only in Homage, and not in Sovereignty (being govern'd by abſolute Princes of their own) *Anjou*, *Normandy*, *Provence* and *Burgundy*. There remain'd only *Brittain* to be reunited, and ſo the Monarchy of *France* to be reduced to the ancient Terms and Bounds.

King *Charles* was not a little inflamed with an Ambition to re-purchaſe and re-annex that Dutchy. Which his Ambition was a wiſe and well-weigh'd Ambition; not like unto the Ambitions of his ſucceeding Enterprizes of *Italy*. For at that time being newly come to the Crown, he was ſomewhat guided by his Father's Councils (Councils, not Counſellors) for his Father was his own *Council*, and had few able Men about him. And that King (he knew well) had ever diſtaſted the Deſigns of *Italy*, and in particular had an Eye upon *Brittain*. There were many Circumſtances that did feed the Ambition of *Charles*, with pregnant and apparent Hopes of Succeſs. The Duke of *Brittain* old, and entred into a Lethargy, and ſerv'd with *Mercenary Counſellors*, Father of two only Daughters, the one ſickly and not like to continue. King *Charles* himſelf in the Flower of his Age, and the Subjects of *France* at that time well train'd for War, both for Leaders and Soldiers; Men of Service being not yet worn out ſince the War of *Lewis* againſt *Burgundy*. He found

The Benefit of Council.

1488. found himſelf alſo in Peace with all his Neighbour Princes. As for thoſe that might oppoſe to his Enterprize, *Maximilian* King of *Romans*, his Rival in the ſame Deſires, (as well for the Dutchy, as the Daughter) feeble in Means; and King *Henry* of *England* as well ſomewhat obnoxious to him for his Favours and Benefits, as buſy'd in his particular Troubles at Home. There was alſo a fair and ſpecious Occaſion offer'd him to hide his Ambition and to juſtify his Warring upon *Britain*, for that the Duke had receiv'd and ſuccour'd *Lewis* Duke of *Orleance*, and other of the *French* Nobility, which had taken Arms againſt their King. Wherefore King *Charles* being reſolv'd upon that War, knew well he could not receive any Oppoſition ſo Potent, as if King *Henry* ſhould either upon Policy of State, in preventing the growing Greatneſs of *France*; or upon Gratitude unto the Duke of *Britain*, for his former Favours in the time of his Diſtreſs, eſpouſe that Quarrel, and declare himſelf in Aid of the Duke. Therefore he no ſooner heard that King *Henry* was ſettled by his Victory, but forthwith he ſent Ambaſſadors unto him to pray his Aſſiſtance, or at the leaſt that he would ſtand Neutral. Which Ambaſſadors found the King at *Leiceſter*, and deliver'd their Embaſſage to this Effect. They firſt imparted unto the King the Succeſs that their Maſter had had a little before againſt *Maximilian*, in recovery of certain Towns from him; which was done in a kind of Privacy, and inwardneſs towards the King; as if the *French* King did not eſteem him for an outward or formal Confederate, but as one that had part in his Affections and Fortunes, and with whom he took Pleaſure to communicate his Buſineſs. After this Complement, and ſome Gratulation for the King's Victory, they fell to their Errand; declaring to the King, That their Maſter was enforced to enter into a Juſt and Neceſſary War with the Duke of *Britain*, for that he had receiv'd and ſuccour'd thoſe that were Traytors, and declared Enemies unto his Perſon and State. That they were no mean, diſtreſſed and calamitous Perſons that fled to him for Refuge, but of ſo great Quality, as it was apparent that they came not thither to protect their own Fortune, but to infeſt and invade his; the Head of them being the Duke of *Orleance*, the firſt Prince of the Blood, and the ſecond Perſon of *France*. That therefore, rightly to underſtand it, it was rather on their Maſter's part a Defenſive War than an Offenſive; as that, that could not be omitted or forborn, if he tendred the Conſervation of his own Eſtate; and that it was not the firſt Blow that made the War invaſive, (for that no wiſe Prince would ſtay for) but the firſt Provocation, or at leaſt the firſt Preparation. Nay, that this War was rather a Suppreſſion of Rebels, than a War with a juſt Enemy, where the Caſe is; That his Subjects, Traytors, are receiv'd by the Duke of *Britain* his Homager. That K. *Henry* knew well what went upon it in Example, if Neighbour-Princes ſhould Patronize and Comfort Rebels, againſt the Law of Nations and of Leagues. Nevertheleſs that their Maſter was not ignorant, that King had been beholden to the Duke of *Britain* in his Adverſity; as on the other ſide, they knew he would not forget alſo the Readineſs of their King, in Aiding him when the Duke of *Britain*, or his mercenary Councellors fail'd him and would have betray'd him; And that there was a great difference between the Courteſies receiv'd from their Maſter and the Duke of *Britain*; for that the Duke's might have Ends of Utility and Bargain; whereas their Maſters could not have proceeded but out of entire Affection. For that, if it had been meaſur'd by a Politick Line, it had been better for his Affairs, that a Tyrant ſhould have reign'd in *England*, troubled and hated, than ſuch a Prince, whoſe Vertues could not fail to make him great and potent, whenſoever he was come to be Maſter of his Affairs. But howſoever it ſtood for the point of Obligation which the King might owe to the Duke of *Britain*, yet their Maſter was well aſſur'd, it would not divert King *Henry* of *England* from doing that that was juſt, nor ever embark him in ſo ill-grounded a Quarrel. Therefore, ſince this War which their Maſter was now to make, was but to deliver himſelf from imminent Dangers, their King hop'd the King would ſhew the like Affection to the Conſervation of their Maſter's Eſtate, as their Maſter had (when time was) ſhew'd to the King's Acquiſition of his Kingdom. At the leaſt, that according to the Inclination which the King had ever profeſſed of Peace, he would look on, and ſtand Neutral; for that their Maſter could not with reaſon preſs him to undertake part in the War, being ſo newly ſettled and recover'd from Inteſtine Seditions. 1488.

But touching the Myſtery of re-annexing of the Dutchy of *Britain* to the Crown of *France*, either by War, or by Marriage with the Daughter of *Britain*; the Ambaſſadors bare aloof from it, as from a Rock, knowing that it made moſt againſt them. And therefore by all means declined any mention thereof, but contrariwiſe interlaced in their Conference with the King, the aſſured Purpoſe of their Maſter, to match with the Daughter of *Maximilian*: And entertain'd the King alſo with ſome wandring Diſcourſes of their King's purpoſe to recover by Arms his Right to the Kingdom of *Naples*, by an Expedition in Perſon; All to remove the King from all Jealouſy of any Deſign in theſe hither Parts upon *Britain*, otherwiſe than for quenching of the Fire, which he fear'd might be kindled in his own Eſtate.

The King after Advice taken with his Council, made Anſwer to the Ambaſſadors. And firſt returned their Complement, ſhewing he was right glad of the *French* King's reception of thoſe Towns from *Maximilian*. Then he familiarly related ſome particular Paſſages of his own Adventures and Victory paſſed. As to the Buſineſs of *Britain*, the King anſwer'd in few Words; That the *French* King and the Duke of *Britain* were the two Perſons to whom he was moſt obliged of all Men; and that he ſhould think himſelf very Unhappy if things ſhould go ſo between them, as he ſhould not be able to acquit himſelf in Gratitude towards them both; and that there was no means for him as a Chriſtian King and a Common Friend to them, to ſatisfy all Obligations both to God and Man, but to offer himſelf for a Mediator of an Accord and Peace between them; by which courſe he doubted not but their King's Eſtate and Honour both, would be preſerv'd with more Safety and leſs Envy than by War, and that he would ſpare no Coſts or Pains, no if it were to go on Pilgrimage for ſo good an Effect: And concluded, that in this great Affair, which he took ſo much to Heart, he would expreſs himſelf more fully by an Embaſſage, which he would ſpeedily diſpatch unto the *French* King for that purpoſe. And in this ſort the *French* Ambaſſadors were diſmiſſed; The King avoiding to underſtand any thing touching the re-annexing of *Britain*, as the

1488. Ambaſſadors had avoided to mention it; ſave that he gave a little touch of it in the Word, *Envy*. And ſo it was, that the King was neither ſo ſhallow, nor ſo ill advertis'd, as not to perceive the Intention of the *French* King, for the Inveſting himſelf of *Britain*. But firſt he was utterly unwilling (howſoever he gave out) to enter into War with *France*. A Fame of a War he liked well, but not an Atchievement; for the one he thought would make him richer, and the other poorer: And he was poſſeſſed with many ſecret Fears touching his own People, which he was therefore loth to arm, and put Weapons into their Hands. Yet notwithſtanding (as a Prudent and Couragious Prince) he was not ſo averſe from a War, but that he was reſolved to chooſe it, rather than to have *Britain* carried by *France*, being ſo great and opulent a Dutchy, and ſituate ſo opportunely to annoy *England*, either for Coaſt, or Trade. But the King's Hopes were, that partly by Negligence, commonly imputed to the *French* (eſpecially in the Court of a young King) and partly by the Native Power of *Britain* it ſelf, which was not ſmall; but chiefly in reſpect of the great Party that the Duke of *Orleance* had in the Kingdom of *France*, and thereby Means to ſtir up Civil Troubles, to divert the *French* King from the Enterprize of *Britain*. And laſtly, in regard of the Power of *Maximilian*, who was Corrival to the *French* King in that Purſuit, the Enterprize would either bow to a Peace, or break in it ſelf. In all which, the King meaſur'd and valued things amiſs, as afterwards appear'd. He ſent therefore forthwith to the *French* King, *Chriſtopher Urſwicke* his Chaplain, a perſon by him much truſted and imploy'd: Chooſing him the rather, becauſe he was a Churchman, as beſt ſorting with an Embaſſy of Pacification; and giving him alſo a Commiſſion, That if the *French* King conſented to Treat, he would thence repair to the Duke of *Britain*, and ripen the Treaty on both Parts. *Urſwicke* made Declaration to the *French* King, much to the purpoſe of the King's Anſwer to the *French* Ambaſſadors here; inſtilling alſo tenderly ſome Overture of receiving to Grace the Duke of *Orleance*, and ſome taſte of Conditions of Accord. But the *French* King on the other ſide proceeded not ſincerely, but with a great deal of Art and Diſſimulation, in this Treaty; having for his End to gain time, and ſo put off the *Engliſh* Succours, under hope of Peace, till he had got good footing in *Britain*, by force of Arms. Wherefore he anſwer'd the Ambaſſador, That he would put himſelf into the King's Hands, and make him Arbiter of the Peace; and willingly conſented, that the Ambaſſador ſhould ſtraightways paſs into *Britain*, to ſignifie this his conſent, and to know the Duke's Mind likewiſe; well foreſeeing, that the Duke of *Orleance*, by whom the Duke of *Britain* was wholly led, taking himſelf to be upon Terms irreconcileable with him, would admit of no Treaty of Peace. Whereby he ſhould in one, both generally abroad veyl over his Ambition, and win the Reputation of Juſt and Moderate Proceedings; and ſhould withal endear himſelf in the Affections of the King of *England*, as one that had committed all to his Will: Nay; and (which was yet more fine) make Faith in him, That altho' he went on with the War, yet it ſhould be but with his Sword in his hand, to bend the ſtiffneſs of the other Party to accept of Peace; and ſo the King ſhould make no Umbrage of his arming and proſecution; but the Treaty to be kept on foot, to the very laſt inſtant, till he were Maſter of the Field.

The Fr. King's Diſſimulation.

Which Grounds being by the *French* King wiſely laid, all things fell out as he expected. For when the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador came to the Court of *Britain*, the Duke was then ſcarcely perfect in his Memory, and all things were directed by the Duke of *Orleance*; who gave Audience to the Chaplain *Urſwicke*, and, upon his Ambaſſage deliver'd, made Anſwer in ſomewhat high Terms: That the Duke of *Britain* having been an Hoſt, and a kind of Parent or Foſter-father to the King, in his tenderneſs of Age and weakneſs of Fortune, did look for at this time from King *Henry* (the renowned King of *England*) rather brave Troops for his Succours, than a vain Treaty of Peace. And if the King could forget the good Offices of the Duke done unto him aforetime; yet he knew well, he would in his Wiſdom conſider of the Future, how much it imported his own Safety and Reputation, both in foreign Parts and with his own People, not to ſuffer *Britain* (the old Confederates of *England*) to be ſwallow'd up by *France*, and ſo many good Ports and ſtrong Towns upon the Coaſt be in the Command of ſo Potent a Neighbour-King, and ſo Ancient an Enemy. And therefore humbly deſired the King to think of this Buſineſs as his own; and therewith brake off, and denyed any further Conference for Treaty.

Urſwicke return'd firſt to the *French* King, and related to him what had paſſed. Who finding things to ſort to his Deſire, took hold of them, and ſaid, That the Ambaſſador might perceive now that which he for his part partly imagined before. That conſidering in what Hands the Duke of *Britain* was, there would be no Peace, but by a mixt Treaty of Force and Perſwaſion. And therefore he would go on with the one, and deſired the King not to deſiſt from the other. But for his own part, he did faithfully promiſe to be ſtill in the King's Power to rule him in the matter of Peace. This was accordingly repreſented unto the King by *Urſwicke* at his Return, and in ſuch a faſhion as if the Treaty were in no ſort deſperate, but rather ſtay'd for a better Hour, till the Hammer had wrought, and beat the Party of *Britain* more pliant. Whereupon there paſſed continually Packets and Diſpatches between the two Kings, from the one out of Deſire, and from the other out of Diſſimulation, about the Negociation of Peace. The *French* King mean while invaded *Britain* with great Forces, and diſtreſs'd the City of *Nants* with a ſtrait Siege, and (as one, who tho' he had no great Judgment, yet had that, that he could diſſemble home) the more he did urge the Proſecution of the War, the more he did at the ſame time urge the Solicitation of the Peace. Inſomuch as during the Siege of *Nantz*, after many Letters and particular Meſſages, the better to maintain his Diſſimulation, and to refreſh the Treaty; he ſent *Bernard Daubigney* (a Perſon of good Quality) to the King, earneſtly to deſire him to make an end of the Buſineſs howſoever.

The Fr. King a Diſſembler.

The Lord Bernard Daubeney a Scotchman.

The King was no leſs ready to revive and quicken the Treaty: And thereupon ſent three Commiſſioners, the Abbot of *Abington*, † Sir *Richard Tunſtall* and *Chaplain Urſwicke* formerly imploy'd, to do their Endeavours, to manage the Treaty roundly and ſtrongly.

† *Hol. ſays, Sir Rich. Edgecomb.*

About this time the Lord *Woodvile*, (Uncle to the Queen) a Valiant Gentleman and deſirous of Honour, ſued to the King, that he might raiſe ſome Power of Voluntaries under-hand, and without Licence or Paſport (wherein the King might any ways appear) go to the Aid of the Duke

1488. *The Lord Woodville Voluntarily goes to aid the Bretons.*

1488. Duke of *Britain*. The King denyed his Requeſt (or at leaſt ſeemed ſo to do) and lay'd ſtrait Commandment upon him, that he ſhould not ſtir; for that the King thought his Honour would ſuffer therein during a *Treaty*, to better a Party. Nevertheleſs this Lord (either being unruly, or out of conceit that the King would not inwardy diſlike that, which he would not openly avow) ſail'd ſecretly over into the Iſle of *Wight*, whereof he was Governour, and levied a fair Troop of four Hundred Men, and with them paſſed over into *Britain*, and joyned himſelf with the Duke's Forces. The News whereof when it came to the *French* Court, put divers Young Bloods into ſuch a Fury, as the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors were not without Peril to be outraged. But the *French* King both to preſerve the Privilege of Ambaſſadors, and being conſcious to himſelf that in the Buſineſs of Peace, he himſelf was the greater Diſſembler of the two, forbad all Injuries of Fact or Word againſt their Perſons, or Followers. And preſently came an Agent from the King, to purge himſelf touching the Lord *Woodvile's* going over, uſing for a principal Argument, to demonſtrate that it was without his Privity, for that the Troops were ſo ſmall, as neither had the Face of a Succour by Authority; nor could much advance the *Britain* Affairs. To which Meſſage, although the *French* King gave no full Credit, yet he made fair Weather with the King, and ſeem'd ſatisfied: Soon after the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors returned, having two of them been likewiſe with the Duke of *Britain*, and found things in no other Terms, than they were before. Upon their return, they inform'd the King of the State of the Affairs, and how far the *French* King was from any true meaning of Peace; and therefore he was now to adviſe of ſome other Courſe. Neither was the King himſelf led all this while with Credulity merely, as was generally ſuppoſed: But his Error was not ſo much Facility of Belief, as an ill Meaſuring of the Forces of the other Party.

The *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors in Danger at the *French* Court.

For (as was partly touch'd before) the King had caſt the Buſineſs thus with himſelf. He took it for granted in his own Judgment, that the War of *Britain*, in reſpect of the Strength of the Towns and of the Party, could not ſpeedily come to a Period. For he conceiv'd that the Counſels of a War, that was undertaken by the *French* King, then Childleſs, againſt an Heir-apparent of *France*, would be very Faint and Slow. And beſides, that it was not poſſible, but that the State of *France* ſhould be embroil'd with ſome Troubles and Alterations in Favour of the Duke of *Orleance*. He conceived likewiſe, that *Maximilian*, King of the *Romans*, was a Prince, Warlike and Potent; who (he made account) would give Succours to the *Britains* roundly. So then judging it would be a Work of Time, he laid his Plot, how he might beſt make uſe of that Time, for his own Affairs. Wherein firſt he thought to make his Vantage upon his Parliament; knowing that they being Affectionate unto the Quarrel of *Britain*, would give Treaſure largely. Which Treaſure, as a Noiſe of War might draw forth; ſo a Peace ſucceeding might coffer up. And becauſe he knew his People were hot upon the Buſineſs, he choſe rather to ſeem to be deceiv'd, and lull'd aſleep by the *French*, than to be backward in himſelf; conſidering his Subjects were not ſo fully capable of the Reaſons of State, which made him hold back. Wherefore to all theſe purpoſes he ſaw no other expedient, than to ſet and keep on Foot a continual Treaty of Peace; laying it down, and taking it up again, as the Occurrence requir'd. Beſides, he had in conſideration the point of Honour in bearing the bleſſed Perſon of a Pacificator. He thought likewiſe to make uſe of the Envy, that the *French* King met with, by occaſion of this War of *Britain*, in ſtrengthening himſelf with new Alliances; as namely that of *Ferdinando* of *Spain*, with whom he had ever a conſent even in Nature and Cuſtoms; and likewiſe with *Maximilian*, who was particularly intereſſed. So that in Subſtance he promiſed himſelf Money, Honour, Friends, and Peace in the End. But thoſe things were too fine to be fortunate, and ſucceed in all parts; for that great Affairs are commonly too rough and ſtubborn to be wrought upon by the finer Edges, or Points of Wit. The King was likewiſe deceived in his two main Grounds. For although he had Reaſon to conceive, that the Counſel of *France* would be wary to put the King into a War againſt the Heir-apparent of *France*; yet he did not conſider, that *Charles* was not guided by any of the Principal of the Blood or Nobility, but by mean Men, who would make it their Maſter-piece of Credit and Favour, to give Venturous Counſels, which no great or Wiſe Man durſt, or would. And for *Maximilian*, he was thought then a Greater-matter than he was; his Unſtable and Neceſſitous Courſes being not then known.

1488. The King mediates a Peace between the *French* King and Duke of *Bretagne*.

The *French* King's Council mean Perſons. Their Counſel different from that of the Nobles and in what.

After Conſultation with the Ambaſſadors, who brought him no other News, than he expected before (though he would not ſeem to know it till then) he preſently ſummoned his Parliament, and in open Parliament propounded the Cauſe of *Britain* to both Houſes, by his Chancellor *Morton* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, who ſpake to this Effect.

A Parliament ſummon'd.

'MY Lords and Maſters; The King's Grace our Soverain Lord, hath commanded me to declare unto you the Cauſes that have mov'd him at this time to Summon this his Parliament; which I ſhall do in few Words, craving Pardon of his Grace, and you all, if I perform it not as I would.

'His Grace doth firſt of all let you know, that he retaineth in thankful Memorie the Love and Loyalty ſhewed to him by you, at your laſt meeting, in Eſtabliſhment of his Royaltie; freeing and diſcharging of his Partakers, and Confiſcation of his Traytors and Rebels; more than which could not come from Subjects to their Soveraign, in one Action. This he taketh ſo well at your Hands, as he hath made it a Reſolution to himſelf, to communicate with ſo loving and well approved Subjects, in all Affairs that are of publick Nature, at home or abroad.

The King thanks the Commons for their Loyalty and Love.

'Two therefore are the Cauſes of your preſent Aſſembling; the one, a foreign Buſineſs; the other, matter of Government at home.

'The *French* King (as no doubt ye have heard) maketh at this preſent hot War upon the Duke of *Britain*. His Army is now before *Nantes*, and holdeth it ſtraightly beſeig'd, being the Principal City (if not in Ceremonie and Preheminence, yet in Strength and Wealth) of that Dutchie. Ye may gueſs at his Hopes, by his attempting of the Hardeſt part of the War firſt. The Cauſe of this War he knoweth beſt. He alledgeth the entertaining and ſuccouring of the Duke of *Orleance*, and ſome other *French* Lords, whom the King taketh for his Enemies. Others divine of other Matters. Both parts have by their Ambaſſadors divers times prayed the

'King's

1488. Aid desir'd by the Duke of *Bretagne.*

'King's Aids: The *French* King's Aids, or Neutrality; the *Britons* Aids simply; for so their Case requireth. The King, as a Christian Prince, and Blessed Son of the Holy Church hath offered himself as a Mediator to treat a Peace between them. The *French* King yeildeth to treat, but will not stay the Prosecution of the War. The *Britons*, that desire Peace most, hearken to it at least; not upon Confidence or Stiffness, but upon Distrust of true Meaning, seeing the War goes on. So as the King, after as much Pains and Care to effect a Peace, as ever he took in any Business, not being able to remove the Prosecution on the one Side, nor the Distrust on the other, caused by that Prosecution, hath let fall the Treatie; not repenting of it, but despairing of it now, as not likely to succeed. Therefore by this Narrative you now understand the State of the Question, whereupon the King prayeth your Advice; which is no other, but whether he shall enter into an Auxiliary and Defensive War for the *Britons* against *France*.

The King asks Advice of the Parliament.

'And the better to open your Understandings in this Affair, the King hath commanded me to say somewhat to you from him, of the Persons that do intervene in this Business; and somewhat of the Consequence thereof, as it hath relation to this Kingdom; and somewhat of the Example of it in general: Making nevertheless no Conclusion or Judgement of any Point, until his Grace hath received your faithful and politick Advices.

'First, for the King our Soveraign himself, who is the principal Person you are to eye in this Business; his Grace doth Profess, that he truly and constantly desireth to reign in Peace. But his Grace saith, he will neither buy Peace with Dishonour, nor take it up at Interest of Danger to ensue; but shall think it a good Change, if it please God to change the inward Troubles and Seditions, wherewith he hath been hitherto exercised into an honourable Foreign War. And for the other two Persons in this Action, the *French* King, and the Duke of *Brittain*, his Grace doth declare unto you, that they be the Men, unto whom he is of all other Friends and Allies most bounden; the one having held over him his Hand of Protection from the Tyrant; the other having reacht forth unto him his Hand of Help, for the Recovery of his Kingdom. So that his Affection toward them in his natural Person, is upon equal Terms. And whereas you may have heard, that his Grace was enforced to flie out of *Brittain* into *France*, for doubts of being betrayed; his Grace would not in any sort have that reflect upon the Duke of *Brittain*, in Defacement of his former Benefits: For that he is throughly informed, that it was but the Practice of some corrupt Persons about him, during the time of his Sickness, altogether without his Consent or Privity.

Peace to be desir'd but with two Conditions.

King *Henry* was forced to fly out of *Bretagne* into *France*.

'But howsoever these things do interess his Grace in his particular, yet he knoweth well, that the higher Bond that tyeth him to procure by all means the Safety and Welfare of his loving Subjects, doth dis-interess him of these Obligations of Gratitude, otherwise than thus: That if his Grace be forced to make a War, he do it without Passion, or Ambition.

'For the consequence of this Action towards this Kingdom, it is much as the *French* King's Intention is. For if it be no more, but to range his Subjects to Reason, who bear themselves stout upon the Strength of the Duke of *Brittain*, it is nothing to us. But if it be in the *French* King's purpose, or if it should not be in his purpose, yet if it shall follow all one as if it were sought, that the *French* King shall make a Province of *Brittain*, and joyn it to the Crown of *France*; then it is worthy the consideration, how this may import *England*, as well in the Increasement of the greatness of *France*, by the Addition of such a Country, that stretcheth his Boughes unto our Seas, as in depriving this Nation, and leaving it naked of so firm and assured Confederates, as the *Brittains* have always been. For then it will come to pass, that whereas not long since, this Realm was mighty upon the Continent, first in Territory, and after in Alliance, in respect of *Burgundy* and *Brittain*, which were Confederates indeed, but dependant Confederates; now the one being already cast, partly into the Greatness of *France*, and partly into that of *Austria*, the other is like wholly to be cast into the greatness of *France*, and this Island shall remain confined in Effect within the Salt Waters, and Girt about with the Coast-Countries of two Mighty Monarchs.

1488.

'For the Example, it resteth likewise upon the same Question, upon the *French* King's Intent. For if *Brittain* be carried and swallow'd up by *France*, as the World abroad (apt to impute and construe the Actions of Princes to Ambition) conceive it will; then it is an Example very dangerous and universal, that the lesser Neighbour Estate should be devoured of the greater. For this may be the Case of *Scotland* towards *England*; of *Portugal*, towards *Spain*; of the smaller Estates of *Italy*, towards the greater; and so of *Germany*; or as if some of you of the Commons, might not live and dwell safely, besides some of these great Lords. And the bringing in of this Example, will be chiefly laid to the King's Charge, as to him that was most interessed and most able to forbid it. But then on the other Side, there is so fair a Pretext on the *French* King's Part (and yet Pretext is never wanting to Power) in regard the danger imminent to his own Estate is such, as may make this Enterprize seem rather a Work of Necessity, than of Ambition, as doth in reason correct the Danger of the Example. For that the Example of that which is done in a Man's own Defence, cannot be dangerous; because it is in another's Power to avoid it. But in all this Business, the King remits himself to your Grave and Mature Advice, whereupon he purposeth to rely.

He again asks their Advice.

This was the Effect of the Lord Chancellor's Speech touching the Cause of *Brittain*: For the King had commanded him to carry it so, as to affect the Parliament towards the Business; but without engaging the King in any express Declaration.

The Chancellor went on:

The Lord Chancellor *Morton*'s Speech.

'FOR that which may concern the Government at home, the King hath commanded me to say unto you; That he thinketh there was never any King (for the small time that he hath reign'd) had greater and juster Cause of the two contrary Passions

'of

1488. ‘ of Joy, and Sorrow, than his Grace hath
‘ Joy, in reſpect of the rare and viſible Favours
‘ of Almighty God in Girting the Imperial
‘ Sword upon his Side, and aſſiſting the ſame
‘ his Sword againſt all his Enemies; and like-
‘ wiſe in bleſſing him with ſo many good and
‘ loving Servants and Subjects, which have ne-
‘ ver fail'd to give him faithful Counſel, ready
‘ Obedience, and couragious Defence. Sorrow,
‘ for that it hath not pleaſed God to ſuffer him
‘ to ſheath his Sword (as he greatly deſired o-
‘ therwiſe than for Adminiſtration of Juſtice)
‘ but that he hath been forced to draw it ſo oft,
‘ to cut off traitetous and diſloyal Subjects,
‘ whom (it ſeems) God hath left (a few amongſt
‘ many good) as the *Canaanites* among the Peo-
‘ ple of *Iſrael*, to be Thorns in their Sides, to
‘ tempt and try them; tho the end hath been
‘ always (God's Name be bleſſed therefore) that
‘ the Deſtruction hath faln upon their own
‘ Heads.

‘ Wherefore his Grace ſaith, That he ſeeth
‘ that it is not the Blood ſpilt in the Field, that
‘ will ſave the Blood in the City; nor the Mar-
‘ ſhal's Sword, that will ſet this Kingdom in
‘ perfect Peace: But that the true way is, to
How Re-bellion is to be pre-vented. ‘ ſtop the Seeds of Sedition and Rebellion in
‘ their Beginnings; and for that purpoſe to
‘ deviſe, confirm, and quicken good and whol-
‘ ſom Laws, againſt Riots, and Unlawful Aſ-
‘ ſemblies of People, and all Combinations and
‘ Confederacies of them, by Liveries, Tokens,
‘ and other Badges of factious Dependance;
‘ that the Peace of the Land may by theſe Or-
‘ dinances, as by Bars of Iron, be ſoundly bound
‘ in and ſtrengthned, and all Force both in
‘ Court, Country, and Private Houſes, be ſup
‘ preſs'd. The Care hereof, which ſo much
‘ concerneth your ſelves, and which the Na-
‘ ture of the Times doth inſtantly call for, his
‘ Grace commends to your Wiſdoms.

‘ And becauſe it is the King's Deſire, that
‘ this Peace, wherein he hopeth to Govern and
‘ Maintain you, do not bear only unto you
‘ Leaves for you to ſit under the Shade of them
‘ in Safety; but alſo ſhould bear you Fruit of
‘ Riches, Wealth and Plenty: Therefore his
Trade to be Conſi-der'd. ‘ Grace prays you, to take into Conſideration
‘ Matter of Trade, as alſo the Manufactures
‘ of the Kingdom, and to repreſs the baſtard
‘ and barren Imployment of Moneys, to Uſury
‘ and Unlawful Exchanges, that they may be
‘ (as their Natural uſe is) turned upon Com-
‘ merce, and Lawful and Royal Trading. And
‘ likewiſe, that our People be ſet on work in
‘ Arts and Handicrafts; that the Realm may
‘ ſubſiſt more of it ſelf; that Idleneſs be avoid-
‘ ed, and the drawing out of our Treaſure for
‘ foreign Manufactures ſtopped. But you are
‘ not to reſt here only, but to provide further,
Foreign Manufa-ctures diſ-courag'd. ‘ that whatſoever Merchandize ſhall be brought
‘ in from beyond the Seas, may be imploy'd
‘ upon the Commodities of this Land; where-
‘ by the Kingdom's Stock of Treaſure may be
‘ ſure to be kept from being diminiſhed, by any
‘ over-trading of the Foreigner.

‘ And laſtly, becauſe the King is well aſſu-
‘ red, that you would not have him Poor, that
‘ wiſhes you rich; he doubteth not, but that
‘ you will have Care, as well to maintain his
‘ Revenues, of Cuſtoms, and all other Natures,
‘ as alſo to ſupply him with your loving Aids,
‘ if the Caſe ſhall ſo require. The rather, for
‘ that you know the King is a good Husband,
‘ and but a Steward in effect for the Publick;
‘ and that what comes from you is but as Moi-
‘ ſture drawn from the Earth, which gathers
‘ into a Cloud, and falls back upon the Earth 1488.
‘ again. And you know well, how the King-
‘ doms about you grow more and more in Great-
‘ neſs, and the Times are ſtirring; and there-
‘ fore not fit to find the King with an empty
‘ Purſe. More I have not to ſay to you; and
‘ wiſh, that what hath been ſaid, had been bet-
‘ ter expreſs'd: But that your Wiſdoms and
‘ good Affections will ſupply. God bleſs your
‘ Doings.

It was no hard Matter to diſpoſe and affect the Parliament in this Buſineſs; as well in reſpect of the Emulation between the Nations, and the Envy at the late growth of the *French* Monarchy; as in regard of the Danger, to ſuffer the *French* to make their Approaches upon *England*, by obtaining ſo goodly a Maritime Province, full of Sea-Towns, and Havens, that might do Miſchief to the *Engliſh* either by Invaſion or by interruption of Traffick. The Parliament was alſo moved with the Point of Oppreſſion; for altho' the *French* ſeem'd to ſpeak reaſon, yet Arguments are ever with Multitudes too weak for Suſpitions. Wherefore they did adviſe the King, roundly to embrace the *Britons* Quarrel, and to ſend them ſpeedy Aids, and with much alacrity and forwardneſs granted to the King a great Rate of Subſidy, in Contemplation of theſe Aids. But the King, both to keep a Decency towards the *French* King, to whom he profeſs'd himſelf to be obliged, and indeed deſirous rather to ſhew War, than to make it, ſent new ſolemn Ambaſſadors to intimate unto him the Decree of his Eſtates, and to iterate his Motion, that the *French* would deſiſt from Hoſtility; or if War muſt follow, to deſire him to take it in good part, if at the Motion of his People, who were ſenſible of the Cauſe of the *Britons* as their ancient Friends and Confederates, he did ſend them Succours; with Proteſtation nevertheleſs, that to ſave all Treaties and Laws of Friendſhip, he had limited his Force, to proceed in Aid of the *Britons*, but in no wiſe to war upon the *French*, otherwiſe than as they maintain'd the Poſſeſſion of *Britain*. But before this formal Ambaſſage arriv'd, the Party of the Duke had receiv'd a great blow, and grew to manifeſt Declination. For near the Town of St. *Alban* in *Britain*, a Battel had been given, where the *Britons* were overthrown, and the Duke of *Orleance*, and the Prince of *Orange* taken Priſoners, there being Slain on the *Britons* part Six thouſand Men, and amongſt them the Lord *Woodvile*, and almoſt all his Soldiers valiantly fighting. And of the *French* part one thouſand two hundred, with their Leader *James Galeot*, a great Commander.

The Emulation between the *Engliſh* and the *French*.

Battel of St. *Albans* in *Britagne*.

The Lord *Woodvile* ſlain there.

When the News of the Battel came over into *England*, it was time for the King (who now had no Subterfuge to continue further Treaty, and ſaw before his Eyes, that *Britain* went ſo ſpeedily for loſt, contrary to his Hopes, knowing alſo that with his People and Foreigners both, he ſuſtained no ſmall Envy and Diſ-reputation for his former Delays) to diſpatch with all poſſible ſpeed his Succours into *Britain*; which he did under the Conduct of *Robert* Lord *Brook*, to the Number of Eight thouſand choice Men, and well arm'd; who having a fair Wind, in few Hours landed in *Britain*, and joyned themſelves forthwith to thoſe *Briton* Forces, that remained after the Defeat, and march'd ſtraight on to find the Enemy, and incamped faſt by them. The *French* wiſely Husbanding the Poſſeſſion of a Victory, and well acquainted with the Courage of the *Engliſh*, eſpecially when they

The *Britons* in Diſtreſs.

Aid ſent them.

At what Time the *Engliſh* are moſt Courragious.

1488. are freſh, kept themſelves within their Trenches, being ſtrongly lodged, and reſolved not to give Battel. But mean while, to harraſs and weary the *Engliſh*, they did upon all Advantages ſet upon them with their Light Horſe; wherein nevertheleſs they received commonly loſs, eſpecially by means of the *Engliſh* Archers.

But upon theſe Atchievements *Francis*, Duke of *Britain*, deceaſed; an Accident that the King might eaſily have foreſeen, and ought to have reckon'd upon, and provided for; but that the Point of Reputation, when News firſt came of the Battel loſt (that ſomewhat muſt be done) did over-bear the Reaſon of War.

After the Duke's Deceaſe, the principal Perſons of *Britain*, partly bought, partly through Faction, put all things into Confuſion; ſo as the *Engliſh* not finding Head or Body with whom to joyn their Forces, and being in Jealouſy of Friends, as well as in Danger of Enemies, and the Winter begun, return'd Home five Months after their Landing. So the Battel of St. *Alban*, the Death of the Duke, and the Retire of the *Engliſh* Succours were (after ſome time) the Cauſes of the Loſs of that Dutchy; which Action ſome accounted as a Blemiſh of the King's Judgment; but moſt as the Misfortune of his Times.

The Cauſes of the Loſs of *Bretagne.*

But howſoever the temporary Fruit of the Parliament in their Aid and Advice given for *Britain*, took not, nor proſpered not; yet the laſting Fruit of Parliament, which is good and wholſome Laws, did proſper, and doth yet continue to this Day. For according to the Lord Chancellor's Admonition, there were that Parliament divers excellent Laws ordained, concerning the Points which the King recommended.

Court of *Star-Chamber* confirm'd.

Star-Chamber Court deſcribed.

What Pleas belong to every Court.

The Power and Deſcription of the Court of *Chancery.*

Firſt, The Authority of the *Star-Chamber*, which before ſubſiſted by the Ancient Common Laws of the Realm, was confirm'd in certain Caſes by Act of Parliament. This Court is one of the Sageſt and Nobleſt Inſtitutions of this Kingdom. For in the Diſtribution of Courts of Ordinary Juſtice (beſides the High Court of Parliament) in which Diſtribution the *Kings-Bench* holdeth the Pleas of the Crown, the *Common-Place* Pleas Civil, the *Exchequer* Pleas concerning the King's Revenue, and the *Chancery* the Prætorian Power for mitigating the Rigour of Law, in Caſe of Extremity, by the Conſcience of a good Man; there was nevertheleſs always reſerv'd a High and Preheminent Power to the King's Council, in Cauſes that might in Example, or Conſequence, concern the State of the Commonwealth, which if they were Criminal, the Council uſed to ſit in the Chamber, call'd the *Star-Chamber*; if Civil in the *White-Chamber*, or *White-hall*. And as the *Chancery* had the Prætorian Power for Equity; ſo the *Star-Chamber* had the Cenſorian Power for Offences, under the degree of Capital. This Court of *Star*-Chamber is compounded of good Elements; for it conſiſteth of four kinds of Perſons: Councellors, Peers, Prelates, and Chief Judges. It diſcerneth alſo principally of Four kinds of Cauſes; Forces, Frauds, Crimes various of Stellionate, and the Inchoations or Middle Acts towards Crimes Capital, or Heighnous, not actually committed or perpetrated. But that which was principally aimed at by this Act was Force, and the two chief Supports of Force, Combination of Multitudes, and Maintenance or Headſhip of great Perſons.

From the general Peace of the Country, the King's Care went on to the Peace of the King's Houſe, and the Security of his great Officers and Counſellors. But this *Law* was ſomewhat of a ſtrange Compoſition and Temper. That if any of the King's Servants under the degree of a Lord, do conſpire the Death of any of the King's Council, or Lord of the Realm, it is made Capital. This Law was thought to be procur'd by the Lord Chancellor, who being a ſtern and haughty Man, and finding he had ſome mortal Enemies in Court, provided for his own Safety; drowning the Envy of it in a general Law, by communicating the Priviledge with all other Councellors and Peers, and yet not daring to extend it further, than to the King's Servants in Check-Roll, leſt it ſhould have been too harſh to the Gentlemen, and other Commons of the Kingdom; who might have thought their Ancient Liberty, and the Clemency of the Laws of *England* invaded, *If the Will in any Caſe of Felony ſhould be made the Deed.* And yet the reaſon which the Act yieldeth (that is to ſay, *That he that Conſpireth the Death of Councellors may be thought indirectly, and by a mean, to conſpire the Death of the King himſelf*) is indifferent to all Subjects, as well as to Servants in Court. But it ſeemeth this ſufficed to ſerve the Lord Chancellor's turn at this time. But yet he lived to need a General Law, for that he grew afterwards as odious to the Country, as he was then to the Court. 1488.

Made a Capital Crime for any of the K. Servants, to Conſpire the Death of any of the King's Council.

From the Peace of the King's Houſe, the King's Care extended to the Peace of Private Houſes and Families. For there was an excellent Moral Law moulded thus; The taking and carrying away of Women forcibly, and againſt their will (except Female-wards and Bondwomen) was made Capital. The Parliament wiſely and juſtly conceiving, that the obtaining of Women by force into Poſſeſſion (howſoever afterwards Aſſent might follow by Allurements) was but a Rape drawn forth in length, becauſe the firſt Force drew on all the reſt.

A Law againſt taking away Women by Force.

There was made alſo another Law for Peace in general, and repreſſing of Murthers and Man-ſlaughters, and was in Amendment of the Common Laws of the Realm, being this: That whereas by the Common Law, the King's Suit in caſe of *Homicide*, did expect, *The Year and the Day*, allowed to the Parties Suit by way of Appeal; and that it was found by Experience, that the Party was many times compounded with, and many times wearied with the Suit, ſo that in the end ſuch Suit was let fall, and by that time the Matter was in a manner forgotten, and thereby Proſecution at the King's Suit by Indictment (which is ever beſt, *Flagrante crimine*) neglected; it was ordain'd, That the Suit by Indictment might be taken as well at any time within the Year and the Day, as after, not prejudicing nevertheleſs the Parties Suit.

Laws about Murder and Man-ſlaughter.

The King began alſo then, as well in Wiſdom as in Juſtice, to pare a little the Priviledge of Clergy, ordaining, *That Clarks convict ſhould be burn'd in the Hand*; both becauſe they might taſte of ſome corporal Puniſhment, and that they might carry a Brand of Infamy. But for this good Act's ſake, the King himſelf was after branded by *Perkin's* Proclamation, for an execrable Breaker of the Rites of Holy Church.

The Priviledges of the Clergy Abridg'd.

Another Law was made for the better Peace of the Country; by which Law the King's Officers and Farmers were to forfeit their Places and Holds, in caſe of unlawful Retainer, or partaking in Routs and unlawful Aſſemblies.

Theſe were the Laws that were made for repreſſing of Force, which thoſe times did chiefly require; and were ſo prudently framed, as they

1488. they are found fit for all ſucceeding Times, and ſo continue to this Day.

There were alſo made good and politick Laws that Parliament againſt Uſury, which is the Baſtard Uſe of Money: And againſt unlawful Chievances and Exchanges, which is Baſtard Uſury: And alſo for the Security of the King's Cuſtoms; And for the Imployment of the Procedures of Foreign Commodities, brought in by Merchant Strangers, upon the Native Commodities of the Realm: Together with ſome other Laws of leſs importance.

Unlawful Exchanges Prohibited.

But howſoever the Laws made in that Parliament did bear good and wholeſome Fruit; yet the Subſidy granted at the ſame time, bare a Fruit that proved harſh and bitter. All was inned at laſt into the King's Barn; but it was after a Storm. For when the Commiſſioners entred into the Taxation of the Subſidy in *Yorkſhire*, and the Biſhoprick of *Dureſme*; the People upon a ſuddain grew into great Mutiny, and ſaid openly that they had endured of late Years a thouſand Miſeries, and neither could nor would pay the Subſidy. This (no doubt) proceeded not ſimply of any preſent Neceſſity, but much by Reaſon of the old Humour of thoſe Countries, where the Memory of King *Richard* was ſo ſtrong, that it lies like Lees in the bottom of Mens Hearts; and if the Veſſel was but ſtirred, it would come up. And (no doubt) it was partly alſo by the Inſtigation of ſome Factious Malecontents, that bare principal ſtroke amongſt them. Hereupon the Commiſſioners being ſomewhat aſtoniſhed, deferr'd the matter unto the Earl of *Northumberland*, who was the principal Man of Authority in thoſe Parts. The Earl forthwith wrote unto the Court, ſignifying to the King plainly enough in what Flame he found the People of thoſe Countries, and praying the Kings Direction. The King wrote back peremptorily, That he would not have one Penny abated, of that which had been granted to him by Parliament, both becauſe it might encourage other Countries to pray the like Releaſe, or Mitigation, and chiefly becauſe he would never endure, that the baſe Multitude ſhould fruſtrate the Authority of the Parliament, wherein their Votes and Conſents were concluded. Upon this Diſpatch from Court, the Earl aſſembled the principal Juſtices and Free-holders of the Country; and ſpeaking to them in that imperious Language wherein the King had written to him, which needed not (ſave that an Harſh Buſineſs was unfortunately fallen into the Hands of a Harſh Man) did not only irritate the People, but make them conceive, by the Stoutneſs and Haughtineſs of delivery of the King's Errand, that himſelf was the Author or principal Perſwader of that Counſel. Whereupon the meaner ſort routed together, and ſuddenly aſſayling the Earl in his Houſe, ſlew him, and divers of his Servants. And reſted not there, but creating for their Leader Sir *John Egremond*, a factious Perſon, and one that had of a long time born an ill Talent towards the King; and being animated alſo by a Baſe Fellow, called *John a Chamber*, a very Boutefeu, who bare much ſway amongſt the vulgar and popular, entred into open Rebellion, and gave out in flat Terms, they would go againſt King *Henry*, and fight with him for the maintenance of their Liberties.

King *Richard*'s Memory honoured in *Yorkſhire*.

Earl of *Northumberland* ſlain by the People for gathering the Taxes with too much Severity.

When the King was advertiſed of this new Inſurrection (being almoſt a Fever, that took him every Year) after his manner little troubled therewith, he ſent *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey* (whom he had a little before not only releaſed out of the *Tower*, and pardoned, but alſo received to ſpecial Favour) with a Competent Power againſt the Rebels; who fought with the Principal Band of them, and defeated them, and took alive *John a Chamber* their Firebrand. As for Sir *John Egremond* he fled into *Flanders*, to the Lady *Margaret* of *Burgundy*; whoſe Palace was the *Sanctuary* and Receptacle of all Traitors againſt the King. *John a Chamber* was executed at *York* in great State; for he was hanged upon a Gibbet raiſed a Stage higher in the midſt of a ſquare Gallows, as a Traitor Paramount, and a number of his Men that were his chief Complices, were hanged upon the lower Story round about him; and the reſt were generally pardoned. Neither did the King himſelf omit his Cuſtom, to be firſt or ſecond in all his Warlike Exploits; making good his Word, which was uſual with him when he heard of *Rebels*; that *He deſired but to ſee them.* For immediately after he had ſent down the Earl of *Surrey*, he marched towards them himſelf in Perſon. And although in his Journey he heard News of the Victory, yet he went on as far as *York*, to pacify and ſettle thoſe Countries. And that done, returned to *London*, leaving the Earl of *Surrey* for his Lieutenant in the Northern Parts, and Sir *Richard Tunſtall* for his principal Commiſſioner, to levy the Subſidy, whereof he did not remit a Denier.

1489. A Rebellion in *Yorkſhire*.

John a Chamber and his Fellow Rebels Hang'd.

King *Henry*'s Saying when he heard of the Rebels.

About the ſame time that the King loſt ſo good a Servant as the Earl of *Northumberland*, he loſt likewiſe a faithful Friend and Allie of *James* the Third King of *Scotland*, by a miſerable Diſaſter. For this unfortunate Prince, after a long ſmother of Diſcontent, and hatred of many of his Nobility and People, breaking forth at times into Seditions and Alterations of Court, was at laſt diſtreſſed by them, having taken Arms, and ſurpriſed the Perſon of Prince *James* his Son, partly by Force, partly by Threats, that they would otherwiſe deliver up the Kingdom to the King of *England*, to ſhadow their Rebellion, and to be the Titular and painted Head of thoſe Arms. Whereupon the King (finding himſelf too weak) ſought unto King *Henry*, as alſo unto the Pope, and the King of *France*, to compoſe thoſe Troubles between him and his Subjects. The Kings accordingly interpoſed their Mediation in a round and Princely manner: Not only by way of Requeſt and Perſwaſion, but alſo by way of Proteſtation of Menace; declaring, that they thought it to be the Common Cauſe of all Kings, *If Subjects ſhould be ſuffered to give Laws unto their Sovereign*; and that they would accordingly reſent it, and revenge it. But the Rebels that had ſhaken off the greater Yoke of Obedience, had likewiſe caſt away the leſſer Tye of Reſpect. And Fury prevailing above Fear, made anſwer, That there was no talking of Peace, except the King would reſign his Crown. Whereupon (Treaty of Accord taking no place) it came to a Battel, at *Bannocks-Bourn* by *Strivelin*. In which Battel the King tranſported with Wrath and juſt Indignation, inconſiderately fighting and precipitating the Charge, before his whole Numbers came up to him, was (notwithſtanding the contrary expreſs and ſtraight Commandment of the Prince his Son) ſlain in the Purſuit, being fled to a Mill, ſituate in the Field, where the Battel was fought.

The Battel of *Bannocks-bourn* in *Scotland*.

James the III. King of *Scotland* ſlain.

As for the Popes Embaſſy, which was ſent by *Adrian de Caſtello* an *Italian* Legate (and perhaps as thoſe times were might have prevail'd more) it came too late for the Ambaſſy, but not for the Ambaſſador. For paſſing through *England*, and being honourably entertained and received of King *Henry*; (who ever applied himſelf with much reſpect to the See of *Rome*) he

1489. fell into great Grace with the King, and great Familiarity and Friendſhip with *Norton* the Chancellor. Inſomuch as the King taking a liking to him, and finding him to his Mind preferr'd him to the Biſhoprick of *Hereford*, and afterwards to that of *Bath* and *Wells*, and imployed him in many of his Affairs of State, that had Relation to *Rome*. He was a Man of great Learning, Wiſdom and Dexterity in Buſineſs of State; and having not long after aſcended to the Degree of Cardinal, pay'd the King large Tribute of his Gratitude, in diligent and judicious Advertiſement of the Occurrences of *Italy*. Nevertheleſs in the end of his time, he was Partaker of the Conſpiracy, which Cardinal *Alphonſo Petrucci*, and ſome other Cardinals had plotted againſt the Life of Pope *Leo*. And this Offence in it ſelf ſo hainous, was yet in him aggravated by the Motive thereof; which was not Malice or Diſcontent, but an aſpiring Mind to the Papacy. And in this Height of Impiety there wanted not an intermixture of Levity and Folly; for that (as was generally believed) he was animated to expect the Papacy, by a fatal Mockery, the Prediction of a Sooth-ſayer, which was; *That one ſhould ſucceed* Pope *Leo, whoſe Name ſhould be* Adrian, *an aged Man of mean Birth, and of great Learning and Wiſdom.* By which Character and Figure, he took himſelf to be deſcrib'd, though it were fulfilled of *Adrian* the *Flemming*, Son of a *Dutch* Brewer, Cardinal of *Tortoſa*, and Preceptor unto *Charles* the Fiſt; the ſame that not changing his Chriſten-name was afterwards called *Adrian* the Sixt.

But theſe things happened in the Year following, which was the fifth of this King. But in the end of the fourth Year the King had called again his Parliament, not as it ſeemeth for any particular Occaſion of State. But the former Parliament being ended ſomewhat ſuddenly, in regard of the Preparations for *Britain*, the King thought he had not remunerated his People ſufficiently with good Laws, which evermore was his Retribution for Treaſure. And finding by the Inſurrection in the North, there was Diſcontentment abroad in reſpect of the Subſidy, he thought it good to give his Subjects yet futther Contentment, and Comfort in that kind Certainly his Times for good Common-wealth Laws did excel. So as he may juſtly be celebrated for the beſt Law-giver to this Nation, after King *Edward* the firſt. For his Laws (whoſo marks them well) are deep, and not vulgar; not made upon the Spur of a particular Occaſion for the Preſent, but out of Providence of the *Future*, to make the Eſtate of his People ſtill more and more happy; after the manner of the *Legiſlators* in Ancient and Heroical times.

Firſt therefore he made a Law, ſuitable to his own Acts and Times. For as himſelf had in his Perſon and Marriage made a final Concord, *Fines.* in the great Suit and Title for the Crown; ſo by this Law he ſettled the like Peace and Quiet in the Private Poſſeſſions of the Subjects. Ordaining, *That Fines thenceforth ſhould be final, to conclude all Strangers Rights*; and that upon Fines levied, and ſolemnly proclaim'd, the Subject ſhould have his Time of Watch for five Years after his Title accrued; which if he fore-paſſed, his Right ſhould be bound for ever after; with ſome Exception nevertheleſs, of Minors, Married Women, and ſuch incompetent Perſons.

This Statute did in Effect but reſtore an Ancient Statute of the Realme, which was it ſelf alſo made but in Affirmance of the Common-Law. The Alteration had been by a Statute, commonly called the Statute of Non-claim, made in the time of *Edward* the Third. And ſurely this Law was a kind of Prognoſtick of the good Peace, which ſince his time hath (for the moſt part) continued in this Kingdom, until this Day. For Statutes of Non-claim are fit for times of War, when Mens Heads are Troubled, that they cannot intend their Eſtates; but Statutes, that quiet Poſſeſſions, are fitteſt for Times of Peace, to extinguiſh Suits and Contentions, which is one of the Banes of Peace. 1489. Statute of Non-claim.

Another Statute was made of ſingular Policy, for the Population apparently, and (if it be throughly conſidered) for the Souldiery, and Militar Forces of the Realm.

Incloſures at that time began to be more frequent, whereby Arable Land (which could not be manured without People and Families) was turned into Paſture, which was eaſily rid by a few Herdſmen; and Tenancies for Years, Lives, and at Will (whereupon much of the Yeomanry lived) were turned into Demeſnes. This bred a decay of People, and (by conſequence) a decay of Towns, Churches, Tithes, and the like. The King likewiſe knew full well, and in no wiſe forgot, that there enſued with all upon this a Decay and Diminution of Subſidy and Taxes; for the more Gentlemen, ever the lower Books of Subſidies. In remedying of this inconvenience, the King's Wiſdom was Admirable, and the Parliament's at that time. Incloſures they would not forbid, for that had been to forbid the Improvement of the Patrimony of the Kingdom; nor Tillage they would not compel, for that was to ſtrive with Nature and Utility. But they took a Courſe to take away depopulating Incloſures, and depopulating Paſturage, and yet not by that Name, or by any Imperious expreſs Prohibition, but by Conſequence. The Ordinance was, *That all Houſes of Husbandry, that were uſed with twenty Acres of Ground, and upwards, ſhould be maintained and kept up for ever; together with a Competent Proportion of Land to be uſed and occupied with them*; and in no wiſe to be ſevered from them, as by another Statute, made afterwards in his Succeſſors time, was more fully declared. This upon Forfeiture to be taken; not by way of Popular Action, but by ſeiſure of the Land it ſelf, by the King and Lords of the Fee, as to half the Profits, till the Houſes and Lands were reſtored. By this means the Houſes being kept up, did of neceſſity inforce a Dweller; and the Proportion of Land for Occupation being kept up, did of neceſſity inforce that Dweller not to be a Beggar or Cottager, but a Man of ſome Subſtance, that might keep Hinds and Servants, and ſet the Plough on going. This did wonderfully concern the Might and Mannerhood of the Kingdom, to have Farms, as it were of a Standard ſufficient to maintain an able Body out of Penury, and did in effect amortize a great part of the Lands of the Kingdom unto the Hold and Occupation of the Yeomantry or Middle-People, of a Condition between Gentlemen, and Cottagers, or Peaſants; Now, how much this did advance the Militar Power of the Kingdom, is apparent by the true Principles of War, and the Examples of other Kingdoms. For it hath been held by the general Opinion of Men of beſt Judgment in the Wars (howſoever ſome few have varied, and that it may receive ſome diſtinction of Caſe) that the Principal Strength of an Army conſiſteth in the Infantry or Foot. And to make good Infantry, it requireth Men bred, not in a ſervile or indigent Faſhion, but in ſome free and plentiful

How the People came to Decay.

The Inconveniencies of Incloſures Remedy'd.

1489. plentiful manner. Therefore if a State run moſt to Noble men and Gentlemen, and that the Husband-men and Plough-men be but as their Work-folks and Labourers, or elſe mere Cottagers, (which are but Hous'd Beggars) you may have a good Cavalry, but never good ſtable Bands of Foot; like to Coppice-Woods, that if you leave in them Staddles too thick, they will run to Buſhes and Briars, and have little clean Underwood. And this is to be ſeen in *France*, and *Italy*, and ſome other Parts abroad, where in Effect all is Nobleſs, or Peſantry, I ſpeak of People out of Towns, and no middle People; and therefore no good Forces of Foot: Inſomuch, as they are inforced to imploy Mercenary Bands of *Switzers* and the like, for their Battalions of Foot: Whereby alſo it comes to paſs, that thoſe Nations have much People, and few Soldiers. Whereas the King ſaw, that contrariwiſe it would follow, that *England* though much leſs in Territory, yet ſhould have infinitely more Soldiers of their Native Forces, than thoſe other Nations have. Thus did the King ſecretly ſow *Hydra*'s Teeth, whereupon (according to the Poets fiction) ſhould riſe up Armed Men for the Service of this Kingdom.

Cottagers but Hous'd Beggars.

The King alſo (having care to make his Realm potent, as well by Sea as by Land) for the better maintenance of the Navy, ordained; *That Wines and Woods from the Parts of* Gaſcoyn *and* Languedock *ſhould not be brought but in Engliſh Bottoms*; Bowing the Ancient Policy of this Eſtate, from conſideration of Plenty, to conſideration of Power. For that almoſt all the Ancient Statutes incite by all means Merchant-ſtrangers, to bring in all ſorts of Commodities; having for end Cheapneſs, and not looking to the Point of State concerning the Naval Power.

The *Engliſh* Navigation advanc'd.

The King alſo made a Statute in that Parliament Monitory and Minatory, towards Juſtices of Peace, that they ſhould duly execute their Office, inviting Complaints againſt them, firſt to their Fellow-Juſtices, then to the Juſtices of Aſſiſe, then to the King or Chancellor; and that a Proclamation, which he had publiſhed of that Tenor, ſhould be read in open Seſſions four times a Year, to keep them awake. Meaning alſo to have his Laws executed, and thereby to reap either Obedience or Forfeitures; (wherein towards his latter Times he did decline too much to the left Hand) he did ordain Remedy againſt the Practice that was grown in uſe, to ſtop and damp Informations upon Penal Laws, by procuring Informations by Colluſion to be put in by the Confederates of the Delinquents, to be faintly proſecuted, and let fall at Pleaſure, and pleading them in Bar of the Informations, which were proſecuted with Effect.

He made alſo Laws for the Correction of the *Mint*, and counterfeiting of Foreign Coyn currant. And that no payment in Gold ſhould be made to any Merchant-Stranger, the better to keep Treaſure within the Realm, for that Gold was the Mettal that lay in leaſt Room.

His Statutes for incouraging Woollen Drapery.

He made alſo Statutes for the Maintenance of Drapery, and the keeping of Wools within the Realm; and not only ſo, but for ſtinting, and limiting the Prices of Cloth, one for the Finer, and another for the Courſer ſort. Which I note, both becauſe it was a rare thing to ſet Prices by Statute, eſpecially upon our Home-Commodities; and becauſe of the Wiſe Model of this Act, not preſcribing Prices, but ſtinting them not to exceed a Rate, that the Clothier might drape according as he might afford.

Divers other good Statutes were made that Parliament, but theſe were the Principal. And here I do deſire thoſe, into whoſe Hands this Work ſhall fall, that they do take it in good part my long inſiſting upon the Laws that were made in this King's Reign. Whereof I have theſe Reaſons; Both becauſe it was the preheminent Vertue and Merit of this King, to whoſe Memory I do honour; and becauſe it hath ſome Correſpondence to my Perſon; but chiefly, becauſe (in my Judgment) it is ſome defect even in the beſt Writers of Hiſtory, that they do not often enough ſummarily deliver and ſet down the moſt Memorable Laws that paſſed in the Times whereof they write, being indeed the Principal Acts of Peace. For though they may be had in the Original Books of Law themſelves, yet that informeth not the Judgments of King's and Councellors, and Perſons of Eſtate, ſo well as to ſee them deſcrib'd, and entred ino the Table and Pourtrait of the Times.

About the ſame time, the King had a Loan from the City of Four thouſand Pounds; which was double to that they lent before, (a) and was duely and orderly paid back at the Day, as the former likewiſe had been. The King ever chooſing rather to borrow too ſoon, than to pay too late, and ſo keeping up his Credit.

Neither had the King yet caſt off his Cares and Hopes touching *Britain*, but thought to maſter the Occaſion by Policy, though his Arms had been unfortunate, and to bereave the *French* King of the Fruit of his Victory. The Sum of his Deſign was, to encourage *Maximilian* to go on with his Suit, for the Marriage of *Ann*, the Heir of *Britain*, and to Aid him to the Conſummation thereof. But the Affairs of *Maximilian* were at that time in great Trouble and Combuſtion, by a Rebellion of his Subjects in *Flanders*, eſpecially thoſe of *Bruges* and *Gaunt*; whereof the Town of *Bruges* (at ſuch time as *Maximilian* was there in Perſon) had ſuddenly Arm'd in Tumult, and ſlain ſome of his Principal Officers, and taken himſelf Priſoner, and held him in Durance, till they had enforced him, and ſome of his Councellors, to take a ſolemn Oath, to pardon all their Offences, and never to queſtion and revenge the ſame in time to come. Nevertheleſs *Frederick* the Emperor would not ſuffer this Reproach and Indignity offer'd to his Son to paſs, but made ſharp War upon *Flanders*, to reclaim and chaſtiſe the Rebels. But the Lord *Ravenſtein*, a principal Perſon about *Maximilian*, and one that had taken the Oath of Abolition with his Maſter, pretending the Religion thereof, but indeed upon private Ambition, and (as it was thought) inſtigated and corrupted from *France*, forſook the Emperor and *Maximilian* his Lord, and made himſelf an Head of the Popular Party, and ſeiz'd upon the Towns of *Ipre* and *Sluce*, with both the Caſtles. And forthwith ſent to the Lord *Cordes*, Governour of *Picardy* under the *French* King, to deſire Aid, and to move him, that he on the behalf of the *French* King would be Protector of the united Towns, and by Force of Arms reduce the reſt. The Lord *Cordes* was ready to embrace the Occaſion, which was partly of his own ſetting, and ſent forthwith greater Forces, than it had been poſſible for him to raiſe on the ſudden, if he had not looked for ſuch a Summons before, in Aid of the Lord *Ravenſtein*, and the *Flemmings*, with Inſtructions to inveſt the Towns between *France* and

(a) The King borrowed of every Alderman 200 *l.* and of the Chamber of *London* 9062 *l.* 17 *s.* 4 *d.* *Holling ſhead.*

Bruges,

1489. *Bruges.* The *French* Forces beſieged a little Town called *Dixmue*, where part of the *Flemmiſh* Forces joyned with them. While they lay at this Siege, the King of *England*, upon pretence of the Safety of the *Engliſh* Pale about *Calice*, but in Truth being loth that *Maximilian* ſhould become contemptible, and thereby be ſhaken off by the States of *Britain* about this Marriage, ſent over the Lord *Morley* with a thouſand Men unto the Lord *Daubigny*, then Deputy of *Callice*, with ſecret Inſtructions to aid *Maximilian*, and to raiſe the Siege of *Dixmue*. The Lord *Daubigny* (giving it out that all was for the Strengthning of the *Engliſh* Marches) drew out of the Garriſons of *Calice*, *Hammes*, and *Guines*, to the Number of a Thouſand Men more. So that with the freſh Succours that came under the Conduct of the Lord *Morley*, they made up to the Number of two Thouſand, or better. Which Forces joyning with ſome Companies of *Almains*, put themſelves into *Dixmue*, not perceived by the Enemies; and paſſing through the Town with ſome Re-inforcement (from the Forces that were in the Town) aſſail'd the Enemies Camp, negligently guarded, as being out of Fear; where there was a bloody Fight, in which the *Engliſh* and their Partakers obtain'd the Victory, and ſlew to the Number of eight Thouſand Men, with the loſs on the *Engliſh* part of a Hundred or thereabouts; amongſt whom was the Lord *Morley*. They took alſo their great Ordnance, with much rich Spoils which they carried to *Newport*, whence the Lord *Daubigny* return'd to *Calice*, leaving the hurt Men, and ſome other Voluntaries in *Newport*. But the Lord *Cordes* being at *Ipre* with a great power of Men, thinking to recover the Loſs and Diſgrace of the Fight at *Dixmue*, came preſently on, and ſate down before *Newport* and beſieg'd it; and after ſome days Siege, he reſolv'd to try the Fortune of an Aſſault: Which he did one day, and ſucceeded therein ſo far, that he had taken the principal Tower and Fort in that City, and planted upon it the *French* Banner. Whence nevertheleſs they were preſently beaten forth by the *Engliſh*, by the help of ſome freſh Succours of Archers arriving by good Fortune (at the inſtant) in the Haven at *Newport*. Whereupon the Lord *Cordes* diſcouraged, and meaſuring the new Succours (which were ſmall) by the Succeſs (which was great) levied his Siege. By this means, Matters grew more exaſperate between the two Kings of *England* and *France*, for that in the War of *Flanders*, the Auxiliary Forces of *French* and *Engliſh* were much blooded one againſt another. Which Blood rankled the more by the vain Words of the Lord *Cordes*, that declared himſelf an open Enemy of the *Engliſh*, beyond that that appertain'd to the preſent Service; making it a common By-word of his, *That he could be content to lie in Hell ſeven Years, ſo he might win* Calice *from the* Engliſh.

The Lord *Cordes*'s hatred to the *Engliſh*.

The King having thus upheld the Reputation of *Maximilian*, adviſed him now to preſs on his Marriage with *Britain* to a Concluſion. Which *Maximilian* accordingly did, and ſo far forth prevail'd both with the young Lady, and with the principal Perſons about her, as the Marriage was conſummate by Proxy, with a Ceremony at that time in theſe Parts new. For ſhe was not only publickly contracted, but ſtated as a Bride, and ſolemnly Bedded; and after ſhe was laid, there came in *Maximilian*'s Ambaſſador with Letters of Procuration, and in the preſence of ſundry Noble Perſonages, Men and Women, put his Leg (ſtript naked to the Knee) between the Eſpouſal Sheets; to the end, that that Ceremony might be thought to amount to a Conſummation and actual Knowledge. This done, *Maximilian* (whoſe Property was to leave things then, when they were almoſt come to Perfection, and to end them by Imagination; like ill Archers, that draw not their Arrows up to the Head; and who might as eaſily have bedded the Lady himſelf, as to have made a Play and Diſguiſe of it) thinking now all aſſured, neglected for a time his further Proceeding, and intended his Wars. Mean while, the *French* King (conſulting with his Divines, and finding that this pretended Conſummation was rather an Invention of Court, than any ways valid by the Laws of the Church) went more really to work, and by ſecret Inſtruments and cunning Agents, as well Matrons about the young Lady as Councellors, firſt ſought to remove the Point of Religion and Honour out of the Mind of the Lady her ſelf, wherein there was a double Labour. For *Maximilian* was not only contracted unto the Lady, but *Maximilian*'s Daughter was likewiſe contracted to King *Charles*. So as the Marriage halted upon both Feet, and was not clear on either ſide: But for the Contract with King *Charles*, the Exception lay plain and fair; for that *Maximilian*'s Daughter was under Years of Conſent, and ſo not bound by Law, but a power of Diſagreement left to either part. But for the Contract made by *Maximilian* with the Lady her ſelf, they were harder driven: Having nothing to alledge, but that it was done without the conſent of her Sovereign Lord King *Charles*, whoſe Ward and Client ſhe was, and He to her in place of a Father; and therefore it was void, and of no force, for want of ſuch Conſent. Which Defect (they ſaid) tho' it would not evacuate a Marriage, after Cohabitation and Actual Conſummation; yet it was enough to make void a Contract. For as for the pretended Conſummation, they made Sport with it, and ſaid, *That it was an Argument, that* Maximilian *was a Widdower, and a cold Wooer, that could content himſelf to be a Bridegroom by Deputy, and would not make a little Journey, to put all out of Queſtion.* So that the young Lady, wrought upon by theſe Reaſons, finely inſtilled by ſuch as the *French* King (who ſpared for no Rewards or Promiſes) had made on his Side; and allured likewiſe by the preſent Glory and Greatneſs of King *Charles*, (being alſo a young King, and a Batchelor) and loth to make her Country the Seat of a long and miſerable War; ſecretly yielded to accept of King *Charles*. But during this ſecret Treaty with the Lady, the better to ſave it from Blaſts of Oppoſition and Interruption, King *Charles* reſorting to his wonted Arts, and thinking to carry the Marriage as he had carried the Wars, by entertaining the King of *England* in vain belief, ſent a Solemn Ambaſſage by *Francis* Lord of *Luxemburg*, *Charles Marignian* and *Robert Gaguien*, General of the Order of the *Bonnes Hommes* of the Trinity, to treat a Peace and League with the King; accoupling it with an Article in the Nature of a Requeſt, that the *French* King might with the King's good Will (according unto his Right of Seigniory and Tutelage) diſpoſe of the Marriage of the young Dutcheſs of *Britain*, as he ſhould think good; offering by a judicial Proceeding to make Void the Marriage of *Maximilian* by Proxy. Alſo all this while the better to amuſe the World, he did continue in his Court and Cuſtody the Daughter of *Maximilian*, who formerly had been ſent unto him, to be bred and educated in *France*; not diſmiſſing or renvoying her, but contrariwiſe profeſſing and giving out ſtrongly, that he meant to proceed with that Match. And that

A New Ceremony of Marriage.

The Diſſimulation of the *Fr.* King.

for

1490. for the Dutcheſs of *Britain*, he deſired only to preſerve his Right of Seigniory, and to give her in Marriage to ſome ſuch Allie, as might depend upon him.

When the three Commiſſioners came to the Court of *England*, they deliver'd their Ambaſſage unto the King, who remitted them to his Council; where ſome days after they had Audience, and made their Propoſition by the Prior of the Trinity (who tho' he were Third in Place, yet was held the beſt Speaker of them) to this Effect.

The Ambaſſadors Speech.

'MY Lords, the King our Maſter, the greateſt and mightieſt King that reigned in *France* ſince *Charles* the Great (whoſe Name he beareth), hath nevertheleſs thought it no Diſparagement to his Greatneſs, at this time to propound a Peace, yea, and to pray a Peace with the King of *England*. For which purpoſe he hath ſent us his Commiſſioners, inſtructed and enabled with full and ample Power, to treat and conclude; giving us further in Charge, to open in ſome other Buſineſs the Secrets of his own Intentions. Theſe be indeed the precious Love Tokens between great Kings, to communicate one with another the true ſtate of their Affairs, and to paſs by nice Points of Honour, which ought not to give Law unto Affection. This I do aſſure your Lordſhips, it is not poſſible for you to imagine the true and cordial Love that the King our Maſter beareth to your Sovereign, except you were near him, as we are. He uſeth his Name with ſo great reſpect; He remembreth their firſt Acquaintance at *Paris* with ſo great Contentment; nay, he never ſpeaks of him, but that preſently he falls into Diſcourſe of the Miſeries of great Kings, in that they cannot converſe with their Equals, but with Servants. This Affection to your King's Perſon and Vertues, God hath put into the Heart of our Maſter, no doubt for the good of Chriſtendom, and for Purpoſes yet unknown to us all. For other Root it cannot have, ſince it was the ſame to the Earl of *Richmond*, that it is now to the King of *England*. This is therefore the firſt Motive that makes our King to deſire Peace, and League with your Sovereign: Good Affection, and ſomewhat that he finds in his own Heart. This Affection is alſo arm'd with reaſon of Eſtate. For our King doth in all Candour and Frankneſs of dealing open himſelf unto you; that having an honourable, yea, and a holy Purpoſe to make a Voyage and War in remote Parts, he conſidereth that it will be of no ſmall effect, in point of Reputation to his Enterprize, if it be known Abroad, that he is in good Peace with all his Neighbour Princes, and ſpecially with the King of *England*, whom for good Cauſes he eſteemeth moſt.

'But now (my Lords) give me leave to uſe a few words to remove all Scruples and Miſunderſtandings between your Sovereign and ours, concerning ſome late Actions; which if they be not cleared, may perhaps hinder this Peace. To the end, that for Matter paſt, neither King may conceive unkindneſs of other, nor think the other conceiveth unkindneſs of him. The late Actions are two; that of *Britain*, and that of *Flanders*. In both which, it is true, that the Subjects Swords of both Kings have encountred and ſtricken, and the Ways and Inclinations alſo of the two Kings, in reſpect of their Confederates and Allies, have ſevered.

'For that of *Britain*; The King your Sove- 1490.
reign knoweth beſt what hath paſſed. It was a War of Neceſſity on our Maſter's part. And tho' the Motives of it were ſharp and piquant as could be, yet did he make that War rather with an Olive-Branch, than a Laurel-Branch in his Hand, more deſiring Peace than Victory. Beſides from time to time he ſent (as it were) Blank-Papers to your King, to write the Conditions of Peace. For tho' both his Honour and Safety went upon it, yet he thought neither of them too precious, to put into the King of *England*'s hands. Neither doth our King on the other Side make any unfriendly Interpretation of your King's ſending of Succours to the Duke of *Britain*; for the King knoweth well, that many things muſt be done of Kings for Satisfaction of their People, and it is not hard to diſcern what is a King's own. But this Matter of *Britain* is now (by the Act of God) ended and paſſed; and (as the King hopeth) like the way of a Ship in the Sea, without leaving any Impreſſion in either of the Kings Minds; as he is ſure for his part it hath not done in his.

'For the Action of *Flanders*; As the former of *Britain* was a War of Neceſſity, ſo this was a War of Juſtice, which with a good King is of equal Neceſſity, with danger of Eſtate, for elſe he ſhould leave to be a King. The Subjects of *Burgundy* are Subjects in Chief to the Crown of *France*, and their Duke the Homager and Vaſſal of *France*. They had wont to be good Subjects, howſoever *Maximilian* hath of late diſtemper'd them. They fled to the King for Juſtice, and Deliverance from Oppreſſion. Juſtice he could not deny; Purchaſe he did not ſeek. This was good for *Maximilian*, if he could have ſeen it in People mutined to arreſt Fury, and prevent Deſpair. My Lords, it may be this I have ſaid is needleſs, ſave that the King our Maſter is tender in any thing, that may but glance upon the Friendſhip of *England*. The Amity between the two Kings (no doubt) ſtands entire and inviolate. And that their Subjects Swords have claſhed, it is nothing unto the publick Peace of the Crowns; it being a thing very uſual in Auxiliary Forces of the beſt and ſtraiteſt Confederates, to meet and draw blood in the Field. Nay, many times there be Aids of the ſame Nation on both ſides, and yet it is not (for all that) *A Kingdom divided in it ſelf*.

'It reſteth (my Lords) that I impart unto you a Matter, that I know your Lordſhips all will much rejoyce to hear; as that which importeth the Chriſtian Commonweal more than any Action that hath hapned of a long time. The King our Maſter hath a Purpoſe and Determination, to make War upon the Kingdom of *Naples*; being now in the Poſſeſſion of a Baſtardſhip of *Arragon*, but appertaining unto his Majeſty, by clear and undoubted Right; which if he ſhould not by juſt Arms ſeek to recover, he could neither acquit his Honour, nor Anſwer it to his People. But his Noble and Chriſtian Thoughts reſt not here. For his Reſolution and Hope is, to make the Reconqueſt of *Naples*, but as a Bridge to tranſport his Forces into *Grecia*; and not to ſpare Blood or Treaſure (if it were to the impawning of his Crown, and diſpeopling of *France*) till either he hath Overthrown the Empire of the *Ottomans*, or taken it in his Way to Paradiſe. The King knoweth well, that this is a Deſign, that could not ariſe in the Mind of

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1490. 'any King, that did not ſtedfaſtly look up unto God, whoſe Quarrel this is, and from whom 'cometh both the Will and the Deed. But 'yet it is agreeable to the Perſon that he bear'eth (tho' unworthy) of the Thrice Chriſtian 'King, and the eldeſt Son of the Church. 'Whereunto he is alſo invited by the Example '(in more Ancient time) of King *Henry* IV. of '*England* (the firſt renown'd King of the Houſe 'of *Lancaſter*; Anceſtor, tho' not Progenitor 'to your King) who had a Purpoſe towards 'the End of his Time (as you know better) 'to make an Expedition into the *Holy Land*; 'and by the Example alſo (preſent before his 'Eyes) of that Honourable and Religious War 'which the King of *Spain* now maketh, and 'hath *almoſt* brought to Perfection, for the 'Recovery of the Realm of *Granada* from the '*Moors*. And altho' this Enterprize may ſeem 'vaſt and unmeaſur'd, for the King to attempt 'that by his own Forces, wherein heretofore 'a Conjunction of moſt of the Chriſtian Prin'ces hath found Work enough; yet his Ma'jeſty wiſely conſidereth, that ſometimes ſmal'ler Forces being united under one Command, 'are more effectual in Proof (tho' not ſo pro'miſing in Opinion and Fame) than much grea'ter Forces, variouſly compounded by Aſſoci'ations and Leagues; which commonly in a 'ſhort time after their Beginnings, turn to 'Diſſociations and Diviſions. But my (Lords) 'that which is as a Voice from Heaven that 'called the King to this Enterprize, is a Rent 'at this time in the Houſe of the *Ottomans*. 'I do not ſay, but there hath been Brother 'againſt Brother in that Houſe before, but 'never any that had refuge to the Arms of 'the Chriſtians, as now hath *Gemes* (Brother 'unto *Bajazeth*, that reigneth) the far braver 'Man of the two; the other being between a 'Monk and a Philoſoper, and better read in 'the *Alcoran* and *Averroes*, than able to wield 'the Scepter of ſo Warlike an Empire. This 'therefore is the King our Maſter's memora'ble and Heroical Reſolution for an Holy War 'And becauſe he carrieth in this the Perſon of 'a Chriſtian Soldier, as well as of a great Tem'poral Monarch; he beginneth with Humility, 'and is content for this Cauſe to beg Peace at 'the hands of other Chriſtian Kings. There 'remaineth only rather a Civil Requeſt, than 'any Eſſential part of our Negotiation, which 'the King maketh to the King your Sovereign. 'The King (as the World knoweth) is Lord 'in Chief of the Dutchy of *Britain*. The Mar'riage of the Heir belongeth to him as Guar'dian. This is a private Patrimonial Right, 'and no Buſineſs of Eſtate: yet nevertheleſs '(to run a fair Courſe with your King; whom 'he deſires to make another Himſelf, and to 'be one and the ſame thing with him) his 'Requeſt is, That with the King's Favour 'and Conſent, he may diſpoſe of her Mar'riage, as he thinketh good, and make void 'the intruded and pretended Marriage of '*Maximilian*, according to Juſtice. This (my 'Lords) is all that I have to ſay, deſiring 'your Pardon for my Weakneſs in the Deli'very.

Thus did the *French* Ambaſſadors with great ſhew of their King's Affection, and many ſugar'd Words ſeek to adulce all Matters between the two Kings, having two Things for their Ends; The one, to keep the King quiet till the Marriage of *Brittain* was paſt, and this was but a Summer Fruit, which they thought was almoſt ripe and would ſoon be gathered. The other was more laſting; and that was to put him into ſuch a temper as he might be no Diſturbance or Impediment to the Voyage for *Italy*. The Lords of the Council were Silent; and ſaid only, *That they knew the Ambaſſadors would look for no Anſwer, till they had reported to the King*; and ſo they roſe from Council. The King could not tell what to think of the Marriage of *Brittain*. He ſaw plainly the Ambition of the *French* King was to impatronize himſelf of the Dutchy; but he wondred he would bring into his Houſe a litigious Marriage, eſpecially conſidering who was his Succeſſor. But weighing one thing with another, he gave *Brittain* for loſt; but reſolv'd to make his Profit of this Buſineſs of *Brittain*, as a Quarrel for War; and that of *Naples*, as a Wrench and Mean for Peace; being well advertiſed how ſtrongly the King was bent upon that Action. Having therefore conferred divers times with his Council, and keeping himſelf ſomewhat cloſe; he gave a Direction to the Chancellor, for a formal Anſwer to the Ambaſſadors, and that he did in the preſence of his Council. And after calling the Chancellor to him apart, bad him ſpeak in ſuch Language as was fit for a Treaty that was to end in a Breach; and gave him alſo a Special Caveat, that he ſhould not uſe any words, to diſcourage the Voyage of *Italy*. Soon after the Ambaſſadors were ſent for to the *Council*, and the Lord Chancellor ſpake to them in this ſort.

The Lord Chancellor's Anſwer to the *French* Ambaſſador's Speech.

'MY Lords Ambaſſadors, I ſhall make 'anſwer by the King's Commandment, 'unto the Eloquent Declaration of you my 'Lord Prior, in a brief and plain manner. 'The King forgetteth not his former Love and 'Acquaintance with the King your Maſter. But 'of this there needeth no Repetition. For if it 'be between them as it was, it is well; if there 'be any Alteration, it is not Words that will make it up.

'For the Buſineſs of *Britain*, the King findeth 'it a little ſtrange that the *French* King maketh 'mention of it, as Matter of well deſerving at 'his Hand. For that Deſerving was no more, 'but to make him his Inſtrument, to ſurpriſe 'one of his beſt Confederates. And for the 'Marriage, the King would not meddle in it if 'your Maſter would marry by the Book, and 'not by the Sword.

'For that of *Flanders*, if the Subjects of *Burgundy* had appeal'd to your King, as their 'Chief Lord, at firſt, by way of Supplication; 'it might have had a Shew of Juſtice. But it 'was a new Form of Proceſs, for Subjects to 'impriſon their Prince firſt, and to ſlay his Offi'cers, and then to be Complainants. The 'King ſaith, that ſure he is, when the *French* 'King, and himſelf ſent to the Subjects of *Scotland* (that had taken Arms againſt their 'King) they both ſpake in another Stile, and 'did in Princely manner ſignifie their Deteſta'tion of Popular Attentates upon the Perſon 'or Authority of Princes. But my Lords Am'baſſadors, the King leaveth theſe two Actions 'thus: That on the one Side, he hath not recei'ved any manner of Satisfaction from you con'cerning them; and on the other, that he doth 'not apprehend them ſo deeply, as in reſpect 'of them, to refuſe to treat of Peace, if other 'things may go hand in hand. As for the War 'of *Naples*, and the Deſign againſt the *Turks*; 'the King hath commanded me expreſly to ſay, 'That he doth wiſh with all his Heart, to his

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1490. 'good Brother the *French* King, that his Fortunes may ſucceed according to his Hopes, and honourable Intentions. And whenſoever he ſhall hear, that he is prepared for *Grecia*, as your Maſter is pleaſed now to ſay, that he beggeth a Peace of the King, ſo the King will then beg of him a part in that War.

'But now my Lords Ambaſſadors, I am to propound unto you ſomewhat on the King's part. The King your Maſter hath taught our King what to ſay and demand. You ſay (my Lord Prior) that your King is reſolv'd to recover his Right to *Naples*, wrongfully detained from him. And that if he ſhould not thus do, he could not acquit his Honour, nor anſwer it to his People. Think (my Lords) that the King our Maſter ſaith the ſame thing over again to you touching *Normandy*, *Guien*, *Angeou*, yea and the Kingdom of *France* it ſelf. 'I cannot expreſs it better than in your own Words: If therefore the *French* King ſhall conſent, that the King our Maſter's Title to *France* (at leaſt Tribute for the ſame) be handled in the Treaty, the King is content to go on with the reſt; otherwiſe he refuſeth to Treat.

The K's. Title to the Crown of *France* renew'd.

THE Ambaſſadors being ſomewhat abaſhed with this Demand, anſwered in ſome Heat; *That they doubted not but the King their Sovereign's Sword would be able to maintain his Scepter*: And they aſſured themſelves, he neither could nor would yield to any Diminution of the Crown of *France* either in Territory or Regality. But howſoever, they were too great matters for them to ſpeak of, having no Commiſſion. It was replied; that the King looked for no other Anſwer from them; but would forthwith ſend his own Ambaſſadors to the *French* King. There was a Queſtion alſo asked at the Table, *Whether the* French *King would agree to have the diſpoſing of the Marriage of* Britain *with an Exception and Excluſion, that he ſhould not marry her himſelf?* To which the Ambaſſadors anſwered; That it was ſo far out of the King's Thoughts, as they had received no Inſtructions touching the ſame. Thus were the Ambaſſadors diſmiſſed, all ſave the Prior; and were follow'd immediately by *Thomas* Earl of *Ormond*, and *Thomas Goldenſton* Prior of Chriſt-Church in *Canterbury*; who were preſently ſent over into *France*. In the mean ſpace *Lionell*, Biſhop of *Concordia*, was ſent as *Nuntio* from Pope *Alexander* the ſixth to both Kings, to move a Peace between them. For Pope *Alexander* finding himſelf pent and lockt up by a League and Aſſociation of the Principal States of *Italy*, that he could not make his way for the Advancement of his own Houſe (which he immoderately thirſted after) was deſirous to trouble the Waters in *Italy*, that he might fiſh the better; caſting the Net, not out of Saint *Peter's*, but out of *Borgia's* Bark. And doubting leaſt the Fears from *England* might ſtay the *French* King's Voyage into *Italy*, diſpatch'd this Biſhop to compoſe all matters between the two Kings, if he could. Who firſt repaired to the *French* King, and finding him well inclin'd (as he conceiv'd) took on his Journy towards *England*, and found the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors at *Calice*, on their way towards the *French* King. After ſome Conference with them, he was in Honourable manner tranſported over into *England*, where he had Audience of the King. But notwithſtanding he had a good Ominous Name to have made a Peace, nothing followed. For in the mean time, the purpoſe of the *French* King to marry the Dutcheſs could be no longer diſſembled. Wherefore the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors (finding how things went) took their Leaves and returned. And the Prior alſo was warned from hence, to depart out of *England*. Who when he turned his back (more like a Pedant) than an Ambaſſador) diſperſed a bitter Libel, in Latin Verſe againſt the King; unto which the King (though he had nothing of a Pedant) yet was content to cauſe an anſwer to be made in like Verſe; and that as ſpeaking in his own Perſon, but in a Style of Scorn and Sport. About this time alſo was born the King's ſecond Son *Henry*, who afterward reigned. And ſoon after followed the Solemnization of the Marriage between *Charles* and *Ann* Dutcheſs of *Britain*, with whom he received the Dutchy of *Britain* as her Dowry; the Daughter of *Maximilian* being a little before ſent home. Which when it came to the Ears of *Maximilian* (who could never believe it till it was done, being ever the Principal in deceiving himſelf, though in this the *French* King did very handſomly ſecond it) and tumbling it over and over in his Thoughts, that he ſhould at one Blow (with ſuch a double ſcorn) be defeated, both of the Marriage of his Daughter, and his own (upon both which he had fixed high Imaginations;) he loſt all Patience, and caſting off the reſpects fit to be continued between great Kings (even when their Blood is hotteſt and moſt riſen) fell to bitter Invectives againſt the Perſon and Actions of the *French* King. And (by how much he was leſs able to do, talking ſo much the more) ſpake all the Injuries he could deviſe of *Charles*, ſaying, That he was the moſt perfidious Man upon the Earth, and that he had made a Marriage compounded between an Advoutry and a Rape; which was done (he ſaid) by the juſt Judgment of God, to the end that (the Nullity thereof being ſo apparent to all the World) the Race of ſo unworthy a Perſon might not reign in *France*. And forthwith he ſent Ambaſſadors as well to the King of *England*, as to the King of *Spain*, to incite them to War, and to treat a League offenſive againſt *France*, promiſing to concur with great Forces of his own. Hereupon the King of *England* (going nevertheleſs his own way) called a Parliament, it being the ſeventh Year of his Reign; and the firſt day of opening thereof (ſitting under his Cloth of Eſtate) ſpake himſelf unto his Lords and Commons in this manner.

1490. The King orders a Copy of Verſes to be written in anſwer to ſome againſt him. King *Henry* 8th born. The Prince, according to *Holinſhead* was born the 2nd of *June*, 1491. *Bretagne* annex'd to the Crown of *France*.

'MY Lords, and you the Commons; when I purpoſed to make a War in *Brittain* by my Lieutenant, I made Declaration thereof to you by my Chancellor. But now that I mean to make a War upon *France* in Perſon, I will declare it to you my ſelf. That War was to defend another Man's Right, but this is to recover our own; and that ended by Accident, but we hope this ſhall end in Victory. The King's Speech to his Parliament.

'The *French* King troubles the Chriſtian World. That which he hath, is not his own, and yet he ſeeketh more. He hath inveſted himſelf of *Britain*. He maintaineth the Rebels in *Flanders*; and he threatneth *Italy*. For Our Selves, he hath proceeded from Diſſimulation to Neglect; and from Neglect to Contumely. He hath aſſayled our Confederates: He denyeth our Tribute: In a word, he ſeeks War. So did not his Father, but ſought Peace at our Hands; and ſo perhaps will he, when good Council or Time ſhall make him ſee as much as his Father did.

'Mean while; let us make his Ambition our Advantage; and let us not ſtand upon a few

1490. ‘ Crowns of Tribute, or Acknowledgment,
‘ but (by the Favour of Almighty God) try
‘ Our Right to the Crown of *France* it ſelf;
‘ remembring there hath been a *French* King
‘ Priſoner in *England*, and a King of *England*
‘ Crowned in *France*. Our Confederates are
‘ not diminiſhed. *Burgundy* is in a mightier
‘ Hand than ever, and never more provoked.
‘ *Britain* cannot help us, but it may hurt them.
‘ New Acqueſts are more burthen than ſtrength.
‘ The Male contents of his own Kingdom have
‘ not been baſe, popular, nor titulary Impo-
‘ ſtors, but of an higher Nature. The King
‘ of *Spain* (doubt ye not) will join with us, not
‘ knowing where the *French* King's Ambition
‘ will ſtay. Our holy Father the Pope likes
‘ no Tramontanes in *Italy*. But howſoever it
‘ be, this Matter of Confederates, is rather to
‘ be thought on than reckoned on. For God
‘ forbid, but *England* ſhould be able to get
‘ Reaſon of *France*, without a Second.

‘ As the battles of *Creſſy*, *Poictiers*, *Agent-*
‘ *Court*, we were of our ſelves. *France* hath
‘ much People and few Soldiers. They have
‘ no ſtable bands of Foot. Some good Horſe
‘ they have; but thoſe are Forces, which are
‘ leaſt fit for a defenſive War, where the Acti-
‘ ons are in the Aſſailant's choice. It was our
‘ Diſorders only, that loſt *France*; and (by the
‘ Power of God) it is the good Peace which
‘ we now enjoy, that will recover it. God
‘ hath hitherto bleſſed my Sword. I have in
‘ this time that I have Reigned, weeded out
‘ my bad Subjects, and tried my good. My
‘ People and I know one another; which breeds
‘ Confidence. And if there ſhould be any bad
‘ Blood left in the Kingdom, an Honourable
‘ foreign War will vent it, or purify it. In
‘ this great Buſineſs, let me have your Advice,
‘ and Aid. If any of you were to make his Son
‘ Knight, you might have aid of your Tenants
‘ by Law. This concerns the Knighthood and
‘ Spurs of the Kingdom, whereof I am Father;
‘ and bound not only to ſeek to maintain it, but
‘ to advance it. But for Matter of Treaſure,
‘ let it not be taken from the pooreſt ſort; but
‘ from thoſe, to whom the Benefit of the War
‘ may redound. *France* is no Wilderneſs: and
‘ I, that profeſs good Husbandry, hope to
‘ make the War (after the beginnings) to pay it
‘ ſelf. Go together in God's Name, and loſe no
‘ time; for I have called this Parliament whol-
‘ ly for this Cauſe.

He deſires the Parliament to adviſe him.

Thus ſpake the King; but for all this, though he ſhewed great Forwardneſs for a War, not only to his Parliament and Court, but to his Privy-Council likewiſe, (except the two Biſhops and a few more) yet nevertheleſs in his ſecret Intentions, he had no purpoſe to go through with any War, upon *France*. But the Truth was, that he did but traffick with that War, to make his Return in Money. He knew well, that *France* was now entire, and at Unity with it ſelf, and never ſo mighty many Years before. He ſaw by the taſt that he had of his Forces ſent into *Brittain*, that the *French* knew well enough how to make War with the *Engliſh*; by not putting things to the Hazard of a Battle, but wearying them by long Sieges of Towns, and ſtrong fortified Encampings. *James* the III. of *Scotland*, (his true Friend and Confederate) gone; and *James* the IV. (that had ſucceeded) wholly at the Devotion of *France*, and ill affected towards him. As for the Conjunctions of *Ferdinando* of *Spain*, and *Maximilian*; he could make no Foundation upon them. For the one had Power, and not Will; and the other hath Will, and not Power. Beſides that, *Ferdinando* had but newly taken breath, from the War with the *Moors*; and Merchanded at this time with *France*, for the reſtoring of the Counties of *Ruſſignon* and *Perpignan*, oppignorated to the *French*. Neither was he out of Fear of the Diſcontents, and ill Blood within the Realm; which having uſed always to repreſs and appeaſe in Perſon, he was loth they ſhould find him at a diſtance beyond Sea, and engaged in War. Finding therefore the Inconveniences and Difficulties in the proſecution of a War, he caſt with himſelf how to compaſs two things. The one, how by the Declaration and Inchoation of a War, to make his Profit. The other, how to come off from the War, with ſaving of his Honour. For Profit, it was to be made two ways; upon his Subjects for the War, and upon his Enemies for the Peace; like a good Merchant, that maketh his Gain, both upon the Commodities exported and imported back again. For the point of Honour, wherein he might ſuffer, for giving over the War; he conſidered well, that as he could not truſt upon the aids of *Ferdinando* and *Maximilian* for Supports of War: ſo the Impuiſſance of the one, and the double proceeding of the other, lay fair for him for Occaſions to accept of Peace. Theſe things he did wiſely foreſee, and did as artificially conduct, whereby all things fell into his Lap, as he deſired.

The King pretends War only to get Money.

1490.

For as for the Parliament, it preſently took Fire, being affectionate (of old) to the War of *France*; and deſirous a-freſh to repair the Diſhonour they thought the King ſuſtained by the Loſs of *Brittain*. Therefore they adviſed the King (with great Alacrity) to undertake the War of *France*. And although the Parliament conſiſted of the Firſt and ſecond Nobility (together with principal Citizens and Townſmen) yet worthily and juſtly reſpecting more the People (whoſe Deputies they were) than their own private Perſons, and finding by the Lord Chancellor's Speech the King's Inclination that way; they conſented that Commiſſioners ſhould go forth, for the gathering and levying a *Benevolence*, from the more able ſort. This Tax (called *Benevolence*) was deviſed by *Edward* the Fourth for which he ſuſtained much Envy. It was aboliſhed by *Richard* the Third by Act of Parliament, to ingratiate himſelf with the People; and it was now revived by the King, but with conſent of Parliament, for ſo it was not in the time of King *Edward* the Fourth. But by this way he raiſed exceeding great Sums. Inſomuch as the City of *London* (in thoſe Days) contributed nine thouſand Pounds and better; and that chiefly levied upon the wealthier ſort. There is a Tradition of a *Dilemma* that Biſhop *Morton* the Chancellor uſed, to raiſe up the *Benevolence* to higher Rates; and ſome called it his Fork, and ſome his Crutch. For he had couch'd an Article in the Inſtructions to the Commiſſioners, who were to levy the *Benevolence*: *That if they met with any that were ſparing, they ſhould tell them, That they muſt needs have, becauſe they laid up; and if they were ſpenders, they muſt needs have, becauſe it was ſeen in their Port, and manner of living.* So neither kind came amiſs.

A *Benevolence* granted the King for a War with *France*. Who the firſt Author of *Benevolences*. They are aboliſhed. And revived. Biſhop *Morton's Dilemma*.

This Parliament was merely a Parliament of War; for it was in ſubſtance, but a Declaration of War againſt *France* and *Scotland*, with ſome Statutes conducing thereunto; as the ſevere puniſhing of Mort-pays, and keeping back of Soldiers Wages and Captains. The like Severity for the Departure of Soldiers without Licence;

1490. Strengthening of the Common-Law in favour of Protections, for thoſe that were in the King's Service; And the ſetting the Gate open and wide, for Men to ſell or mortgage their Lands without Fines for Alienation, to furniſh themſelves with Money for the War; And laſtly, the voiding of all *Scottiſh men* out of *England*. There was alſo a Statute for the diſperſing of the Standard of the Exchequer, throughout *England*; thereby to ſize Weights and Meaſures; and two or three more of leſs Importance.

Statute to ſell Lands without Fines.

After the Parliament was broken up (which laſted not long) the King went on with his Preparations for the War of *France*; yet neglected not in the mean time the Affairs of *Maximilian*, for the quieting of *Flanders*, and reſtoring him to his Authority amongſt his Subjects. For at that time, the Lord of *Ravenſtein* being not only a Subject Rebell'd, but a Servant revolted (and ſo much the more Malicious and Violent, by the Aid of *Bruges* and *Gaunt*) had taken the Town and both the Caſtles of *Sluice*; as we ſaid before.

And having (by the Commodity of the Haven) gotten together certain Ships and Barks, fell to a kind of Pyratical Trade; robbing and ſpoyling, and taking Priſoners the Ships and Veſſels of all Nations, that paſſed alongſt that Coaſt, towards the Mart of *Antwerp*, or into any part of *Brabant*, *Zeland*, or *Freezeland*; being ever well Victualled from *Picardie*, beſides the Commodity of Victuals from *Sluice*, and the Country adjacent, and the Avails of his own Prizes. The *French* aſſiſted him ſtill under hand, and he likewiſe (as all Men do, that have been of both ſides) thought himſelf not ſafe, except he depended upon a third Perſon.

There was a ſmall Town ſome two Miles from *Bruges*, towards the Sea, called *Dam*; which was a Fort and Approach to *Bruges*, and had a Relation alſo to *Sluice*. This Town the King of the *Romans* had attempted often, (not for any worth of the Town in it ſelf, but becauſe it might choak *Bruges*, and cut it off from the Sea) and ever fail'd. But therewith the Duke of *Saxony* came down into *Flanders*, taking upon him the Perſon of an Umpire, to compoſe things between *Maximilian* and his Subjects; but being (indeed) faſt and aſſured to *Maximilian*. Upon this Pretext of Neutrality and Treaty, he repaired to *Bruges*; deſiring of the States of *Bruges*, to enter peaceably into their Town, with a Retinue of ſome Number of Men of Arms fit for his Eſtate; being ſomewhat the more (as he ſaid) the better to guard him in a Country, that was up in Arms; and bearing them in hand, that he was to communicate with them of divers Matters of great Importance, for their Good. Which having obtained of them, he ſent his Carriages and Harbingers before him, to provide his Lodging. So that his Men of War entred the City in good Array, but in peaceable manner, and he followed. They that went before enquired ſtill for Inns and Lodgings, as if they would have reſted there all Night, and ſo went on, till they came to the Gate, that leadeth directly towards *Dam*; and they of *Bruges* only gazed upon them and gave them Paſſage. The Captains and Inhabitants of *Dam* alſo ſuſpected no Harm, from any that paſſed through *Bruges*; and diſcovering Forces afar off, ſuppoſed they had been ſome Succours, that were come from their Friends, knowing ſome dangers, towards them. And ſo perceiving nothing but well, till it was too late, ſuffered them to enter their Town. By which kind of Sleight rather than Stratagem, the Town of *Dam* was taken and

Dam taken by a Trick.

the Town of *Bruges* ſhrewdly blockt up, whereby they took great diſcouragement. 1490.

The Duke of *Saxony* having won the Town of *Dam*, ſent immediately to the King to let him know that it was *Sluice* chiefly, and the Lord *Ravenſtein*, that kept the Rebellion of *Flanders* in life; And that if it pleaſed the King to beſiege it by Sea, he alſo would beſiege it by Land, and ſo cut out the Core of thoſe Wars.

The King willing to uphold the Authority of *Maximilian* (the better to hold *France* in aw) and being likewiſe ſued unto by his Merchants, for that the Seas were much infeſted by the Barks of the Lord *Ravenſtein*; ſent ſtraightways Sir *Edward Poynings* a valiant Man, and of good Service, with twelve Ships, well furniſhed with Souldiers and Artillery, to clear the Seas, and to beſiege *Sluice* on that part. The *Engliſhmen* did not only coop up the Lord *Ravenſtein*, that he ſtirred not, and likewiſe held in ſtrait ſiege the Maritime part of the Town; but alſo aſſail'd one of the Caſtles, and renewed the Aſſault ſo for twenty days ſpace (iſſuing ſtill out of their Ships at the Ebb) as they made great Slaughter of them of the Caſtle; who continually fought with them to repulſe them, though of the *Engliſh* part alſo were ſlain a Brother of the Earl of *Oxford's* and ſome fifty more.

But the Siege ſtill continuing more and more ſtrait, and both the Caſtles (which were the principal ſtrength of the Town) being diſtreſſed, the one by the Duke of *Saxony*, and the other by the *Engliſh*; and a Bridge of Boats, which the Lord *Ravenſtein* had made between both Caſtles, whereby Succours and Relief might paſs from the one to the other, being on a Night ſet on fire by the *Engliſh*, he deſpairing to hold the Town, yielded (at the laſt) the Caſtles to the *Engliſh*, and the Town to the Duke of *Saxony*, by Compoſition. Which done, the Duke of *Saxony* and Sir *Edward Poynings* treated with them of *Bruges*, to ſubmit themſelves to *Maximilian* their Lord; which after ſome time they did, paying (in ſome good part) the Charge of the War, whereby the *Almains* and foreign Succours were diſmiſſed. The example of *Bruges* other of the Revolted Towns followed; ſo that *Maximilian* grew to be out of Danger, but (as his manner was to handle matters) never out of Neceſſity. And Sir *Edward Poynings* (after he had continued at *Sluice* ſome good while, till all things were ſettled) returned unto the King, being then before *Bulloigne*.

Somewhat about this time came Letters from *Ferdinando*, and *Iſabella*, King and Queen of *Spain*; ſignifying the final Conqueſt of *Granada* from the *Moors*; which Action in it ſelf ſo worthy, King *Ferdinando* (whoſe manner was never to loſe any Vertue for the ſhewing) had expreſſed and diſplayed in his Letters at large, with all the particularities, and religious Punctoes and Ceremonies, that were obſerved in the Reception of that City and Kingdom: Shewing amongſt other things, that the King would not by any means in Perſon enter the City, until he had firſt aloof ſeen the Croſs ſet up upon the greater Tower of *Granada*, whereby it became Chriſtian Ground: That likewiſe before he would enter, he did Homage to God above, pronouncing by an Herald from the Height of that Tower, that he did acknowledge to have recovered that Kingdom, by the help of God Almighty and the Glorious Virgin, and the Vertuous Apoſtle Saint *James*, and the Holy Father *Innocent* the Eight, together with the Aids and Services of his Prelates, Nobles, and Commons: That yet he ſtirred not from his Camp, till he had ſeen a

The *Spaniards* conquer *Granada*.

1491. little Army of *Martyrs*, to the Number of Seven Hundred and more Christians (that had lived in Bonds and Servitude as Slaves to the *Moors*) pass before his Eyes, singing a Psalm for their Redemption, and that he had given Tribute unto God by Alms and Relief extended to them all, for his Admission into the City. These things were in the Letters, with many more Ceremonies of a kind of Holy Ostentation.

The Kings affection to the Spanish King.

The King ever willing to put himself into the Consort or Quire of all religious Actions, and naturally affecting much the King of *Spain*, (as far as one King can affect another) partly for his Vertues, and partly for a Counterpoise to *France*; upon the receipt of these Letters, sent all his Nobles and Prelates, that were about the Court, together with the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, in great Solemnity to the Church of *Paul's*; there to hear a Declaration from the Lord Chancellor, now Cardinal. When they were Assembled *, the Cardinal (standing upon the uppermost Step, or half-pace before the Quire; and all the Nobles, Prelates, and Governours of the City at the foot of the Stairs) made a Speech to them; letting them know, that they were Assembled in that Consecrate Place to sing unto God a New Song: For that (said he) 'these many Years the Christians have 'not gained new Ground or Territory upon the 'Infidels, nor enlarged and set further the Bounds 'of the Christian World: But this is now done 'by the Prowess and Devotion of *Ferdinando* 'and *Isabella*, Kings of *Spain*; who have (to 'their Immortal Honour) recover'd the great 'and rich Kingdoms of *Granada*, and the popu-'lous and mighty City of the same Name, from 'the *Moors*, having been in Possession thereof by 'the space of Seven hundred Years, and more. 'For which, this Assembly and all Christians 'are to render Laud and Thanks unto God, and 'to celebrate this noble Act of the King of 'Spain; who in this is not only Victorious, but 'Apostolical, in the gaining new Provinces to 'the Christian Faith. And the rather, for that 'this Victory and Conquest is obtain'd, without 'much Effusion of Blood. Whereby it is to be 'hoped, that there shall be gained, not only 'new Territory, but infinite Souls to the Church 'of Christ; whom the Almighty (as it seems) 'would have live to be converted. Herewithal he did relate some of the most memorable Particulars of the War and Victory. And after his Speech ended, the whole Assembly went Solemnly in Procession, and *Te Deum* was sung.

* On the 6th of April.

Christendom enlarged.

Immediately after the Solemnity, the King kept his *May-Day* at his Palace of *Sheine*, now *Richmond*: Where to warm the Blood of his Nobility and Gallants, against the War, he kept great Triumphs of Justing and Tourney, during all that Month. In which space it so fell out, that Sir *James Parker* and *Hugh Vaughan*, (one of the King's Gentlemen Ushers) having had a Controversy touching certain Arms, that the King at Arms had given *Vaughan*, were appointed to run some Courses one against another; and by accident of a faulty Helmet, that *Parker* had on, he was stricken into the Mouth at the first Course, so that his Tongue was born unto the hinder-part of his Head, in such sort that he died presently upon the place. Which because of the Controversy Precedent and the Death that follow'd, was accounted amongst the Vulgar, as a Combate of Tryal of Right. The King towards the end of this Summer, having put his Forces, wherewith he meant to Invade *France*, in readiness, (but so as they were not yet met or muttered together) sent *Urswick* (now made his Almoner) and Sir *John Risley* to *Maximilian*; to let him know, that he was in Arms, ready to pass the Seas into *France*, and did but expect to hear from him, when and where he did appoint to joyn with him, according to his Promise made unto him by *Countebalt*, his Ambassador. 1491.

The *English* Ambassadors having repaired to *Maximilian*, did find his Power and Promise at a very great distance; he being utterly unprovided of Men, Money, and Arms for any such Enterprize. For *Maximilian* having neither Wing to fly on (for that his Patrimony of *Austria* was not in his Hands, his Father being then living: And on the other side, his Matrimonial Territories of *Flanders* being partly in Dower to his Mother-in-Law, and partly not serviceable, in respect of the late Rebellions) was thereby destitute of Means to enter into War. The Ambassadors saw this well, but wisely thought fit to advertise the King thereof, rather than to return themselves till the King's further Pleasure were known: The rather, for that *Maximilian* himself spake as great as ever he did before, and entertain'd them with dilatory Answers; so as the formal part of their Ambassage might well warrant and require their further stay. The King hereupon (who doubted as much before, and saw thro' his Business from the beginning) wrote back to the Ambassadors, commending their Discretion in not returning, and willing them to keep the State wherein they found *Maximilian*, as a Secret, till they heard further from him; and mean while went on with his Voyage Royal for *France*, suppressing for a time this Advertisement touching *Maximilian*'s Poverty and Disability.

By this time was drawn together a great and Puissant Army into the City of *London*, in which were *Thomas* Marquess of *Dorset*, *Thomas* Earl of *Arundel*, *Thomas* Earl of *Derby*, *George* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Edmond* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Edward* Earl of *Devonshire*, *George* Earl of *Kent*, the Earl of *Essex*, *Thomas* Earl of *Ormond*, with a great number of Barons, Knights, and principal Gentlemen; and amongst them *Richard Thomas*, much noted for the brave Troops that he brought out of *Wales*; The Army rising in the whole to the number of Five and twenty Thousand Foot, and Sixteen Hundred Horse. Over which, the King (constant in his accustom'd Trust and Imployment) made *Jasper* Duke of *Bedford*, and *John* Earl of *Oxford*, Generals under his own Person. The 9th of *September*, in the Eighth Year of his Reign, he departed from *Greenwich* towards the Sea; all Men wondring that he took that Season (being so near Winter) to begin the War; and some thereupon gathering it was a Sign that the War would not be long. Nevertheless, the King gave out the contrary, thus: *That he intended not to make a Summer Business of it, but a resolute War (without term prefixed) until he recover'd* France; *it skilled not much when he began it; especially having* Calice *at his back; where he might Winter, if the reason of the War so required.* The 6th of *October*, he Imbark'd at *Sandwich*; and the same Day took Land at *Calice*; which was the Rendezvous where all his Forces were assigned to meet. But in this his Journey towards the Sea side (wherein, for the Cause that we shall now speak of, he hover'd so much the longer) he had receiv'd Letters from the Lord *Cordes*; who the hotter he was against the *English* in time of War, had the more credit in a Negociation of Peace, and besides was held a Man open, and of good Faith. In which Letters there was made an Overture

K. *Henry's* Voyage to *France.*

1491. ture of Peace from the *French* King, with ſuch Conditions, as were ſomewhat to the King's Taſte: but this was carried at the firſt with wonderful Secrecy. The King was no ſooner come to *Calice*, but the Calm Winds of Peace began to blow. For, firſt, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors return'd out of *Flanders* from *Maximilian*; and certified the King, that he was not to hope for any Aid from *Maximilian*, for that he was altogether unprovided: His Will was good; but he lacked Money. And this was made known and ſpread through the Army. And altho' the *Engliſh* were therewithal nothing diſmay'd; and that it be the manner of Soldiers, *upon bad News to Speak the more Bravely*; yet nevertheleſs it was a kind of Preparative to a Peace. Inſtantly in the neck of this (as the King had laid it) came News that *Ferdinando* and *Iſabella*, Kings of *Spain*, had concluded a Peace with King *Charles*; and that *Charles* had reſtor'd unto them the Counties of *Rouſſignon* and *Perpignian*, which formerly were mortgaged by *John* King of *Arragon* (*Ferdinando*'s Father) unto *France*, for Three hundred Thouſand Crowns: which Debt was alſo upon this Peace, by *Charles* clearly releaſed. This came alſo handſomly to put on the Peace: both becauſe ſo Porent a Confederate was fallen off and becauſe it was a fair Example of Peace bought; ſo as the King ſhould not be the ſole Merchant in this Peace. Upon theſe Airs of Peace, the King was content, that the Biſhop of *Exeter* and the Lord *Daubigney*, (Governour of *Calice*) ſhould give a Meeting unto the Lord *Cordes*, for the Treaty of a Peace. But himſelf nevertheleſs, and his Army, the 15th of *October* removed from *Calice*, and in four days March ſat down before *Bulloigne*.

K. *Henry* beſieges *Bulloigne*.

During this Siege of *Bulloigne* (which continued near a Month) there paſſed no memorable Accident of War; only Sir *John Savage*, a valiant Captain was Slain, riding about the Walls of the Town to take a View. The Town was both well fortify'd and well mann'd; yet it was diſtreſſed, and ready for an Aſſault. Which if it had been given (as was thought) would have coſt much Blood; but yet the Town would have been carried in the End. Mean while, a Peace was concluded by the Commiſſioners, to continue for both the Kings Lives Where there was no Article of Importance; being in effect rather a Bargain than a Treaty. For, all things remained as they were; ſave that there ſhould be paid to the King Seven hundred Forty five Thouſand Ducats in preſent, for his Charges in that Journey; and Five and twenty Thouſand Crowns yearly, for his Charges ſuſtained in the Aids of the *Britons*. For which Annual, tho' he had *Maximilian* Bound before for thoſe Charges, yet he counted the Alteration of the Hand, as much as the Principal Debt. And beſides, it was left ſomewhat indefinitely, when it ſhould Determine or Expire: Which made the *Engliſh* eſteem it as a Tribute carried under fair Terms. And the truth is, it was paid both to the King, and to his Son King *Henry* VIII. longer than it could continue upon any Computation of Charges. There were alſo aſſign'd by the *French* King, unto all the King's principal Counſellors great Penſions, beſides rich Gifts for the preſent. Which whether the King did permit to ſave his own Purſe from Rewards, or to communicate the Envy of a Buſineſs that was diſpleaſing to his People, was diverſly interpreted. For certainly, the King had no great fancy to own this Peace. And therefore, a little before it was concluded, he had under-hand procur'd ſome of his beſt Captains, and Men of War, to adviſe him to a Peace under their Hands, in an earneſt manner, in the Nature of a Supplication. But the truth is, this Peace was welcome to both Kings. To *Charles*, for that it aſſured unto him the Poſſeſſion of *Britain*, and freed the Enterprize of *Naples*. To *Henry*, for that it fill'd his Coffers; and that he foreſaw at that time a Storm of inward Troubles coming upon him; which preſently after brake forth. But it gave no leſs Diſcontent to the Nobility, and principal Perſons of the Army; who had many of them ſold or engaged their Eſtates upon the Hopes of the War. They ſtuck not to ſay, *That the King cared not to plume his Nobility and People, to feather himſelf*. And ſome made themſelves merry with that the King had ſaid in Parliament: *That after War was once begun, he doubted not but to make it pay it ſelf*; ſaying he had kept Promiſe.

1491.

1862500 *l.* Sterling.

The *Fr.* King buys a Peace of K. *Henry*.

The *Fr.* K gives large gifts to King *Henry*'s Officers.

The Kings Device to divert the Peoples Hatred.

Having riſen from *Bulloigne*, he went to *Calice*, where he ſtay'd ſome time. From whence alſo he wrote Letters, * (which was a Courteſy that he ſometimes uſed) to the Mayor of *London*, and Aldermen his Brethren; half bragging, what great Sums he had obtain'd for the Peace; knowing well, that full Coffers of the King is ever good News to *London*. And better News it would have been, if their Benevolence had been but a Loan. And upon the 17th of *December* following, he return'd to *Weſtminſter*, where he kept his *Chriſtmas*.

* Dated the 9th of *November* 1492. The King writes bragging Letters to the Lord Mayor.

Soon after the King's Return, he ſent the Order of the Garter, † to *Alphonſo* Duke of *Calabria*, eldeſt Son to *Ferdinando* King of *Naples*; an Honour ſought by that Prince, to hold him up in the Eyes of the *Italians*; Who, expecting the Arms of *Charles*, made great Account of the Amity of *England* for a Bridle to *France*. It was received by *Alphonſo* with all the Ceremony and Pomp that could be deviſed; as things uſe to be carried, that are intended for Opinion. It was ſent by *Urſwick*; upon whom the King beſtow'd this Ambaſſage, to help him, after many dry Employments.

† By *Urſwick* his Chaplain.

At this time the King began again to be haunted with Sprites, by the Magick and curious Arts of the Lady *Margaret*: Who raiſed up the Ghoſt of *Richard* Duke of *York*, ſecond Son to King *Edward* IV. to walk and vex the King. This was a finer Counterfeit Stone than *Lambert Symnell*, better done, and worn upon greater Hands; being graced after with the wearing of a King of *France*, and a King of *Scotland*, not of the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* only. And for *Symnell*, there was not much in him, more than that he was a handſome Boy, and did not ſhame his Robes. But this Youth (of whom we are now to ſpeak) was ſuch a Mercurial, as the like hath ſeldom been known, and could make his own Part if at any time he chanc'd to be out. Wherefore, this being one of the ſtrangeſt Examples of a Perſonation that ever was in Elder or Later Times; it deſerveth to be diſcovered, and related at the full: Altho' the King's manner of ſhewing things, by Pieces and by Dark Lights, hath ſo muffled it, that it hath left it almoſt as a Myſtery to this Day.

1492.

The riſe of the Counterfeit *Perkin*.

The Lady *Margaret* (whom the King's Friends call'd *Juno*, becauſe ſhe was to him as *Juno* was to *Æneas*, ſtirring both Heaven and Hell to do him Miſchief) for a Foundation of her particular Practices againſt him, did continually, by all means poſſible, nouriſh, maintain, and divulge the flying Opinion, That *Richard* Duke of *York* (ſecond Son to *Edward* IV.) was not murther'd in the *Tower* (as was given out) but ſa-

ved

1492. ved alive: For that thoſe who were employ'd in that barbarous Fact, having deſtroy'd the elder Brother, were ſtricken with Remorſe and Compaſſion towards the younger, and ſet him privily at liberty to ſeek his Fortune. This Lure ſhe caſt abroad, thinking that this Fame and Belief (together with the freſh Example of *Lambert Simnell*) would draw at one time or other ſome Birds to ſtrike upon it. She uſed likewiſe a further Diligence, not committing all to Chance. For, ſhe had ſome ſecret Eſpials (like to the Turks Commiſſioners for Children of Tribute) to look abroad for handſom and graceful Youths, to make *Plantagenets*, and Dukes of *York*. At the laſt ſhe did light on one, in whom all things met, as one could wiſh, to ſerve her turn, for a Counterfeit of *Richard* Duke of *York*.

This was *Perkin Warbeck*, whoſe Adventures we ſhall now deſcribe. For, firſt, the Years agreed well. Secondly, He was a Youth of fine Favour and Shape; but more than that, he had ſuch a crafty and bewitching Faſhion, both to move Pity and to induce Belief, as was like a kind of Faſcination and Inchantment to thoſe that ſaw him, or heard him. Thirdly, he had been from his Childhood ſuch a Wanderer, or (as the King called him) ſuch a Land loper, as it was extreme hard to hunt out his Neſt and Parents. Neither again could any Man, by Company or Converſing with him, be able to ſay or detect well what he was; he did ſo flit from place to place. Laſtly, There was a Circumſtance (which is mentioned by one that wrote in the ſame time) that is very likely to have made ſomewhat to the Matter, which is, That King *Edward* IV. was his Godfather. Which, as it is ſomewhat ſuſpicious, for a wanton Prince to become Goſſip in ſo mean a Houſe; and might make a Man think that he might indeed have in him ſome baſe Blood of the Houſe of *York*; ſo at the leaſt (tho' that were not) it might give the occaſion to the Boy, in being call'd King *Edward*'s Godſon, or perhaps in ſport King *Edward*'s Son, to entertain ſuch Thoughts into his Head. For, Tutor he had none (for ought that appears) as *Lambert Simnell* had, until he came unto the Lady *Margaret*, who inſtructed him.

His Perſon.

His Cunning.

King *Edward* the 4th, his Godfather.

Thus therefore it came to paſs: There was a Townſman of *Tourney*, that had born Office in that Town, whoſe Name was (*a*) *John Osbeck* a Convert Jew, married to *Catherine de Faro*; whoſe Buſineſs drew him to live for a time with his Wife at *London*, in King *Edward* IV's days. During which time he had a Son by her; and being known in Court, the King either out of a religious Nobleneſs, becauſe he was a Convert, or upon ſome private Acquaintance, did him the Honour as to be Godfather to his Child, and named him *Peter*. But afterwards proving a Dainty and Effeminate Youth, he was commonly call'd by the Diminutive of his Name, *Peter-Kin*, or *Perkin*. For, as for the Name of *Warbecke* it was given him when they did but gueſs at it, before Examinations had been taken. But yet he had been ſo much talk'd on by that Name, as it ſtuck by him after his true Name of *Osbecke* was known. While he was a young Child, his Parents return'd with him to *Tourney*. Then was he placed in a Houſe of a Kinſman of his, call'd *John Stenbeck* at *Antwerp*; and ſo roved up and down between *Antwerp* and *Tourney*, and other Towns of *Flanders*, for a good time; living much in *Engliſh* Company, and having the *Engliſh* Tongue perfect. In which time being grown a comely Youth, he was brought by ſome of the Eſpials of the Lady *Margaret* unto her Preſence. Who viewing him well, and ſeeing that he had a Face and Perſonage, that would bear a Noble Fortune: And finding him otherwiſe of a fine Spirit and winning Behaviour, thought ſhe had now found a curious Piece of Marble, to carve out an Image of a Duke of *York*. She kept him by her a great while; but with extreme Secrecy. The while, ſhe inſtructed him, by many Cabinet-Conferences. Firſt, In Princely Behaviour and Geſture; teaching him how he ſhould keep State, and yet with a modeſt Senſe of his Misfortunes. Then ſhe inform'd him of all the Circumſtances and Particulars that concern'd the Perſon of *Richard* Duke of *York*, which he was to act: Deſcribing unto him the Perſonages, Lineaments, and Features of the King and Queen his pretended Parents; and of his Brother, and Siſters, and divers others that were neareſt him in his Childhood; together with all Paſſages, ſome ſecret ſome common, that were fit for a Child's Memory, until the Death of King *Edward*. Then ſhe added the Particulars of the Time, from the King's Death, until he and his Brother were committed to the *Tower*, as well during the time he was Abroad, as while he was in Sanctuary. As for the times while he was in the *Tower*, and the manner of his Brother's Death, and his own Eſcape; ſhe knew they were things that a very few could controul. And therefore ſhe taught him only to tell a ſmooth and likely Tale of thoſe Matters; warning him not to vary from it. It was agreed likewiſe between them, what Account he ſhould give of his Peregrination abroad; intermixing many things which were true, and ſuch as they knew others could teſtifie, for the Credit of the reſt; But ſtill making them hang together, with the Part he was to play. She taught him likewiſe how to avoid ſundry captious and tempting Queſtions, which were like to asked of him. But, in this ſhe found him of himſelf ſo nimble and ſhifting, as ſhe truſted much to his own Wit and Readineſs; and therefore labour'd the leſs in it. Laſtly, ſhe raiſed his Thoughts with ſome preſent Rewards, and further Promiſes; ſetting before him chiefly the Glory and Fortune of a Crown, if things went well; and a ſure Refuge to her Court, if the worſt ſhould fall. After ſuch time as ſhe thought he was perfect in his Leſſon, ſhe began to caſt with her ſelf from what Coaſt this Blazing-Star ſhould firſt appear, and at what time it muſt be upon the Horizon of *Ireland*; for there had the like Meteor ſtrong influence before: The time of the Apparition to be, when the King ſhould be engaged into a War with *France*. But well ſhe knew, that whatſoever ſhould come from her, would be held ſuſpected. And therefore, if he ſhould go out of *Flanders* immediately into *Ireland*, ſhe might be thought to have ſome hand in it. And beſides, the time was not yet ripe; for that the two Kings were then upon Terms of Peace. Therefore ſhe wheel'd about; and to put all Suſpicion afar off, and loth to keep him any longer by her (for that ſhe knew Secrets are not long liv'd) ſhe ſent him unknown into *Portugal*, with the Lady *Brampton*, (*b*) an *Engliſh* Lady, that Embark'd for *Portugal* at that time;

1492. He is brought to the Prince's *Margaret*.

The Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*'s Inſtructions to *Perkin*.

His Parents.

Why called *Perkin*.

His Education.

(*a*) His true Name was *Peter Oſbeck*; he was not unlike *Richard* Duke of *York*, both in Body and Countenance; he was Born at *Tourney* in *Flanders*. Whoſe Father, *John Osbeck*, was Controuler of that City, and his Mother *Catherine de Faro*, who could ſpeak *Engliſh*. Sir *J. Ware*, Ann. *Hen.* VII. *Cap.* 6. (*b*) Sir *Richard Brampton*'s Wife.

with

1492. with ſome *Privado* of her own, to have an Eye upon him: and there he was to remain, and to expect her further Directions. In the mean time ſhe omitted not to prepare things for his better Welcom, and Accepting, not only in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, but in the Court of *France*. He continued in *Portugal* about a Year; and by that time, the King of *England* called his Parliament (as hath been ſaid) and declared open War againſt *France*. Now did the Sign reign, and the Conſtellation was come, under which *Perkin* would appear. And therefore he was ſtraight ſent unto by the Dutcheſs to go for *Ireland*, according to the firſt Deſignment. In *Ireland* he did arrive at the Town of *Cork*. When he was come thither, his own Tale was (when he made his Confeſſion afterwards) That the *Iriſhmen*, finding him in good Clothes, came flocking about him, and bare him down, that he was the Duke of *Clarence*, that had been there before: And after, that he was *Richard* the IIId's baſe Son: And laſtly, that he was *Richard* Duke of *York*, ſecond Son to *Edward* IV: But that he (for his part) renounced all theſe things, and offered to ſwear upon the holy Evangeliſts, that he was no ſuch Man; till at laſt they forced it upon him and bad him fear nothing, and ſo forth. But the truth is, that immediately upon his coming into *Ireland*, he took upon him the ſaid Perſon of the Duke of *York*, and drew unto him Complices, and Partakers, by all the Means he could deviſe: Inſomuch, as he wrote his Letters unto the Earls of *Deſmond* and *Kildare*, to come in to his Aid, and be of his Party; the Originals of which Letters are yet extant.

Frion, K. *Henry*'s Secretary for the *French* Tongue, joins with *Perkin*.

Somewhat before this time, the Dutcheſs had gained unto her, a near Servant of King *Henry*'s own, one *Stephen Frion*, his Secretary for the *French* Tongue; an active Man, but turbulent and diſcontented. This *Frion* had fled over to *Charles* the *French* King, and put himſelf into his Service, at ſuch time as he began to be in open Enmity with the King. Now King *Charles*, when he underſtood of the Perſon and Attempts of *Perkin* (ready of himſelf to embrace all Advantages againſt the King of *England*; inſtigated by *Frion*, and formerly prepared by the Lady *Margaret*) forthwith diſpatch'd one *Lucas*, and this *Frion*, in the Nature of Ambaſſadors to *Perkin*; to adverti ſe him of the King's good Inclination to him, and that he was reſolved to Aid him to recover his Right againſt King *Henry* an Uſurper of *England*, and an Enemy of *France*; and wiſh'd him to come over unto him at *Paris*. *Perkin* thought himſelf in Heaven now that he was invited by ſo great a King, in ſo honourable a manner: and imparting unto his Friends in *Ireland* for their Incouragement, how Fortune called him, and what great hopes he had, ſail'd preſently into *France*. When he was come to the Court of *France*, the King received him with great Honour; ſaluted, and ſtiled him by the Name of the Duke of *York*; lodged him, and accommodated him in great State: And the better to give him the Repreſentation and the Countenance of a Prince, aſſign'd him a Guard for his Perſon, whereof the Lord *Congreſall* was Captain. The Courtiers likewiſe (tho' it be ill mocking with the *French*) applied themſelves to their King's Bent, ſeeing there was Reaſon of State of it. At the ſame time there repair'd unto *Perkin* divers *Engliſhmen* of Quality; Sir *George Nevile*, Sir *John Taylor*, and about One hundred more; and amongſt the reſt, this *Stephen Frion*, of whom we ſpake; who follow'd his Fortune both then and for a long time after, and was indeed his principal Counſellor, and Inſtrument in all his Proceedings. But all this, on the *French* King's part, was but a Trick; the better to bow King *Henry* to a Peace. And therefore upon the firſt Grain of Incenſe that was ſacrificed upon the Altar of Peace at *Bulloigne*, *Perkin* was ſmoked away. Yet would not the *French* King deliver him up to King *Henry* (as he was laboured to do) for his Honour's ſake, but warned him away, and diſmiſſed him. And *Perkin* on his part was ready to be gone, doubting he might be caught up under-hand. He therefore took his way into *Flanders*, unto the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*; pretending, that having been variouſly toſs'd by Fortune, he directed his courſe thither, as to a ſafe Harbour: No ways taking knowledge that he had ever been there before, but as if that had been his firſt Addreſs. The Dutcheſs, on the other part, made it as new and ſtrange to ſee him: pretending (at the firſt) that ſhe was taught and made wiſe by the Example of *Lambert Simnell*, how ſhe did admit of any Counterfeit Stuff; tho' even in that (ſhe ſaid) ſhe was not fully ſatisfied. She pretended at the firſt (and that was ever in the preſence of others) to poſe and ſift him, thereby to try whether he were indeed the very Duke of *York*, or no. But ſeeming to receive full Satisfaction by his Anſwers, ſhe then feign'd herſelf to be tranſported with a kind of Aſtoniſhment, mixt of Joy and Wonder, at his miraculous Deliverance; receiving him, as if he were riſen from Death to Life; and inferring, that God, who had in ſuch wonderful manner preſerv'd him from Death, did likewiſe reſerve him for ſome great and proſperous Fortune. As for his Diſmiſſion out of *France*, they interpreted it not, as if he were detected or neglected for a counterfeit Deceiver; but contrariwiſe, that it did ſhew manifeſtly unto the World, that he was ſome great Matter; for that it was his abandoning, that (in effect) made the Peace: being no more but the Sacrificing of a poor diſtreſſed Prince unto the Utility and Ambition of two mighty Monarchs. Neither was *Perkin* for his part wanting to himſelf, either in gracious and princely Behaviour, or in ready and appoſite Anſwers, or in contenting and careſſing thoſe that did apply themſelves unto him, or in pretty Scorn and Diſdain to thoſe that ſeem'd to doubt of him; but in all things did notably acquit himſelf: Inſomuch as it was generally believed (as well amongſt great Perſons, as amongſt the Vulgar) that he was indeed Duke *Richard*. Nay, himſelf, with long and continual counterfeiting, and with oft telling a Lye, was turn'd by habit almoſt into the thing he ſeem'd to be; and from a Lyer to a Believer. The Dutcheſs therefore (as in a caſe out of doubt) did him all Princely Honour, calling him always by the Name of her Nephew, and giving him the delicate Title of *The white Roſe* of *England*; and appointed him a Guard of Thirty Perſons, Halberdiers, clad in a Party-coloured Livery of Murrey and Blew, to attend his Perſon. Her Court likewiſe, and generally the *Dutch* and Strangers in their uſage towards him, expreſſed no leſs Reſpect.

1493. *Perkin* diſmiſs'd by K. *Charles*.

The *Fr.* King favours *Perkin*.

The News hereof came blazing and thundering over into *England*, that the Duke of *York* was ſure alive. As for the Name of *Perkin Warbeck*, it was not at that time come to light, but all the News ran upon the Duke of *York*; that he had been entertained in *Ireland*, bought and ſold in *France*, and was now plainly avowed, and in great Honour in *Flanders*. Theſe Fames took hold of divers; in ſome upon Diſcontent, in ſome upon Ambition, in ſome upon Levity and Deſire of Change, and in ſome few upon Conſcience and Belief, but in moſt upon Simplicity; and

1493. and in divers out of Dependance upon ſome of the better ſort, who did in ſecret favour and nouriſh theſe Bruits. And it was not long, ere theſe Rumours of Novelty had begotten others of Scandal and Murmur againſt the King and his Government; taxing him for a great Taxer of his People, and Diſcountenancer of his Nobility. The Loſs of *Brittain*, and the Peace with *France* were not forgotten. But chiefly they fell upon the wrong that he did his Queen, in that he did not Reign in her Right. Wherefore they ſaid, that God had now brought to light a Maſculine-Branch of the Houſe of *York*, that would not be at his Curteſy, howſoever he did depreſs his poor Lady. And yet (as it fareth in things which are current with the Multitude, and which they affect) theſe Fames grew ſo general, as the Authors were loſt in the Generality of Speakers. They being like running Weeds, that have no certain Root; or like Footings up and down, impoſſible to be traced. But after a while, theſe ill Humours drew to an Head, and ſettled ſecretly in ſome eminent Perſons; which were Sir *William Stanley*, Lord Chamberlain of the King's Houſhold, the Lord *Fitzwater*, Sir *Simon Mountfort*, Sir *Thomas Thwaites*. Theſe entred into a ſecret Conſpiracy to favour Duke *Richard*'s Title. Nevertheleſs none engaged their Fortunes in this Buſineſs openly, but two; Sir *Robert Clifford* and Maſter *William Barley*, who ſail'd over into *Flanders*, ſent indeed from the Party of the Conſpirators here, to underſtand the Truth of thoſe things that paſſed there, and not without ſome help of Monies from hence; proviſionally to be deliver'd, if they found and were ſatisfied that there was Truth in theſe pretences. The Perſon of Sir *Robert Clifford* (being a Gentleman of Fame and Family) was extremely Welcome to the Lady *Margaret*. Who after ſhe had Conference with him, brought him to the ſight of *Perkin*, with whom he had often Speech and Diſcourſe. So that in the end won either by the Dutcheſs to affect, or by *Perkin* to believe, he wrote back into *England*, that he knew the Perſon of *Richard* Duke of *York*, as well as he knew his own; and that this Young Man was undoubtedly he. By this means all things grew prepared to Revolt and Sedition here, and the Conſpiracy came to a Correſpondence between *Flanders* and *England*.

The People murmurs.

Conſpirators for *Perkin*.

Sir *Robert Clifford* flies to *Perkin*.

The King on his part was not aſleep; but to arm or levy Forces yet, he thought would but ſhew Fear, and do this Idol too much Worſhip. Nevertheleſs the Ports he did ſhut up, or at leaſt kept a Watch on them, that none ſhould paſs to or fro that was ſuſpected. But for the reſt, he choſe to work by *Countermine*. His purpoſes were two; The one, to lay open the Abuſe; the other, to break the Knot of the Conſpirators. To detect the Abuſe, there were but two ways: The firſt, to make it manifeſt to the World that the Duke of *York* was indeed murther'd: The other to prove, that were he Dead or Alive, yet *Perkin* was a Counterfeit. For the firſt, thus it ſtood. There were but four Perſons that could ſpeak upon Knowledge to the Murther of the Duke of *York*: Sir *James Tirrel* (the employ'd-man from King *Richard*) *John Dighton*, and *Miles Forreſt*, his Servants (the two Butchers or Tormentors) and the Prieſt of the *Tower*, that buried them. Of which four, *Miles Foreſt*, and the Prieſt were dead, and there remain'd alive only Sir *James Tirrel* and *John Dighton*. Theſe two the King cauſed to be committed to the *Tower*, and examined touching the manner of the Death of the two innocent Princes. They agreed both in a Tale, (as the King gave out) to this effect: That King *Richard* having directed his Warrant for the putting of them to Death to *Brackenbury* the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, was by him refuſed. Whereupon the King directed his Warrant to Sir *James Tirrel*, to receive the Keys of the *Tower* from the Lieutenant (for the ſpace of a Night) for the King's ſpecial Service. That Sir *James Tirrel* accordingly repair'd to the *Tower* by Night, attended by his two Servants aforenam'd, whom he had choſen for that purpoſe, That himſelf ſtood at the Stair-foot, and ſent theſe two Villains to execute the Murder. That they ſmother'd them in their Bed; and that done, call'd up their Maſter to ſee their naked Bodies, which they had laid forth. That they were buried under the Stairs, and ſome Stones caſt upon them. That when the Report was made to King *Richard*, that his Will was done, he gave Sir *James Tirrel* great Thanks, but took Exception to the Place of their Burial, being too baſe for them that were King's Children. Whereupon another Night, by the King's Warrant renew'd, their Bodies were remov'd by the Prieſt of the *Tower*, and buried by him in ſome Place, which (by means of the Prieſt's Death ſoon after) could not be known. Thus much was then delivered abroad, to the Effect of thoſe Examinations. But the King nevertheleſs made no uſe of them in any of his Declarations; whereby (as it ſeems) thoſe Examinations left the Buſineſs ſomewhat perplex'd. And as for Sir *James Tirrel*, he was ſoon after beheaded in the *Tower-Yard*, for other matters of Treaſon *. But *John Dighton* (who it ſeemeth ſpake beſt for the King) was forthwith ſet at Liberty, and was the principal Means of divulging this Tradition. Therefore this kind of Proof being left ſo naked, the King uſed the more Diligence in the latter, for the tracing of *Perkin*. To this purpoſe, he ſent abroad into ſeveral Parts, and eſpecially into *Flanders*, divers ſecret and nimble Scouts and Spies; ſome feigning themſelves to fly over unto *Perkin*, and to adhere unto him; and ſome under other pretences, to learn, ſearch, and diſcover all the Circumſtances and Particulars of *Perkin*'s Parents, Birth, Perſon, Travels up and down; and in brief, to have a Journal (as it were) of his Life and Doings. He furniſh'd theſe his imploy'd men liberally with Money, to draw on and reward Intelligences: giving them alſo in Charge, to advertiſe continually what they found, and nevertheleſs ſtill to go on. And ever as one Advertiſement and Diſcovery call'd up another, he employ'd other new Men, where the buſineſs did require it. Others he employ'd in a more ſpecial Nature and Truſt, to be his Pioneers in the main Counter-mine. Theſe were directed to inſinuate themſelves into the Familiarity and Confidence of the principal Perſons of the Party in *Flanders*, and ſo to learn what Aſſociates they had, and Correſpondents, either here in *England*, or Abroad; and how far every one ingaged, and what new ones they meant afterwards to try, or board. And as this for the Perſons; ſo for the Actions themſelves, to diſcover to the bottom (as they could) the utmoſt of *Perkin* and the Conſpirators their Intentions, Hopes, and Practices. Theſe latter *Beſt-be-truſt Spies* had ſome of them further Inſtructions, to practiſe and draw off the beſt Friends and Servants of *Perkin*, by making Remonſtrance to them, how weakly his Enterprize and Hopes were built, and with how prudent and potent a King they had to deal; and to reconcile them to the King, with Promiſe of Pardon, and good Conditions of Reward. And (above the reſt) to aſſail, ſap, and work into the Conſtancy of Sir

1493. *Brackenbury* refuſ'd to murder K. *Edw.* the Fourth's two Sons.

Sir *James Tirrel* employ'd by K *Richard* to murder the Princes.

John Dighton one of the murderers of the two Young Princes.

* Sir *James Tirrel* was not beheaded till ten Years afterward, *Sep.* 209.

1494. Sir *Robert Clifford*; and to win him (if they could) being the Man that knew moſt of their Secrets, and who being won away, would moſt appall and diſcourage the reſt, and in a manner break the Knot.

There is a ſtrange Tradition; That the King being loſt in a Wood of Suſpicions, and not knowing whom to truſt, had both Intelligence with the Confeſſors and Chaplains of divers great Men, and for the better Credit of his Eſpials abroad with the contrary Side, did uſe to have them curſed at *Pauls* (by Name) amongſt the bead-roll of the King's Enemies, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Times. Theſe Eſpials plied their Charge ſo roundly, as the King had an Anatomy of *Perkin* alive; and was likewiſe well informed of the particular correſpondent Conſpirators in *England*, and many other Myſteries were reveal'd; and Sir *Robert Clifford* in eſpecial won to be aſſured to the King, and induſtrious and officious for his Service. The King therefore (receiving a rich Return of his Diligence, and great Satisfaction touching a number of Particulars) firſt divulged and ſpread abroad the Impoſture and Juggling of *Perkin*'s Perſon and Travels, with the Circumſtances thereof throughout the Realm. Not by Proclamation (becauſe things were yet in Examination, and ſo might receive the more or the leſs) but by Court-fames, which commonly print better than printed Proclamations. Then thought he it alſo time to ſend an Ambaſſage unto Archduke *Philip* into *Flanders*, for the abandoning and diſmiſſing of *Perkin*. Herein he employ'd Sir *Edward Poynings* and Sir *William Warham*, Doctor of the Canon-Law. The Archduke was then Young, and governed by his Council: before whom the Ambaſſadors had Audience, and Dr. *Warham* ſpake in this manner.

A Cuſtom of Curſing the King's Enemies at *Pauls* Croſs.

Sir *Robert Clifford* is prevailed upon to ſerve King *Henry*.

Thoſe Ambaſſadors went to *Flanders* before Sir *Robert Clifford* ſided with the King. *Hol.*

'MY Lords, the King our Maſter is very ſorry, that *England* and your Country here of *Flanders* having been counted as Man and Wife for ſo long time, now this Country of all others ſhould be the Stage, where a baſe Counterfeit ſhould play the part of a King of *England*; not only to his Grace's Diſquiet and Diſhonour, but to the Scorn and Reproach of all Sovereign Princes. To counterfeit the dead Image of a King in his Coyn, is an high Offence by all Laws: But to counterfeit the living Image of a King in his Perſon, exceedeth all Falſifications, except it ſhould be that of *Mahomet*, or an Anti-Chriſt, that counterfeit Divine Honour. The King hath too great an Opinion of this Sage Council, to think that any of you is caught with this Fable (though way may be given by you to the Paſſion of ſome) the thing in it ſelf is ſo improbable. To ſet Teſtimonies aſide of the Death of Duke *Richard*, which the King hath upon Record, plain and infallible (becauſe they may be thought to be in the King's own Power) let the thing teſtify for it ſelf. Senſe and Reaſon no Power can command. Is it poſſible (trow you) that King *Richard* ſhould damn his Soul, and foul his Name with ſo abominable a Murther, and yet not mend his Caſe? Or do you think, that Men of Blood (that were his Inſtruments) did turn to Pity in the midſt of their Execution? Whereas in cruel and ſavage Beaſts, and Men alſo, the firſt Draught of Blood doth yet make them more fierce, and enraged. Do you not know, that the Bloody Executioners of Tyrants do go to ſuch Errands, with an Halter about their Neck: So that if they perform not, they are ſure to dye for it? And do you think, that theſe Men would hazard their own Lives, for ſparing anothers? Admit they ſhould have ſaved him: What ſhould they have done with him? Turn him into *London* Streets, that the Watch-men or any Paſſenger that ſhould light upon him, might carry him before a Juſtice, and ſo all come to light? Or ſhould they have kept him by them ſecretly? That ſurely would have required a great deal of Care, Charge, and continual Fears. But (my Lords) I labour too much in a clear Buſineſs. The King is ſo wiſe, and hath ſo good Friends abroad, as now he knoweth Duke *Perkin* from his Cradle. And becauſe he is a great Prince, if you have any good Poet here, he can help him with Notes to write his Life, and to parallel him with *Lambert Simnel*, now the King's Faulconer. And therefore (to ſpeak plainly to your Lordſhips) it is the ſtrangeſt thing in the World, that the Lady *Margaret* (excuſe us, if we name her, whoſe Malice to the King is both cauſeleſs and endleſs) ſhould now when ſhe is old, at the time when other Women give over Childbearing, bring forth two ſuch Monſters; being not the Birth of nine or ten Months, but of many Years. And whereas other Natural Mothers bring forth Children Weak, and not able to help themſelves; ſhe bringeth forth tall Striplings, able ſoon after their coming into the World, to bid Battel to mighty Kings. My Lords, we ſtay unwillingly upon this Part. We would to God, that Lady would once taſte the Joys, which God Almighty doth ſerve up unto her, in beholding her Niece to Reign in ſuch Honour, and with ſo much Royal Iſſue, which ſhe might be pleaſed to accompt as her own. The King's Requeſt unto the Arch-Duke, and your Lordſhips might be; That according to the Example of King *Charles*, who hath already diſcarded him, you would baniſh this unworthy Fellow out of your Dominions. But becauſe the King may juſtly expect more from an Antient Confederate, than from a new reconciled Enemy; he maketh his Requeſt unto you, to deliver him up into his Hands. Pirates and Impoſtures of this ſort, being fit to be accounted the common Enemies of Mankind, and no ways to be protected by the Laws of Nations.'

1494.

After ſome time of Deliberation, the Ambaſſadors received this ſhort Anſwer.

'THAT the Archduke, for the Love of King *Henry*, would in no ſort aid or aſſiſt the pretended Duke, but in all things conſerve the Amity he had with the King. But for the Dutcheſs Dowager, ſhe was abſolute in the Lands of her Dowry, and that he could not let her to diſpoſe of her own.'

The Arch-Duke's Anſwer to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors.

The King, upon the Return of the Ambaſſadors, was nothing ſatisfied with this Anſwer. For well he knew, that a Patrimonial Dowry carried no part of Sovereignty, or Command of Forces. Beſides, the Ambaſſadors told him plainly, that they ſaw the Dutcheſs had a great Party in the Arch-Duke's Council; and that howſoever it was carried in a courſe of Connivance, yet the Arch-Duke under hand gave Aid and Furtherance to *Perkin*. Wherefore (partly out of Courage, and partly out of Policy) the King forthwith baniſhed all *Flemmings* (as well their Perſons, as their Wares) out of his Kingdom;

Flemmings baniſhed.

1494. Kingdom; commanding his Subjects likewiſe (and by name his Merchant-Adventurers) which had a Reſiance in *Antwerp*, to return; tranſlating the *Mart* (which commonly followed the *Engliſh* Cloth) unto *Calice*, and embarred alſo all further Trade for the future. This the King did, being ſenſible in point of Honour, not to ſuffer a Pretender to the Crown of *England* to affront him ſo near at Hand, and he to keep Terms of Friendſhip with the Country where he did ſet up. But he had alſo a further reach: for that he knew well, that the Subjects of *Flanders* drew ſo great Commodity from the Trade of *England*, as by this *Embargo* they would ſoon wax weary of *Perkin*, and that the Tumults of *Flanders* had been ſo late and freſh, as it was no time for the Prince to diſpleaſe the People. Nevertheleſs for Form's ſake, by way of Requital, the Arch-Duke did likewiſe baniſh the *Engliſh* out of *Flanders*; which in effect was done to his Hand.

The Mart was removed the laſt Year.

Why the Mart was removed from Antwerp to Calice.

The King being well advertiſed, that *Perkin* did more truſt upon Friends and Partakers within the Realm, than upon foreign Arms, thought it behooved him to apply the Remedy where the Diſeaſe lay; and to proceed with Severity againſt ſome of the principal Conſpirators here within the Realm; thereby to purge the ill Humours in *England*, and to cool the Hopes in *Flanders*. Wherefore he cauſed to be apprehended (almoſt at an inſtant) *John Ratcliff* Lord *Fitz-water*, Sir *Simon Mountford*, Sir *Thomas Thwaites*, *William Dawbigney*, *Robert Ratcliff*, *Thomas Chreſſenor*, and *Thomas Aſtwood*. All theſe were arraigned, convicted, and condemned for High Treaſon, in adhering, and promiſing aid to *Perkin*. Of theſe, the Lord *Fitz-water* was conveyed to *Calice*, and there kept in hold, and in hope of Life, until ſoon after (either impatient, or betrayed) he dealt with his Keeper to have eſcaped, and thereupon was beheaded. But Sir *Simon Mountford*, *Robert Ratcliff*, and *William Dawbigney* were beheaded immediately after their Condemnation. The reſt were pardoned, together with many other Clerks and Laikes, amongſt which were two *Dominican* Friers, and *William Worſeley*, Dean of *Pauls*: which latter ſort paſſed Examination, but came not to publick Trial.

Sir *Simon Montfort*, and others beheaded.

The Lord Chamberlain at that time was not touched; whether it were, that the King would not ſtir too many Humours at once but (after the manner of good Phyſicians) purge the Head laſt; or that *Clifford* (from whom moſt of theſe Diſcoveries came) reſerved that Piece for his own coming over; ſignifying only to the King in the mean time, that he doubted there were ſome greater ones in the buſineſs, whereof he would give the King further accompt, when he came to his preſence.

Upon Al-hallows-day-even being now the tenth year of the King's Reign, the King's ſecond Son *Henry* was created Duke of *York*; and as well the Duke, as divers others, Noblemen, Knights Batchellours, and Gentlemen of Quality were made Knights of the *Bath*, according to the Ceremony. Upon the Morrow after Twelfth-Day, the King removed from *Weſtminſter* (where he had kept his *Chriſtmas*) to the Tower of *London*. This he did as ſoon as he had Advertiſement, that Sir *Robert Clifford* (in whoſe Boſom or Budget moſt of *Perkin*'s Secrets were layed up) was come into *England*. And the place of the Tower was choſen to that end, that if *Clifford* ſhould accuſe any of the great ones, they might without Suſpicion, or Noiſe, or ſending abroad of Warrants, be preſently attached; the Court and Priſon being within the Cincture of one Wall. After a Day or two, the King drew unto him a ſelected Council, and admitted *Clifford* to his Preſence; who firſt fell down at his Feet, and in all humble manner craved the King's Pardon, which the King then granted, though he were indeed ſecretly aſſured of his Life before. Then commanded to tell his Knowledge, he did amongſt many others (of himſelf, not interrogated) appeach Sir *William Stanley*, the Lord Chamberlain of the King's Houſhold.

Knights of the *Bath* Created.

1494.

The King ſeemed to be much amazed at the naming of this Lord, as if he had heard the News of ſome ſtrange and fearful Prodigy. To hear a Man that had done him ſervice of ſo high a nature, as to ſave his Life, and ſet the Crown upon his Head; a Man, that enjoyed by his Favour and Advancement ſo great a Fortune, both in Honour and Riches; a Man, that was tied unto him in ſo near a Band of Alliance, his Brother having married the King's Mother; and laſtly, a Man, to whom he had committed the truſt of his Perſon, in making him his Chamberlain. That this Man, no ways diſgraced, no ways diſcontent, no ways put in Fear, ſhould be falſe unto him. *Clifford* was required to ſay over again, and again, the Particulars of his Accuſation, being warned, that in a matter ſo unlikely, and that concerned ſo great a Servant of the King's, he ſhould not in any wiſe go too far. But the King finding that he did ſadly and conſtantly (without Heſitation or varying, and with thoſe Civil Proteſtations that were fit) ſtand to that that he had ſaid, offering to juſtifie it upon his Soul and Life; he cauſed him to be removed. And after he had not a little bemoaned himſelf unto his Council there preſent, gave order that Sir *William Stanley* ſhould be reſtrained in his own Chamber, where he lay before, in the Square Tower. And the next day he was examined by the Lords. Upon his Examination he denied little of that wherewith he was charged, nor endeavoured much to excuſe or extenuate *his* Fault. So that (not very wiſely) thinking to make his Offence leſs by Confeſſion, he made it enough for Condemnation. It was conceived, that he truſted much to his former Merits, and the Intereſt that his Brother had in the King. But thoſe helps were over-weighed by divers things that made againſt him, and were predominant in the King's Nature and Mind. Firſt, an Over-merit; for convenient Merit, unto which Reward may eaſily reach, doth beſt with Kings: next the ſenſe of his Power; for the King thought, that he that could ſet him up, was the more dangerous to pull him down. Thirdly, the Glimmering of a Confiſcation; for he was the Richeſt Subject for Value in the Kingdom; there being found in his Caſtle of *Holt* forty Thouſand Marks in ready Money, and Plate, beſides Jewels, Houſhold-Stuff, Stocks upon his Grounds, and other perſonal Eſtate, exceeding great. And for his Revenue in Land and Fee, it was three thouſand Pounds a Year of old Rent, a great matter in thoſe times. Laſtly, the Nature of the Time; for if the King had been out of Fear of his own Eſtate, it was not unlike he would have ſpared his Life. But the Cloud of ſo great a Rebellion hanging over his Head, made him work ſure. Wherefore after ſome ſix Weeks diſtance of time, which the King did honourably interpoſe, both to give ſpace to his Brother's Interceſſion, and to ſhew to the World, that he had a Conflict with himſelf what he ſhould do; he was arraigned of High-Treaſon, and condemned, and preſently after beheaded.

Sir William Stanley is appeach'd of Treaſon.

Sir William Stanley impriſoned.

His Confeſſion.

The King aims at the Confiſcation of Sir William Stanleys Eſtate.

On the 14th of February, 1495. Sir William Stanley beheaded.

Yet

1495. Yet is it to this Day but in dark Memory, both what the caſe of this noble perſon was, for which he ſuffered, and what likewiſe was the Ground and Cauſe of his Defection, and the Alienation of his Heart from the King. His caſe was ſaid to be this; That in Diſcourſe between Sir *Robert Clifford* and him, he had ſaid; *That if he were ſure, that that young Man were King Edward's Son, he would never bear Arms againſt him.* This caſe ſeems ſomewhat an hard caſe, both in reſpect of the conditional, and in reſpect of the other words. But for the conditional, it ſeems the Judges of that time (who were learned Men, and the Three chief of them of the Privy Council) thought it was a dangerous thing to admit *Ifs* and *Ands*, to qualifie Words of Treaſon; whereby every Man might expreſs his Malice, and Blanch his Danger. And it was like to the caſe (in the following Times) of *Elizabeth Barton*, the Holy Maid of *Kent*; who had ſaid, *That if King Henry the Eighth did not take Katherine his Wife again, He ſhould be deprived of his Crown, and die the Death of a Dog.* And infinite caſes may be put of like Nature. Which (it ſeemeth) the grave Judges taking into conſideration, would not admit of Treaſons upon condition. And as for the poſitive words, *That he would not bear Arms againſt King Edward's Son*; though the words ſeem calm, yet it was a plain and direct Over-ruling of the King's Title, either by the Line of *Lancaſter*, or by Act of Parliament. Which (no doubt) pierced the King more, than if *Stanley* had charged his Launce upon him in the Field. For if *Stanley* would hold that Opinion, that a Son of King *Edward* had ſtill the better Right, he being ſo principal a perſon of Authority, and Favour about the King; it was to teach all *England* to ſay as much. And therefore (as thoſe Times were) that ſpeech touched the Quick. But ſome Writers do put this out of doubt; for they ſay, that *Stanley* did expreſly promiſe to aid *Perkin*, and ſent him ſome help of Treaſure.

Conditional words not Treaſon.

Why Sir *William Stanley* fell from the King's Intereſt.

Now for the Motive of his falling off from the King; it is true, that at *Boſworth Field* the King was beſet, and in a Manner incloſed round about by the Troops of King *Richard*, and in manifeſt Danger of his Life; when this *Stanley* was ſent by his Brother, with Three thouſand Men to his Reſcue, which he performed ſo, that King *Richard* was ſlain upon the place. So as the condition of mortal Men is not capable of a greater Benefit, than the King received by the Hands of *Stanley*; being like the Benefit of *Chriſt*, at once to Save and Crown. For which Service the King gave him great Gifts, made him his Councellour and Chamberlain; and (ſomewhat contrary to his Nature) had winked at the great Spoils of *Boſworth Field*, which came almoſt wholly to this Man's Hands, to his infinite enriching. Yet nevertheleſs blown up with the conceit of his Merit, he did not think he had received good Meaſure from the King, at leaſt not preſt down and running over, as he expected. And his Ambition was ſo exorbitant, and unbounded, as he became Suitor to the King for the Earldom of *Cheſter*. Which ever being a kind of Appendage to the Principality of *Wales*, and uſing to go to the King's Son; his Suit did not only end in a Denial, but in a Diſtaſte. The King perceiving thereby, that his Deſires were intemperate, and his Cogitations vaſt, and irregular, and that his former Benefits were but cheap, and lightly regarded by him. Wherefore the King began not to brook him well. And as a little Leaven of new Diſtaſt doth commonly ſour the whole Lump of former Merit, the King's Wit began to ſuggeſt unto his paſſion that *Stanley*, at *Boſworth Field*, though he came time enough to ſave his Life, yet he ſtayed long enough to endanger it. But yet having no Matter againſt him, he continued him in his places until this his Fall. 1495.

Sir *William Stanley*'s exorbitant ambition.

After him was made Lord Chamberlain, *Giles* Lord *Dawbeny*, a Man of great Sufficiency and Valour; the more, becauſe he was gentle and moderate.

There was a common Opinion, that Sir *Robert Clifford* (who now was become the State-Informer) was from the beginning an Emiſſary, and ſpie of the King's; and that he fled over into *Flanders* with his conſent and privity. But this is not probable; both becauſe he never recovered that Degree of Grace, which he had with the King before his going over; and chiefly, for that the Diſcovery which he had made touching the Lord Chamberlain (which was his great Service) grew not from any thing he learn'd abroad, for that he knew it well before he went.

Theſe Executions (and eſpecially that of the Lord Chamberlain, which was the chief ſtrength of the Party, and by Means of Sir *Robert Clifford*, who was the moſt inward Man of Truſt amongſt them) did extremely quail the Deſign of *Perkin*, and his Complices, as well through Diſcouragement, as Diſtruſt. So that they were now (like Sand without Lime) ill bound together; eſpecially as many as were *Engliſh*: Who were at a Gaze, looking one upon another, not knowing who was faithful to their ſide; but thinking that the King (what with his Baits, and what with his Nets) would draw them all unto him, that were any thing worth. And indeed it came to paſs, that divers came away by the Thred, ſometimes one, and ſometimes another. *Barley* (that was Joint-Commiſſioner with *Clifford*) did hold out one of the longeſt, till *Perkin* was far worn; yet made his Peace at the length. But the Fall of this great Man, being in ſo high Authority and Favour (as was thought) with the King; and the Manner of carriage of the Buſineſs, as if there had been ſecret Inquiſition upon him, for a great time before; and the Cauſe for which he ſuffered, which was little more, than for ſaying in effect, *That the Title of* York *was better than the Title of* Lancaſter; which was the caſe almoſt of every Man (at the leaſt in Opinion;) was Matter of great Terror amongſt all the King's ſervants and ſubjects: Inſomuch, as no Man almoſt thought himſelf ſecure; and Men durſt ſcarce commune or talk one with another. But there was a general Diffidence every where. Which nevertheleſs made the King rather more abſolute, than more ſafe. For, *Bleeding inwards and ſhut Vapours ſtrangle ſooneſt, and oppreſs moſt.*

Invectives againſt the King's Council.

Hereupon preſently came out ſwarms and vollies of Libels (which are the Guſts of Liberty of ſpeech reſtrained, and the Females of ſedition) containing bitter Invectives and ſlanders againſt the King, and ſome of the Council. For the contriving and diſperſing whereof (after great Diligence and Inquiry) Five mean Perſons were caught, and executed.

Commiſſioners ſent into *Ireland*.

Mean while, the King did not neglect *Ireland*, being the ſoil where the Muſhromes and Upſtart-Weeds (that ſpring up in a Night) did chiefly proſper. He ſent therefore from hence (for the better ſettling of his Affairs there) Commiſſioners of both Robes: The Prior of *Lanchony*, * to be his Chancellour in that Kingdom;

(*) Sir *Henry Dean Hol.* Sir *James Ware* calls him *Henry Dean* Biſhop of *Bangor* in *Wales*. Sir *Edward Poynings* was made Lord Deputy. *Dean* Lord Chancellour, and Sir *Hugh Conway* Lord Treaſurer. They arriv'd in *Ireland* the 13th of *September* in the Year before.

1495. and Sir *Edward Poynings* with a Power of Men (*a*) and a Marſhal Commiſſion, together with a civil Power of his Lieutenant, with a clauſe, that the Earl of *Kildare*, then Deputy, ſhould obey him. But, the *Wild-Iriſh* (who were the principal Offenders) fled into the *Woods* and *Boggs*, after their Manner: And thoſe that knew themſelves guilty, in the Pale, fled to them. So that Sir *Edward Poynings* was enforced to make a wild chaſe upon the *Wild Iriſh*: Where (in reſpect of the Mountains and Faſtneſſes) he did little good. Which (either out of a ſuſpicious Melancholy upon his bad Succeſs, or the better to ſave his Service from Diſgrace) he would needs impute unto the comfort, that the *Rebels* ſhould receive under-hand from the Earl of *Kildare* that was in the Action of *Lambert Simnel*, ſlain at *Stoke-field* (*b*) Wherefore he cauſed the Earl to be apprehended, and ſent into *England*; where, upon Examination, he declared himſelf ſo well, as he was re placed in his Government. But, *Poynings* (the better to make compenſation of the Meagerneſs of his Service in the Wars by Acts of Peace) called a Parliament; where was made that memorable Act, which at this Day is called *Poynings* Law, whereby all the Statutes of *England* were made to be of Force in *Ireland*. (*c*) For, before they were not: Neither are any now in Force in *Ireland*, which were made in *England* ſince that time; which was the Tenth Year of the King.

Poynings Act.

About this time, began to be diſcovered in the King that Diſpoſition, which, afterward nouriſhed and whet on by bad Councellours and Miniſters, proved the Blot of his Times; which was the courſe he took, to cruſh Treaſure out of his Subjects Purſes, by Forfeitures upon Penal Laws. At this, Men did ſtartle the more at this time, becauſe it appeared plainly to be in the King's Nature, and not out of his Neceſſity, he being now in float for Treaſure; For that he had newly received the Peace-Money from *France*, the Benevolence-Mony from his Subjects, and great caſualties upon the confiſcations of the Lord Chamberlain, and divers others. The firſt noted caſe of this kind was that of Sir *William Capel*, Alderman of *London*: Who upon ſundry Penal-Laws, was condemned in the Sum of Seven and twenty hundred Pounds, and compounded with the King for Sixteen hundred: And yet after, *Empſon* would have cut a chop out of him, if the King had not died in the inſtant.

Forfeitures on Penal Laws the Blot of this Reign.

Sir *William Capel*, Alderman of *London*, fin'd.

The Summer following, the King, to comfort his Mother (whom he did always tenderly love and revere) and to make Demonſtration to the World, that the Proceedings againſt Sir *William Stanley* which was impoſed upon him by neceſſity of State) had not in any degree diminiſhed the Affection he bore to *Thomas* his Brother; went in progreſs to *Latham*, to make merry with his Mother, and the Earl, and lay there divers days.

During this progreſs, *Perkin Warbeck* finding, that time and Temporizing, which (whilſt his Practices were covert and wrought well in *England*) made for him; did now, when they were diſcovered and defeated, rather make againſt him (for that when matters once go down the Hill they ſtay not without a new Force) reſolved to try his Adventure in ſome Exploit upon *England*; hoping ſtill upon the Affections of the common People towards the Houſe of *York* Which Body of common People he thought was not to be practiſed upon, as perſons of Quality are; But, that the only practice upon their Affections, was, to ſet up a Standard in the Field. The place where he ſhould make his attempt, he choſe to be the Coaſt of *Kent*. 1495.

The King by this time was grown to ſuch an height of Reputation for cunning and policy, that every Accident and Event, that went well, was laid and imputed to his Foreſight, as if he had ſet it before: As, in this particular of *Perkin*'s Deſign upon *Kent*. For, the World would not believe afterwards, but the King, having ſecret Intelligence of *Perkin*'s Intention for *Kent*, the better to draw it on) went of purpoſe into the *North*, afar off, laying an open Side unto *Perkin*, to make him come to the cloſe, and ſo to trip up his Heels, having made ſure in *Kent* before hand.

But ſo it was, that *Perkin* had gather'd together a Power of all Nations, neither in Number, nor in the hardineſs and courage of the perſons, contemptible; but in their Nature and Fortunes, to be feared as well of Friends as Enemies; being Bankrupts, and many of them Felons, and ſuch as liv'd by Rapine. Theſe he put to Sea, and arriv'd upon the Coaſt of *Sandwich* and *Deal* in *Kent*, about *July*.

There he caſt Anchor; and to prove the Affections of the People, ſent ſome of his Men to Land, making great boaſt of the Power that was to follow. The *Kentiſh men* (perceiving that *Perkin* was not followed by any *Engliſh* of Name or Account, and that his Forces conſiſted but of Strangers born, and moſt of them baſe People, and Free-booters, fitter to ſpoil a Coaſt than to recover a Kingdom) reſorting unto the principal Gentlemen of the Country, profeſſed their Loyalty to the King, and deſired to be directed and commanded for the beſt of the King's Service. The Gentlemen, entring into conſultation, directed ſome Forces in good Number, to ſhew themſelves upon the Coaſt; and ſome of them to make Signs, to entice *Perkin*'s Soldiers to Land, as if they would join with them: and ſome others to appear from ſome other places, and to make ſemblance as if they fled from them; the better to encourage them to Land But *Perkin*, (who, by playing the Prince, or elſe taught by Secretary *Frion*, had learned thus much, That People under command do uſe to conſult, and after to march in Order; and Rebels contrariwiſe run upon an Head together in confuſion) conſidering the Delay of Time, and obſerving their Orderly, and not Tumultuary Arming, doubted the worſt. And therefore the wily Youth would not ſet one Foot out of his ſhip till he might ſee things were ſure. Wherefore the King's Forces, perceiving that they could draw on no more than thoſe that were formerly landed, ſet upon them, and cut them in pieces, ere they could fly back to their ſhips. In which skirmiſh (beſides thoſe that fled and were ſlain) there were taken about an Hundred and fifty perſons. Which, for that the King thought that to puniſh a few for Example was Gentleman's-play, but for Raſcal-people, they were to be cut off every Man, eſpecially in the begin- *Kent* Loyal to the King. 1495.

(*a*) Not 1000 Men, Sir *J. W. An. Hen.* VII. Cap. X.

(*b*) 'Twas not the Earl of *Kildare*, but his Brother the Lord *Thomas Howard* that was ſlain at *Stokefield*. *Ibid. Cap.* III.

(*c*) The *Engliſh* Statutes were admitted in *Ireland* in old Times. Thoſe Laws that were now made did not in a long Time paſs beyond the *Engliſh* Pale. *Ibid. Cap. K. Poynings* arreſted the Earl of *Kildare*, and ſent him Priſoner to *England*.

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1495. ning of an Enterprize; and likewiſe for that he ſaw that *Perkin*'s Forces would now conſiſt chiefly of ſuch Rabble, and Scum of deſperate People; he therefore hang'd them all for the greater terrour. They were brought to *London*, all rail'd in Ropes, like a Team of Horſes in a Cart; and were executed ſome of them at *London*, and *Wapping*, and the reſt at divers Places upon the Sea-Coaſt of *Kent*, *Suſſex*, and *Norfolk*, for Sea-marks, or Light-houſes, to teach *Perkin*'s People to avoid the Coaſt. The King being advertiſed of the Landing of the Rebels, thought to leave his Progreſs: But being certify'd the next day that they were partly defeated, and partly fled, he continued his Progreſs, and ſent Sir *Richard Guilford* into *Kent* in Meſſage. Who, calling the Country together, did much commend (from the King) their Fidelity, Manhood, and well-handling of that Service; and gave them all Thanks, and (in private) promis'd Reward to ſome Particulars.

The Rabble that follow'd *Perkin*, hang'd in Companies.

Upon the Sixteenth of *November* (this being the Eleventh Year of the King) was holden the Serjeants-Feaſt at *Ely-Place*; there being Nine Serjeants of that Call. The King, to honour the Feaſt, was preſent with his Queen at the Dinner; being a Prince, that was ever ready to grace and countenance the Profeſſors of the Law; having a little of that, *That as he governed his Subjects by his Laws, ſo he governed his Laws by his Lawyers.*

The Serjeants were, Mr. *Mordant*, *Higham*, *Kingſmill*, *Conisby*, *Buttler*, *Taxly*, *Frowick*, *Oxenbridge* and *Conſtable*.

This Year alſo the King entred into League with the *Italian* Potentates, for the Defence of *Italy* againſt *France*. For King *Charles* had conquer'd the Realm of *Naples*, and loſt it again, in a kind of Felicity of a Dream. He paſs'd the whole Length of *Italy* without Reſiſtance: So that it was true which Pope *Alexander* was wont to ſay; *That the* Frenchmen *came into* Italy, *with Chalk in their Hands, to mark up their Lodgings, rather than with Swords to Fight.* He likewiſe entred and won, in effect, the whole Kingdom of *Naples* it ſelf, without ſtriking ſtroke. But preſently thereupon he did commit and multiply ſo many Errors, as was too great a Task for the beſt Fortune to overcome. He gave no Contentment to the Barons of *Naples*, of the Faction of the *Angeovines*; but ſcatter'd his Rewards according to the mercenary Appetites of ſome about him. He put all *Italy* upon their Guard, by the ſeizing and holding of *Oſtia*, and the protecting of the Liberty of *Piſa*; which made all Men ſuſpect that his Purpoſes look'd further, than his Title of *Naples*. He fell too ſoon at difference with *Ludovico Sforcia*; who was the Man that carried the Keys which brought him in, and ſhut him out. He neglected to extinguiſh ſome Relicks of the War. And laſtly, in regard of his eaſy Paſſage through *Italy* without Reſiſtance, he entered into an overmuch deſpiſing of the Arms of the *Italians*: Whereby he left the Realm of *Naples* at his Departure ſo much the leſs provided. So that not long after his Return, the whole Kingdom revolted to *Ferdinando* the Younger, and the *French* were quite driven out. Nevertheleſs, *Charles* did make both great Threats and great Preparations to re-enter *Italy* once again. Wherefore at the inſtance of divers of the States of *Italy* (and eſpecially of Pope *Alexander*) there was a League concluded between the ſaid Pope, *Maximilian* King of *Romans*, *Henry* King of *England*, *Ferdinando* and *Iſabella* King and Queen of *Spain* (for ſo they are conſtantly placed in the Original Treaty throughout) *Augnſtiſſimo Barbadico*, Duke of *Venice*, and *Ludovico Sforcia*, Duke of *Milan*, for the common defence of their Eſtates. Wherein though *Ferdinando* of *Naples* was not nam'd as principal; yet no doubt, the Kingdom of *Naples* was tacitly included, as a Fee of the Church. 1495.

The *Fr.* King's Errors in his Expedition to *Naples*.

There died alſo this Year *Cecile* Dutcheſs of *York*, Mother to King *Edward* IV. at her Caſtle of *Barkhamſted*, being of extreme Years; and who had liv'd to ſee Three Princes of her Body crown'd, and Four murther'd. She was Buried at *Foderingham* by her Husband.

This Year alſo the King call'd his Parliament: where many Laws were made, of a more Private and Vulgar Nature, than ought to detain the Reader of an Hiſtory. And it may be juſtly ſuſpected by the Proceedings following, that as the King did excel in good Commonwealth Laws; ſo nevertheleſs he had, in ſecret, a Deſign to make uſe of them, as well for collecting of Treaſure, as for correcting of Manners; and meaning thereby to harrow his People, did accumulate them the rather.

The principal Law that was made this Parliament, was a Law of a ſtrange Nature: rather Juſt, than Legal; and more Magnanimous than Provident. This Law did Ordain, That no Perſon, that did aſſiſt in Arms, or otherwiſe, the King for the time being, ſhould after be Impeached therefore, or Attainted, either by the Courſe of the Law, or by Act of Parliament: But, if any ſuch Act of Attainder did happen to be made, it ſhould be Void and of none Effect; For that it was agreable to Reaſon of Eſtate, that the Subject ſhould not enquire of the Juſtneſs of the King's Title, or Quarrel; and it was agreeable to good Conſcience, that (whatſoever the Fortune of the War were) the Subject ſhould not ſuffer for his Obedience. The Spirit of this Law was wonderful Pious and Noble: being like in matter of War, unto the Spirit of *David* in matter of *Plague*, who ſaid, *If I have ſinned, ſtrike me; but what have theſe ſheep done?* Neither wanted this Law Parts of prudent and deep foreſight. For, it did the better take away Occaſion for the People to buſie themſelves, to pry into the King's Title; for that howſoever it fell, their Safety was already provided for. Beſides it could not but greatly draw unto him the Love and Hearts of the People, becauſe he ſeem'd more careful for them than for Himſelf. But yet nevertheleſs, it did take off from his Party, that great Tie and Spur of Neceſſity, to Fight and go Victors out of the Field; conſidering their Lives and Fortunes were put in Safety, and protected, whether they ſtood to it or ran away. But the Force and Obligation of this Law was in it ſelf Illuſory, as to the latter part of it; by a precedent Act of Parliament, to bind or fruſtrate a Future. For a Supreme and Abſolute Power cannot conclude it ſelf, neither can that which is in Nature revocable be made fixt, no more than if a Man ſhould appoint or declare by his Will, that if he made any Latter Will, it ſhould be Void. And for the Caſe of the Act of Parliament, there is a notable Preſident of it in King *Henry* the VII's time; who doubting he might dye in the Minority of his Son, procur'd an Act to paſs, *That no Statute made during the Minority of the King ſhould bind him or his Succeſſors, except it were confirmed by the King under his Great Seal, at his full Age.* But the firſt *Act* that paſſed in King *Edward* the VI's Time, was an Act of Repeal of that former Act; at which time nevertheleſs the King was Minor. But things that do not bind, may ſatisfie for the time.

A ſtrange Law.

There was alſo made a ſhoaring or underpropping Act for the Benevolence; to make the Sums which any Perſon had agreed to pay, and nevertheleſs were not brought in, to be leviable

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1495. by Course of Law. Which Act did not only bring in the Arrears, but did indeed countenance the whole Business, and was pretended to be made at the Desire of those that had been forward to pay.

A good Law.

This Parliament also was made that good Law, which gave the Attaint upon a false Verdict between Party and Party, which before was a kind of Evangile, irremediable. It extends not to causes Capital, as well because they are for the most part at the King's Suit; as because in them (if they be follow'd in Course of Indictment) there passeth a double Jury, the Indictors, and the Triers; and so not Twelve Men, but Four and Twenty. But it seemeth that was not the only reason; for this Reason holdeth not in the Appeal. But the great Reason was, lest it should tend to the Discouragement of Jurors in Cases of Life and Death; if they should be subject to Suit and Penalty, where the Favour of Life maketh against them. It extendeth not also to any Suit, where the Demand is under the Value of Forty Pounds; for that in such Cases of Petty Value, it would not quit the Charge to go about again.

There was another Law made against a branch of Ingratitude in Women, who having been advanced by their Husbands, or their Husbands Ancestors, should alien, and thereby seek to defeat the Heirs, or those in Remainder, of the Lands, whereunto they had been so advanced. The Remedy was, by giving Power to the next, to enter for a Forfeiture.

An Act pass'd for Suing in *Forma Pauperis.*

There was also enacted that Charitable Law, for the Admission of poor Suitors *In Forma Pauperis*, without Fee to *Counsellor*, *Attorney*, or *Clerk*, whereby Poor Men became rather Able to Vex than Unable to Sue. There were divers other good Laws made that Parliament, as we said before. But we still observe our manner, in selecting out those, that are not of a Vulgar Nature.

The King this while, tho' he sate in Parliament, as in full Peace, and seem'd to account of the Designs of *Perkin* (who was now return'd into *Flanders*) but as a *May-Game*; yet having the Composition of a Wise King (Stout without, and apprehensive within) had given order for the watching of Beacons upon the Coasts and erecting more where they stood too thin, and had a careful Eye where this wandring Cloud would break. But *Perkin* advised to keep his Fire (which hitherto burn'd as it were upon green Wood) alive, with continual blowing; sail'd again into *Ireland*, whence he had formerly departed, rather upon the Hopes of *France*, than upon any Unreadiness or Discouragement he found in that People. But in the space of time between, the King's Diligence and *Poyning*'s Commission had so settled things there, as there was nothing left for *Perkin*, but the blustring Affection of wild and naked People. Wherefore he was advis'd by his Council, to seek Aid of the King of *Scotland*; a Prince Young and Valourous, and in good Terms with his Nobles and People, and ill-affected to King *Henry*. At this time also both *Maximilian* and *Charles* of *France* began to bear no good Will to the King. The one being displeased with the King's Prohibition of Commerce with *Flanders*: The other holding the King for suspect, in regard of his late entry into League with the *Italians*. Wherefore besides the open Aids of the Dutchess of *Burgundy*, which did with Sails and Oars put on and advance *Perkin*'s Designs, there wanted not some secret *Tides* from *Maximilian* and *Charles*, which did further his Fortunes. Insomuch as they, both by their secret Letters and Messages, recommended him to the King of *Scotland*. 1495.

Perkin therefore coming into *Scotland* upon those Hopes, with a well appointed Company, was by the King of *Scots** (being formerly well prepared) honourably welcom'd, and soon after his Arrival admitted to his Presence in a Solemn manner. For the King received him in State in his Chamber of Presence, accompany'd with divers of his Nobles. And *Perkin* well attended, as well with those that the King had sent before him, as with his own Train, entred the Room where the King was, and coming near to the King, and bowing a little to embrace him, he retired some Paces back, and with a loud Voice (that all that were present might hear him) made his Declaration in this manner:

* *James* the 4th.

Perkin's Declaration to the *Scottish* King.

'HIgh and Mighty King, your Grace, and these your Nobles here present, may be 'be pleased benignly to bow your Ears, to 'hear the Tragedy of a young Man, that by 'Right ought to hold in his Hand the Ball of 'a Kingdom; but by Fortune is made Himself 'a Ball, tossed from Misery to Misery, and from 'Place to Place. You see here before you the 'Spectacle of a *Plantagenet*, who hath been carried from the Nursery to the Sanctuary; from 'the Sanctuary to the direful Prison; from the 'Prison to the Hand of the cruel Tormentor; 'and from that Hand to the wide Wilderness '(as I may call it) for so the World hath 'been to me. So that he that is born to a 'great Kingdom, hath not Ground to set his 'foot upon, more than this where he now 'standeth, by your Princely Favour. *Edward* 'the Fourth, late King of *England*, (as your 'Grace cannot but have heard) left two Sons; '*Edward* and *Richard* Duke of *York*, both very 'Young. *Edward* the Eldest succeeded their 'Father in the Crown, by the Name of King '*Edward* V. But *Richard* Duke of *Glouce-*'*ster*, their Unnatural Uncle, first thirsting 'after the Kingdom, through Ambition, and 'afterwards thirsting for their Blood, out of 'Desire to secure himself, imployed an Instru-'ment of his (confident to him, as he thought) 'to murther them both. But this Man that 'was imploy'd to execute that execrable Tra- *Edward* the Fifth murdered. 'gedy, having cruelly Slain King *Edward*, the 'Eldest of the two, was moved partly by Re-'morse, and partly by some other means, to 'save *Richard* his Brother; making a Report 'nevertheless to the Tyrant, that he had per-'form'd his Commandment for both Brethren. 'This Report was accordingly believ'd, and 'publish'd generally. So that the World hath 'been possessed of an Opinion that they both 'were barbarously made away, tho' ever Truth 'hath some sparks that fly abroad until it 'appear in due time, as this hath had. But Al-'mighty God, that stopped the Mouth of the 'Lion, and saved little *Joas* from the Tyran-'ny of *Athaliah*, when she massacred the King's 'Children; and did save *Isaac*, when the hand 'was stretch'd forth to Sacrifice him, preserv'd 'the second Brother. For I my self, that stand 'here in your Presence, am that very *Richard* 'Duke of *York*, Brother of that Infortunate 'Prince, King *Edward* V. now the most right-'ful surviving Heir-Male to that Victorious and 'most Noble *Edward*, of that Name the Fourth, 'late King of *England*. For the manner of my 'Escape, it is fit it should pass in Silence, or '(at least) in a more secret Relation: for that 'it may concern some alive, and the Memory of

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1495. ‘ ſome that are Dead. Let it ſuffice to think, ‘ that I had then a Mother living, a Queen, ‘ and one that expected daily ſuch a Command- ‘ ment from the Tyrant, for the murthering ‘ of her Children. Thus in my tender Age ‘ eſcaping by God's Mercy out of *London*, I ‘ was ſecretly convey'd over Sea. Where, after ‘ a time, the Party that had me in Charge, ‘ (upon what new Fears, change of Mind, or ‘ Practice God knoweth) ſuddenly forſook me. ‘ Whereby I was forced to wander abroad, and ‘ to ſeek mean Conditions for the ſuſtaining of ‘ my Life. Wherefore diſtracted between ſeve- ‘ ral Paſſions, the one of Fear to be known, leſt ‘ the Tyrant ſhould have a new Attempt upon ‘ me; the other of Grief and Diſdain to be un- ‘ known, and to live in that baſe and ſervile ‘ manner that I did; I reſolved with my ſelf ‘ to expect the Tyrant's Death, and then to ‘ put my ſelf into my Siſter's Hands, who was ‘ next Heir to the Crown. But in this Seaſon, ‘ it happen'd one *Henry Tidder*, Son to *Edmond* ‘ *Tidder* Earl of *Richmond*, to come from *France* ‘ and enter into the Realm, and by ſubtile and ‘ foul Means to obtain the Crown of the ſame, ‘ which to me rightfully appertain'd. So that ‘ it was but a Change from Tyrant to Tyrant. ‘ This *Henry*, my extream and mortal Enemy, ‘ ſo ſoon as he had Knowledge of my being ‘ alive, imagined and wrought all the ſubtil ‘ Ways and Means he could, to procure my ‘ final Deſtruction. For my mortal Enemy hath ‘ not only falſely ſurmiſed me to be a feign'd ‘ Perſon, giving me Nick-names, ſo abuſing the ‘ World; but alſo to defer and put me from ‘ entry into *England*, hath offer'd large Sums of ‘ Money, to corrupt the Princes and their Mini- ‘ ſters, with whom I have been retained; and ‘ made importune Labours to certain Servants a- ‘ bout my Perſon, to Murther or Poiſon me, and ‘ others to forſake and leave my Righteous ‘ Quarrel and to depart from my Service; as ‘ Sir *Robert Clifford*, and others. So that every ‘ Man of Reaſon may well perceive that *Henry*, ‘ calling himſelf King of *England*, needed not ‘ to have beſtow'd ſuch great Sums of Treaſure, ‘ nor ſo to have buſy'd himſelf with importune ‘ and inceſſant Labour and Induſtry, to com- ‘ paſs my Death and Ruin, if I had been ſuch ‘ a feign'd Perſon. But the truth of my Cauſe ‘ being ſo manifeſt, moved the moſt Chriſtian ‘ King *Charles*, and the Lady Dutcheſs Dowa- ‘ ger of *Burgundy*, my moſt dear Aunt, not on- ‘ ly to acknowledge the Truth thereof, but ‘ lovingly to aſſiſt me. But it ſeemeth that God ‘ above (for the good of this whole Iſland, ‘ and the knitting of theſe two Kingdoms of ‘ *England* and *Scotland* in a ſtrait Concord and ‘ Amity, by ſo great an Obligation) had re- ‘ ſerv'd the placing of me in the Imperial ‘ Throne of *England*, for the Arms and Succours ‘ of your Grace. Neither is it the firſt time ‘ that a King of *Scotland* hath ſupported them, ‘ that were bereft and ſpoiled of the Kingdom ‘ of *England*; as of late (in freſh Memory) it ‘ was done in the Perſon of *Henry* VI. Where- ‘ fore for that your Grace hath given clear ‘ Signs, that you are in no noble Quality infe- ‘ riour to your Royal Anceſtors; I, ſo diſtreſſed ‘ a Prince, was hereby moved to come and put ‘ my Self into your Royal Hands, deſiring your ‘ Aſſiſtance to recover my Kingdom of *England*; ‘ promiſing faithfully to bear my Self towards ‘ your Grace no otherwiſe, than if I were your 1495. ‘ own natural Brother, and will upon the Re- ‘ covery of mine Inheritance, gratefully do ‘ you all the Pleaſure that is in my utmoſt ‘ Power.

After *Perkin* had told his Tale, King *James* anſwered bravely and wiſely, *That whatſoever he were, he ſhould not repent him of putting himſelf into his Hands.* And from that time forth, tho' there wanted not ſome about him, that would have perſwaded him, that all was but an Illuſion; yet notwithſtanding, either taken by *Perkin*'s amiable and alluring Behaviour, or inclining to the Recommendation of the great Princes abroad, or willing to take an Occaſion of a War againſt King *Henry*, he entertain'd him in all things, as became the Perſon of *Richard* Duke of *York*; embraced his Quarrel; and (the more to put it out of Doubt, that he took him to be a great Prince, and not a Repreſentation only) he gave Conſent, that this Duke ſhould take to Wife the Lady *Katherine Gordon*, Daughter to the E. of *Huntley*, being a near Kinſwoman to the King himſelf, and a young Virgin of excellent Beauty and Vertue.

The *Scots* King favours *Perkin*.

Perkin marries the Lady *Katherine Gordon*, Daughter to the E. of *Huntley*.

Not long after,[d] (*d*) the King of *Scots* in Perſon, with *Perkin* in his Company, entred with a great Army (though it conſiſted chiefly of Borderers being raiſed ſomewhat ſuddenly) into *Northumberland*. And *Perkin*, for a Perfume before him as he went, cauſed to be publiſh'd a Proclamation of this Tenor following, in the Name of *Richard* Duke of *York*, true Inheritor of the Crown of *England*.

The King of *Scots* invades *England*.

‘ IT hath pleaſed God, who putteth down ‘ the Mighty from their Seat, and exalteth ‘ the Humble, and ſuffereth not the Hopes of ‘ the Juſt to periſh in the end, to give us means ‘ at the length, to ſhew our ſelves armed unto ‘ our Lieges and People of *England*. But far be ‘ it from us, to intend their Hurt and Dam- ‘ mage, or to make War upon them, otherwiſe ‘ than to deliver our ſelf and them from Ty- ‘ ranny and Oppreſſion. For our mortal Ene- ‘ my *Henry Tidder*, a falſe Uſurper of the Crown ‘ of *England*, (which to us by Natural and Li- ‘ neal Right appertaineth) knowing in his own ‘ Heart our undoubted Right (we being the ‘ very *Richard* Duke of *York*, younger Son, and ‘ now ſurviving Heir-Male of the Noble and ‘ Victorious *Edward* IV. late King of *England*) ‘ hath not only deprived us of our Kingdom, ‘ but likewiſe by all foul and wicked means ‘ ſought to betray us, and bereave us of our ‘ Life. Yet if his Tyranny only extended it ‘ ſelf to our Perſon (altho' our Royal Blood ‘ teacheth us to be ſenſible of Injuries) it ſhould ‘ be leſs to our Grief. But this *Tidder*, who ‘ boaſteth himſelf to have Overthrown a Ty- ‘ rant, hath ever ſince his firſt Entrance into ‘ his uſurped Reign, put ſittle in Practice but ‘ Tyranny and the Feats thereof.

The Original of this Proclamation remaineth with Sir *Robert Cotton*, a worthy Preſerver and Treaſurer of rare Antiquities: from whoſe Manuſcripts I have had much light for the furniſhing of this Work.

‘ For King *Richard* our unnatural Uncle, al- ‘ tho' Deſire of Rule did bind him, yet in his ‘ other Actions (like a true *Plantagenet*) was ‘ Noble, and lov'd the Honour of the Realm, ‘ and the Contentment and Comfort of his No- ‘ bles and People. But this our mortal Enemy ‘ (agreeable to the Meanneſs of his birth) hath ‘ trodden under foot the Honour of this Na- ‘ tion; ſelling our beſt Confederates for Money,

(*d*) *Maximilian* the Emperor, *Charles* the Eighth, King of *France*, and *Margaret* Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, wrote to the *Scots* King in Favour of this Counterfeit. *Sir J. W. Cap.* 9.

‘ and

1495. ‘ and making Merchandize of the Blood, Eſtates, ‘ and Fortunes of our Peers and Subjects, by ‘ feigned Wars and diſhonourable Peace, only ‘ to enrich his Coffers. Nor unlike hath been ‘ his hateful Miſ-government, and evil Deport- ‘ ments at Home. Firſt, he hath (to fortify ‘ his falſe Quarrel) cauſed divers Nobles of this ‘ our Realm (whom he held ſuſpect, and ſtood ‘ in Dread of) to be cruelly murther'd; as ‘ our Couſin Sir *William Stanley* Lord Chamber- ‘ lain, Sir *Simon Mountfort*, Sir *Robert Ratcliffe*, ‘ *William Dawbeney*, *Humphry Stafford*, and ma- ‘ ny others, beſides ſuch as have dearly bought ‘ their Lives with intolerable Ranſoms. Some ‘ of which Nobles are now in the Sanctuary. ‘ Alſo he hath long kept, and yet keepeth in ‘ Priſon, our right entirely well-beloved Couſin ‘ *Edward*, Son and Heir to our Uncle Duke of ‘ *Clarence*, and others; with-holding from them ‘ their rightful Inheritance, to the intent they ‘ ſhould never be of Might and Power to aid ‘ and aſſiſt us at our need, after the Duty of ‘ their Liegances. He alſo married by Com- ‘ pulſion certain of our Siſters, and alſo the Si- ‘ ſter of our ſaid Couſin the Earl of *Warwick*, ‘ and divers other Ladies of the Royal Blood, ‘ to certain of his Kinſmen and Friends of ſimple ‘ and low Degree; and putting apart all well- ‘ diſpoſed Nobles, he hath none in Favour and ‘ Truſt about his Perſon, but Biſhop *Fox*, *Smith*, ‘ *Bray*, *Lovel*, *Oliver King*, *David Owen*, *Riſe-* ‘ *ley*, *Turbervile*, *Tiler*, *Cholmley*, *Empſon*, *James* ‘ *Hobart*, *John Cut*, *Garth*, *Henry Wyat*, and ſuch ‘ other Caitiffs and Villains of Birth, which by ‘ ſubtle Inventions and Pilling of the People, ‘ have been the principal Finders, Occaſioners, ‘ and Counſellors of the Miſ-rule and Miſchief ‘ now reigning in *England*.

‘ We remembring theſe Premiſſes, with the ‘ great and execrable Offences daily commit- ‘ ted, and done by our foreſaid great Enemy, ‘ and his Adherents, in breaking the Liberties ‘ and Franchiſes of our Mother the holy Church, ‘ upon pretences of wicked and heatheniſh Po- ‘ licy, to the high Diſpleaſure of Almighty ‘ God; beſides the manifold Treaſons, abomi- ‘ nable Murthers, Man-ſlaughters, Robberies, ‘ Extortions, the daily Pilling of the People, ‘ by Diſmes, Taxes, Tallages, Benevolences, ‘ and other unlawful Impoſitions, and grievous ‘ Exactions, with many other heinous Effects, ‘ to the likely Deſtruction and Deſolation of ‘ the whole Realm: ſhall by God's Grace, and ‘ the Help and Aſſiſtance of the great Lords ‘ of our Blood, with the Counſel of other ſaid ‘ Perſons, ſee that the Commodities of our ‘ Realm be imploy'd to the moſt Advantage ‘ of the ſame; the entercourſe of Merchandize ‘ betwixt Realm and Realm, to be miniſtred ‘ and handled, as ſhall more be to the Com- ‘ mon-weal and Proſperity of our Subjects; ‘ and all ſuch Diſmes, Taxes, Tallages, Bene- ‘ volences, unlawful Impoſitions, and grievous ‘ Exactions, as be above rehearſed, to be fore- ‘ done and laid apart, and never from hence- ‘ forth to be called upon, but in ſuch Caſes ‘ as our Noble Progenitors, Kings of *England*, ‘ have of old Time been accuſtom'd to have ‘ the Aid, Succour, and Help of their Subjects ‘ and true Liege-men.

‘ And further, we do out of our Grace and ‘ Clemency, hereby as well Publiſh and Pro- ‘ miſe to all our Subjects Remiſſion and free ‘ Pardon of all By-paſt Offences whatſoever, ‘ againſt our Perſon, or Eſtate, in adhering to ‘ our ſaid Enemy, by whom (we know well) ‘ they have been miſ-led, if they ſhall within ‘ time convenient ſubmit themſelves unto us. ‘ And for ſuch as ſhall come with the foremoſt, ‘ to aſſiſt our righteous Quarrel, we ſhall make ‘ them ſo far Partakers of our Princely Favour ‘ and Bounty, as ſhall be highly for the Com- ‘ fort of them and theirs, both during their ‘ Life, and after their Death. As alſo we ſhall ‘ by all means, which God ſhall put into our ‘ hands, demean our ſelves to give Royal Con- ‘ tentment to all Degrees and Eſtates of our ‘ People, maintaining the Liberties of Holy ‘ Church in their entire, preſerving the Ho- ‘ nours, Privileges, and Preheminences of our ‘ Nobles from Contempt or Diſparagement, ‘ according to the Dignity of their Blood. We ‘ ſhall alſo unyoak our People from all heavy ‘ Burthens and Endurances, and confirm our ‘ Cities, Boroughs, and Towns, in their Char- ‘ ters and Freedoms, with Inlargement, where ‘ it ſhall be deſerv'd; and in all Points give ‘ our Subjects cauſe to think, that the bleſſed ‘ and debonaire Government of our noble Fa- ‘ ther King *Edward* (in his laſt times) is in us ‘ revived. 1495.

‘ And for as much as the putting to Death, ‘ or taking alive of our ſaid mortal Enemy, ‘ may be a means to ſtay much Effuſion of blood, ‘ which otherwiſe may enſue, if by Compulſion ‘ or fair promiſes, he ſhall draw after him any ‘ number of our Subjects to reſiſt us; which we ‘ deſire to avoid (though we be certainly infor- ‘ med that our ſaid Enemy is purpoſed and pre- ‘ pared to fly the Land, having already made ‘ over great Maſſes of the Treaſure of our ‘ Crown, the better to ſupport him in Foreign ‘ Parts) we do hereby declare, that whoſoever ‘ ſhall take or diſtreſs our ſaid Enemy (though ‘ the Party be of never ſo mean a Condition) ‘ he ſhall be by us rewarded with a Thouſand ‘ Pound in Money, forthwith to be laid down ‘ to him, and an Hundred Marks by the Year ‘ of Inheritance; beſides that he may otherwiſe ‘ merit, both towards God and all good People, ‘ for the Deſtruction of ſuch a Tyrant.

Perkin promiſes a 1000*l.* Reward to any that ſhall kill King *Henry*.

‘ Laſtly, we do all Men to wit, and herein ‘ we take alſo God to witneſs, That whereas ‘ God hath moved the Heart of our Deareſt ‘ Couſin, the King of *Scotland*, to Aid us in ‘ Perſon, in this our Righteous Quarrel; it is ‘ altogether without any Pact or Promiſe, or ſo ‘ much as Demand of any thing, that may pre- ‘ judice our Crown or Subjects: But contrari- ‘ wiſe with Promiſe on our ſaid Couſin's part, ‘ that whenſoever he ſhall find us in ſufficient ‘ ſtrength to get the upper Hand of our Ene- ‘ my (which we hope will be very ſuddenly) ‘ he will forthwith peaceably return into his ‘ own Kingdom; contenting himſelf only with ‘ the Glory of ſo honourable an Enterpriſe, and ‘ our true and faithful Love and Amity. Which ‘ we ſhall ever (by the Grace of Almighty God) ‘ ſo order, as ſhall be to the great Comfort of ‘ both Kingdoms.

But *Perkin*'s Proclamation did little edifie with the People of *England*; neither was he the better welcome for the company he came in. Wherefore the King of *Scotland* ſeeing none came in to *Perkin*, nor none ſtirred any where in his Favour, turned his enterpriſe into a Rode; and waſted and deſtroyed the County of *Northumberland*, with Fire and Sword. But hearing that there were Forces coming againſt him, and not willing that they ſhould find his Men heavy and laden with Booty, he returned into *Scotland* with great Spoils, deferring further Proſecution, till another time. It is ſaid, that *Perkin* acting the part

A. D. 1496. What effect *Perkin*'s Proclamation had.

1496. part of a Prince handſomly, when he ſaw the *Scottiſh* fell to waſt the Country, came to the King in a paſſionate manner, making great lamentation, and deſir'd, That that might not be the manner of making the War; for that no Crown was ſo dear to his Mind, as that he deſired to purchaſe it with the Blood and ruin of his Country. Whereunto the King anſwered half in ſport; that he doubted much, he was careful for that that was none of his, and that he ſhould be too good a Steward for his Enemy, to ſave the Country to his uſe.

The Decay of Trade by the War.

By this Time, being the eleventh Year of the King, the Interruption of Trade between the *Engliſh* and the *Flemmiſh*, began to pinch the Merchants of both Nations very ſore. Which moved them, by all means they could deviſe, to affect and diſpoſe their Soveraigns reſpectively, to open the Entercourſe again. Wherein, time favoured them. For the Arch-Duke and his Council began to ſee, that *Perkin* would prove but a Runnagate, and *Citizen of the World*; and that it was the part of Children to fall out about Babies. And the King on his part, after the Attempts upon *Kent* and *Northumberland*, began to have the Buſineſs of *Perkin* in leſs Eſtimation; ſo as he did not put it to account, in any Conſultation of State. But that that moved him moſt, was, that being a King that loved Wealth and Treaſure, he could not endure to have Trade ſick, nor any Obſtruction to continue in the Gate-vein, which diſperſed that Blood. And yet he kept State ſo far, as firſt to be ſought unto. Wherein the Merchant-Adventurers likewiſe, (being a ſtrong Company at that time, and well underſet with rich Men, and good Order) did hold out bravely; taking off the Commodities of the Kingdom, though they lay dead upon their Hands for want of Vent. At the laſt, Commiſſioners met at *London*, to treat. On the King's part; Biſhop *Fox* Lord Privy-Seal, *Viſcount Wells*, *Kendal* Prior of Saint *John*, *Warham* Maſter of the Rolls, who began to gain much upon the King's Opinion; *Urſwick*, who was almoſt ever one; and *Riſeley*. On the Arch-Duke's part, the Lord *Bevers* his Admiral, the Lord *Verunſel* Preſident of *Flanders*, and others. Theſe concluded a perfect Treaty, both of Amity and Intercourſe, between the King and the Arch-Duke; containing Articles both of State, Commerce and Free-fiſhing. This is that Treaty, which the *Flemmings* call at this Day, *Intercurſus Magnus*; both becauſe it is more compleat, than the precedent Treaties, of the Third and Fourth Years of the King: and chiefly to give it a Difference from the Treaty that followed in the one and twentieth Year of the King: which they call *Intercurſus Malus*. In this Treaty, there was an expreſs Article againſt the Reception of the Rebels of either Prince by other; purporting, that if any ſuch Rebel ſhould be required by the Prince whoſe Rebel he was, of the Prince Confederate, that forthwith the Prince Confederate ſhould by Proclamation command him to avoid the Country. Which if he did not within fifteen Days, the Rebel was to ſtand proſcrib'd, and put out of Protection. But nevertheleſs in this Article, *Perkin* was not named, neither perhaps contained, becauſe he was no Rebel. But by this means his Wings were clipt of his Followers, that were *Engliſh*. And it was expreſly compriſed in the Treaty, that it ſhould extend to the Territories of the Dutcheſs *Dowager*. After the Intercourſe thus reſtored, the *Engliſh* Merchants came again to their Manſion at *Antwerp*, where they were received with Proceſſion and great Joy.

Commiſſioners about Trade.

Articles made between the King and the Arch-Duke.

The *Engliſh* Merchants receiv'd at *Antwerp* with Joy and Proceſſions.

The Winter following, being the Twelfth Year of his Reign, the King called again his Parliament: where he did much exaggerate both the Malice, and cruel Predatory War lately made by the King of *Scotland*; That that King, being in Amity with him, and no ways provok'd, ſhould ſo burn in Hatred towards him, as to drink of the Lees and Dregs of *Perkin*'s Intoxication, who was every where elſe detected and diſcarded: And that when he perceived it was out of his Reach, to do the King any Hurt, he had turned his Arms upon unarmed and unprovided People to ſpoil only and depopulate, contrary to the Laws both of War and Peace: Concluding, that he could neither with Honour, nor with the ſafety of his People, to whom he did owe Protection, let paſs theſe Wrongs unrevenged. The Parliament underſtood him well, and gave him a Subſidy, limited to the Sum of one hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds, beſides two fifteens. For his Wars were always to him as a Mine of Treaſure, of a ſtrange kind of Ore; Iron at the Top, and Gold and Silver at the bottom. At this Parliament (for that there had been ſo much time ſpent in making Laws the Year before, and for that it was called purpoſely in reſpect of the *Scottiſh* War) there were no Laws made to be remembred. Only there paſſed a Law, at the Suite of the Merchant-Adventurers of *England*, againſt the Merchant-Adventurers of *London*, for Monopolizing and exacting upon the Trade: Which it ſeemeth they did, a little to ſave themſelves, after the hard time they had ſuſtained by want of Trade. But thoſe Innovations were taken away by Parliament.

1496.

King *Henry*'s Wars gainful to him.

But it was fatal to the King, to fight for his Money. And though he avoided to fight with Enemies abroad, yet he was ſtill enforced to fight for it with Rebels at home. For no ſooner began the Subſidy to be levied in *Cornwall*, but the People there began to grudge and murmur. The *Corniſh* being a Race of Men, ſtout of Stomach, mighty of Body and Limb, and that lived hardly in a barren Country, and many of them could (for a need) live under Ground, that were Tinners; they muttered extreamly, that it was a thing not to be ſuffered, that for a little Stir of the *Scots*, ſoon blown over, they ſhould be thus grinded to Powder with Payments: And ſaid, it was for them to pay, that had too much, and lived idlely. But they would eat the Bread they got with the Sweat of their Brows, and no Man ſhould take it from them. And as in the Tides of People once up, there want not commonly ſtirring Winds to make them more rough: So this People did light upon two Ringleaders, or Captains of the Rout. The one was one *Michael Joſeph*, a Blackſmith or Farrier of *Bodmin*; a notable talking Fellow, and no leſs deſirous to be talked of. The other was *Thomas Flammoch*, a Lawyer; who by telling his Neighbours commonly upon any occaſion, that the Law was on their ſide, had gotten great ſway amongſt them. This Man talked learnedly, and as if he could tell how to make a Rebellion, and never break the Peace. He told the People, that Subſidies were not to be granted nor levied in this Caſe; that is, for Wars of *Scotland* (for that the Law had provided another Courſe, by ſervice of Eſcuage, for thoſe Journeys) much leſs when all was quiet, and War was made but a Pretence to poll and pill the People: And therefore that it was good they ſhould not ſtand now like Sheep before the Shearers, but put on Harneſs, and take Weapons in their Hands: Yet to do no Creature hurt; but go and deliver the King a

The *Corniſh* Men rebel.

Joſeph a Blackſmith a chief Rebel.

Flammock a Lawyer heads the Rebels.

The *Corniſh* Men for Eſcuage Service.

1497. ſtrong Petition, for the laying down of thoſe grievous Payments, and for the Puniſhment of thoſe that had given him that Counſel, to make others beware how they did the like in time to come: And ſaid, for his part he did not ſee how they could do the Duty of true *Engliſh-Men*, and good Liege Men, except they did deliver the King from ſuch wicked ones that would deſtroy both him and the Country. Their Aim was at Archbiſhop *Morton*, and Sir *Reginald Bray*, who were the King's Skreens in this Envy.

After that theſe two, *Flammock* and the Blackſmith, had by joint and ſeveral Pratings found Tokens of Conſent in the Multitude, they offer'd themſelves to lead them, until they ſhould hear of better Men to be their Leaders; which they ſaid would be e'er long: Telling them further, that they would be but their Servants, and firſt in every Danger; but doubted not but to make both the *Weſt* End and the *Eaſt* End of *England* to meet in ſo good a Quarrel; and that all (rightly underſtood) was but for the King's Service. The People, upon theſe Seditious Inſtigations, did arm (moſt of them with Bows and Arrows, and Bills, and ſuch other Weapons of Rude and Country People) and forthwith under the Command of their Leaders, (which in ſuch Caſes is ever at pleaſure) marched out of *Cornwall*, thro' *Devonſhire*, and *Taunton* in *Somerſetſhire*, without any Slaughter, Violence, or Spoil of the Country. At *Taunton* they killed, in fury, an officious and eager Commiſſioner for the Subſidy, whom they called the Provoſt of *Perin*. Thence they marched to *Wells*; where the Lord *Audley* (with whom their Leaders had, before, ſome ſecret Intelligence) a Nobleman of an Ancient Family, but unquiet and popular, and aſpiring to Ruin, came in to them, and was by them (with great Gladneſs and Cries of Joy) accepted as their General; they being now proud, that they were led by a Nobleman. The Lord *Audley* led them on from *Wells* to *Salisbury*, and from *Salisbury* to *Wincheſter*. Thence the fooliſh People, who (in effect) led their Leaders, had a Mind to be led into *Kent*; fancying, that the People there would joyn with them, contrary to all Reaſon or Judgment; conſidering the *Kentiſh* Men had ſhewed great Loyalty and Affection to the King ſo lately before. But the rude People had heard *Flammock* ſay, that *Kent* was never conquer'd, and that they were the freeſt People of *England*. And upon theſe vain Noiſes, they look'd for great matters at their hands, in a Cauſe which they conceited to be for the Liberty of the Subject. But when they were come into *Kent*, the Country was ſo well ſettled, both by the King's late kind Uſage towards them, and by the Credit and Power of the Earl of *Kent*, the Lord *Abergavenny*, and the Lord *Cobham*, as neither Gentleman nor Yeoman came in to their Aid; which did much damp and diſmay many of the ſimpler ſort; inſomuch as divers of them did ſecretly fly from the Army, and went home. But the ſturdier ſort, and thoſe that were moſt engaged, ſtood by it, and rather waxed proud, than fail'd in Hopes and Courage. For as it did ſomewhat appall them, that the People came not in to them; ſo it did no leſs encourage them, that the King's Forces had not ſet upon them, having march'd from the *Weſt* unto the *Eaſt* of *England*. Wherefore they kept on their Way, and encamp'd upon *Black-Heath*, between *Greenwich* and *Eltham*; threatning either to bid Battel to the King, (for now the Seas went higher than to *Morton* and *Brain*) or to take *London* within his view; imagining with themſelves, there to find no leſs Fear than Wealth.

A Commiſſioner for the Taxes murder'd.

The Rebels chuſe the Lord *Audley* for their General.

The Loyalty of the *Kentiſhmen*.

But to return to the King. When firſt he heard of this Commotion of the *Corniſh-men*, occaſioned by the Subſidy, he was much troubled therewith: Not for itſelf, but in regard of the Concurrence of other Dangers, that did hang over him at that time. For he doubted leſt a War from *Scotland*, a Rebellion from *Cornwall*, and the Practices and Conſpiracies of *Perkin* and his Partakers, would come upon him at once; knowing well, that it was a dangerous Triplicity to a Monarchy, to have the Arms of a Foreigner, the Diſcontents of Subjects, and the Title of a Pretender, to meet. Nevertheleſs, the Occaſion took him in ſome part well provided. For as ſoon as the Parliament had broken up, the King had preſently raiſed a puiſſant Army, to War upon *Scotland*. And King *James* of *Scotland* likewiſe, on his part, had made great Preparations either for Defence, or for new aſſailing of *England*. But as for the King's Forces, they were not only in preparation, but in readineſs preſently to ſet forth, under the Conduct of *Dawbeney*, the Lord Chamberlain. But as ſoon as the King underſtood of the Rebellion of *Cornwall*, he ſtayed thoſe Forces, retaining them for his own ſervice and Safety. But therewithal he diſpatch'd the Earl of *Surry* into the *North*, for the Defence and ſtrength of thoſe Parts, in caſe the *Scots* ſhould ſtir. But for the Courſe he held towards the Rebels, it was utterly differing from his former Cuſtom and Practice; which was ever full of Forwardneſs and Celerity, to make head againſt them, or to ſet upon them as ſoon as ever they were in Action. This he was wont to do. But now, beſides that he was attemper'd by Years, and leſs in love with Dangers, by the continued Fruition of a Crown, it was a time when the various Appearance to his Thoughts of Perils of ſeveral Natures, and from divers Parts, did make him judge it his beſt and ſureſt Way to keep his Strength together, in the Seat and Center of his Kingdom; according to the ancient *Indian* Emblem, in ſuch a ſwelling Seaſon, *To hold the Hand upon the middle of the Bladder, that no ſide might riſe.* Beſides, there was no neceſſity put upon him, to alter this Counſel. For neither did the Rebels ſpoil the Country; in which caſe it had been Diſhonour to abandon his People: Neither on the other ſide, did their Forces gather or increaſe, which might haſten him to precipitate and aſſail them, before they grew too ſtrong. And laſtly, both Reaſon of Eſtate and War ſeem'd to agree with this Courſe: For that Inſurrections of baſe People are commonly more furious in their Beginnings. And by this means alſo he had them the more at Vantage, being tired and harraſſed with a long March; and more at Mercy, being cut off far from their Country, and therefore not able by any ſuddain Flight to get to retreat, and to renew the Troubles.

When therefore the Rebels were encamped on *Black-Heath*, upon the Hill, whence they might behold the City of *London*, and the fair Valley about it; the King knowing well, that it ſtood him upon, by how much the more he had hitherto protracted the Time in not encountring them, by ſo much the ſooner to diſpatch with them, that it might appear to have been no Coldneſs in foreſlowing, but Wiſdom in chuſing his Time, reſolved with all ſpeed to aſſail them, and yet with that Providence and Surety, as ſhould leave little to venture or fortune. And having very great and puiſſant Forces about him, the better to maſter all Events and Accidents,

1497. Accidents, he divided them into three Parts. The first was led by the Earl of *Oxford* in chief, assisted by the Earls of *Essex* and *Suffolk*. These Noblemen were appointed, with some Cornets of Horse, and Bands of Foot, and good store of Artillery wheeling about, to put themselves beyond the Hill, where the Rebels were encamped; and to beset all the Skirts and Descents thereof, except those that lay towards *London*; whereby to have these Wild Beasts (as it were) in a Toil. The second Part of his Forces (which were those that were to be most in Action, and upon which he relied most for the Fortune of the Day) he did assign to be led by the Lord Chamberlain, who was appointed to set upon the Rebels in Front, from that side which is toward *London*. The third Part of his Forces (being likewise great and brave Forces) he retained about himself, to be ready upon all Events, to restore the Fight, or consummate the Victory; and mean while to secure the City. And for that purpose he encamped in Person in St. *George's Fields*, putting himself between the City and the Rebels. But the City of *London* (especially at the first) upon the near encamping of the Rebels, was in great Tumult: As it useth to be with wealthy and populous Cities (especially those, which, for Greatness and Fortune, are Queens of their Regions) who seldom see out of their Windows, or from their Towers, an Army of Enemies. But that which troubled them most, was the Conceit, that they dealt with a Rout of People with whom there was no Composition or Condition, or orderly treating, if need were; but likely to be bent altogether upon Rapin and Spoil. And although they had heard, that the Rebels had behaved themselves quietly and modestly, by the way as they went, yet they doubted much that would not last, but rather make them more hungry, and more in appetite, to fall upon Spoil in the end. Wherefore there was great running to and fro of People, some to the Gates, some to the Walls, some to the Water side; giving themselves Alarms and panick Fears continually. Nevertheless, both *Tate* the Lord Mayor, and *Shaw* and *Haddon* the Sheriffs, did their Parts stoutly and well, in arming and ordering the People. And the King likewise did adjoin some Captains of Experience in the Wars, to advise and assist the Citizens. But soon after, when they understood that the King had so ordered the matter, that the Rebels must win three Battels, before they could approach the City, and that he had put his own Person between the Rebels and them, and that the great Care was rather how to impound the Rebels, that none of them might escape, than that any doubt was made to vanquish them; they grew to be quiet and out of Fear. The rather, for the Confidence they reposed (which was not small) in the three Leaders *Oxford*, *Essex*, and *Dawbeny*, all Men famed and loved amongst the People. As for *Jasper* Duke of *Bedford*, whom the King used to employ with the first in his Wars, he was then sick, and died soon after.

The Battel of *Blackheath*.

A Tumult in *London*.

It was the Two and twentieth of *June*, and a *Saturday* (which was the Day of the Week the King fancied) when the Battel was fought; though the King had, by all the Art he could devise, given out a false Day, as if he prepared to give the Rebels Battel on the *Monday* following, the better to find them unprovided, and in disarray. The Lords that were appointed to circle the Hill, had some Days before planted themselves (as at the Receipt) in Places convenient. In the Afternoon, towards the Decline of the Day, (which was done the better to keep the Rebels in opinion that they should not fight that Day) the Lord *Dawbeny* marched on towards them, and first beat some Troops of them from *Deptford-bridge*, where they fought manfully; but being in no great number were soon driven back, and fled up to their main Army upon the Hill. The Army at that time hearing of the Approach of the King's Forces, were putting themselves in Array, not without much Confusion. But neither had they placed upon the first high Ground towards the Bridge any Forces to second the Troops below, that kept the Bridge; neither had they brought forwards their main Battel (which stood in Array far into the Heath) near to the Ascent of the Hill. So that the Earl with his Forces mounted the Hill, and recovered the Plain without Resistance. The Lord *Dawbeny* charged them with great Fury; insomuch, as it had like (by accident) to have brandled the Fortune of the Day. For, by inconsiderate Forwardness in fighting in the Head of his Troops, he was taken by the Rebels, but immediately rescued and delivered. The Rebels maintained the Fight for a small time, and for their Persons shewed no want of Courage; but being ill armed, and ill led, and without Horse and Artillery, they were with no great Difficulty cut in pieces, and put to flight. And for their three Leaders, the Lord *Audley*, the *Blacksmith* and *Flammock*, (as commonly the Captains of Commotions are but half-couraged Men) suffered themselves to be taken alive. The number slain on the Rebels part, were some † two thousand Men; their Army amounting (as it is said) unto the number of Sixteen thousand. The rest were (in effect) all taken; for that the Hill, as was said, was encompassed with the King's Forces round about. On the King's part there died about three hundred; most of them shot with Arrows which were reported to be of the length of a Taylor's Yard: So strong and mighty a Bow the *Cornish* Men were said to draw.

1497. Lo. *Dawbeny* fights the *Rebels*.

† *Stow* writes there were 300 of the *Rebels* slain, and 500 taken Prisoners. *Hall*, that there were above 2000 slain, and a vast number taken.

The number of the *Rebels*.

The length of the *Cornish* Men's Arrows.

The Victory thus obtained, the King created divers Bannerets, as well upon *Black Heath*, where his Lieutenant had won the Field, (whither he rode in Person to perform the said Creation) as in St. *George's Fields* where his own Person had been encamped. And for matter of Liberality, he did (by open Edict) give the Goods of all the Prisoners unto those that had taken them; either to take them in kind, or compound for them as they could. After matter of Honor and Liberality, followed matter of Severity and Execution. The Lord *Audley* was led from *Newgate* to *Tower-Hill*, in a Paper Coat painted with his own Arms; the Arms reversed, the Coat torn, and he at *Tower-Hill* beheaded. ‖ *Flammock* and the *Blacksmith* were hanged, drawn, and quartered at *Tyburn*; the *Blacksmith* taking pleasure upon the Hurdle (as it seemeth by Words that he uttered) to think that he should be famous in after-times. The King was once in mind to have sent down *Flammock* and the *Blacksmith* to have been executed in *Cornwall*, for the more Terror; But being advertised, that the Country was yet unquiet and boiling, he thought better not to irritate the People further. All the rest were pardoned by Proclamation, and to take out their Pardons under Seal, as many as would. So that, more than the Blood drawn in the Field, the King did satisfy himself with the Lives of only three Offenders, for the Expiation of this great Rebellion.

The Lord *Audley* and the *Cornish Rebels* executed.

‖ On the 24th of *June*.

It was a strange thing, to observe the Variety and Inequality of the King's Executions and Pardons. And a Man would think it, at the first, a kind of Lottery or Chance. But, looking into

1497. it more nearly, one ſhall find there was Reaſon for it; much more perhaps, than (after ſo long a diſtance of Time) we can now diſcern. In the *Kentiſh* Commotion (which was but an Handful of Men) there were executed to the number of One hundred and fifty; and, in this ſo mighty a Rebellion, but three: Whether it were, that the King put to accompt the Men that were ſlain in the Field: or that he was not willing to be ſevere in a popular cauſe; or that the harmleſs behaviour of this People (that came from the Weſt of *England*, to the Eaſt, without Miſchief almoſt, or ſpoil of the Country) did ſomewhat mollify him, and move him to Compaſſion; or laſtly, that he made a great difference between People, that did rebel upon Wantonneſs, and them that did rebel upon Want.

After the *Corniſh* Men were defeated, there came from *Calice* to the King, an honourable Ambaſſage from the *French* King, which had arrived at *Calice* a Month before, and there was ſtayed in reſpect of the Troubles; but honourably entertained and defrayed.

The King, at their firſt coming, ſent unto them, and prayed them to have Patience, till a little Smoak, that was raiſed in his Country, were over; which would ſoon be: Slighting (as his Manner was) that openly, which nevertheleſs he intended ſeriouſly.

This Ambaſſage concerned no great Affair; but only the Prolongation of Days for Payment of Monies, and ſome other Particulars of the Frontiers. And it was (indeed) but a wooing Ambaſſage; with good Reſpects to entertain the King in good Affection. But nothing was done or handled, to the Derogation of the King's late Treaty with the *Italians*.

The *Scotch* King enters *England* with an Army.

But, during that time that the *Corniſh* Men were in their March towards *London*, the King of *Scotland* (well advertiſed of all that paſſed, and knowing himſelf ſure of War from *England*, whenſoever thoſe Stirs were appeaſed) neglected not his Opportunity; but thinking the King had his Hands full, entred the Frontiers of *England* again with an Army, and beſieged the Caſtle of *Norham* in Perſon, with part of his Forces, ſending the reſt to forrage the Country. But

Fox Biſhop of *Durham*, Provident againſt the *Scots*.

Fox, Biſhop of *Dureſme* (a wiſe Man, and one that could ſee through the Preſent, to the Future) doubting as much before, had cauſed his Caſtle of *Norham* to be ſtrongly fortified, and furniſhed, with all kind of Munition: And had mann'd it likewiſe with a very great number of tall Soldiers, more than for the proportion of the Caſtle; reckoning rather upon a ſharp Aſſault, than a long Siege. And for the Country likewiſe, he had cauſed the People to withdraw their Cattle and Goods into faſt Places, that were not of eaſie approach; and ſent in Poſt to the Earl of *Surry* (who was not far off in *Yorkſhire*) to come in diligence to the Succour. So as the *Scotiſh* King both failed of doing good upon the Caſtle, and his Men had but a catching Harveſt of their Spoils. And when he underſtood, that the Earl of *Surry* was coming on with great Forces he returned back into *Scotland*.

The Earl of *Surry* enters *Scotland*.

The Earl finding the Caſtle freed, and the Enemy retired, purſued with all celerity into *Scotland*; hoping to have overtaken the *Scottiſh* King, and to have given him Battle; but not attaining him in time, ſat down before the Caſtle

He takes *Aton* Caſtle.

of *Aton* (one of the ſtrongeſt Places then eſteemed, between *Berwick* and *Edenburgh*) which in a ſmall time he took. And ſoon after, the *Scotiſh* King retiring further into his Country, and the Weather being extraordinary foul and ſtormy, the Earl returned into *England*. So that the Expeditions on both parts were (in effect) but a Caſtle taken, and a Caſtle diſtreſſed; not anſwerable to the Puiſſance of the Forces, nor to the Heat of the Quarrel, nor to the Greatneſs of the Expectation. 1497.

Amongſt theſe Troubles both Civil and External, came into *England* from *Spain Peter Hialas*, ſome call him *Elias* (ſurely he was the forerunner of the good Hap, that we enjoy at this Day. For, his Ambaſſage ſet the Truce between *England* and *Scotland*; the Truce drew on the Peace; the Peace the Marriage; and the Marriage the Union of the Kingdoms) a Man of great Wiſdom, and (as thoſe times were) not unlearned; ſent from *Ferdinando* and *Iſabella* Kings of *Spain* unto the King, to treat a Marriage between *Katherine* their ſecond Daughter, and Prince *Arthur*. This Treaty was by him ſet in a very good way, and almoſt brought to Perfection. But it ſo fell out by the way, that upon ſome Conference which he had with the King touching this Buſineſs, the King (who had a great Dexterity in getting ſuddenly into the Boſom of Ambaſſadors of forreign Princes, if he liked them; inſomuch as he would many times communicate with them of his own Affairs, yea and employ them in his Service) fell into Speech and Diſcourſe incidently, concerning the ending of the Debates and Differences with *Scotland*. For the King naturally did not love the barren Wars with *Scotland*, though he made his Profit of the Noiſe of them. And he wanted not in the Council of *Scotland*, thoſe that would adviſe their King to meet him at the half way, and to give over the War with *England*; pretending to be good Patriots, but indeed favouring the Affairs of the King. Only his heart was too great to begin with *Scotland* for the Motion of Peace. On the other ſide, he had met with an Ally of *Ferdinando* of *Arragon*, as fit for his Turn as could be. For after that King *Ferdinando* had, upon aſſured Confidence of the Marriage to ſucceed, taken upon him the Perſon of a Fraternal Allie to the King, he would not let (in a *Spaniſh* Gravity) to counſel the King in his own Affairs. And the King on his Part not being wanting to himſelf, but making uſe of every Man's Humours, made his Advantage of this in ſuch things as he thought either not decent, or not pleaſant to proceed from himſelf; putting them off as done by the Council of *Ferdinando*. Wherefore he was content that *Hialas* (as in a Matter moved and adviſed from *Hialas* himſelf) ſhould go into *Scotland*, to treat of a Concord between the two Kings. *Hialas* took it upon him: And coming to the *Scottiſh* King, after he had with much Art brought King *James* to hearken to the more ſafe and quiet Counſels, wrote unto the King, that he hoped that Peace would with no great difficulty cement and cloſe, if he would ſend ſome wiſe and temperate Counſellor of his own, that might treat of the Conditions. Whereupon the King directed Biſhop *Fox* (who at that time was at his Caſtle of *Norham*) to confer with *Hialas*, and they both to treat with ſome Commiſſioners deputed from the *Scottiſh* King. The Commiſſioners on both Sides met. But after much Diſpute upon the Articles and Conditions of Peace, propounded upon either part, they could not conclude a Peace. The chief Impediment thereof was the Demand of the King to have *Perkin* deliver'd into his Hands, as a Reproach to all Kings, and a Perſon not protected by the Law of Nations. The King of *Scotland* on the other ſide peremptorily denied ſo to do; ſaying, That he (for his part) was no competent Judge of *Perkin*'s Title: But that he had received him as a Suppliant, pro-

The Riſe of the Union of *England* and *Scotland*.

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1497. tected him as a Perſon fled for Refuge, eſpouſed him with his Kinſwoman, and aided him with his Arms, upon the belief that he was a Prince; And therefore that he could not now with his Honour ſo unrip and (in a ſort) put a Lye upon all that he had ſaid and done before, as to deliver him up to his Enemies. The Biſhop likewiſe (who had certain proud Inſtructions from the King, at the leaſt in the Front, tho' there were a pliant Clauſe at the Foot, that remitted all to the Biſhop's Diſcretion, and requir'd him by no Means to break off in ill Terms) after that he had failed to obtain the Delivery of *Perkin*, did move a ſecond Point of his Inſtructions; which was that the *Scottiſh* King would give the King an Enterview in Perſon at *Newcaſtle*. But this being reported to the *Scottiſh* King, his Anſwer was, *That he meant to treat a Peace, and not to go a begging for it.* The Biſhop alſo (according to another Article of his Inſtructions) demanded Reſtitution of the Spoils taken by the *Scottiſh*, or *Damages* for the ſame. But the *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners anſwered, *That it was but as Water ſpilt upon the Ground, which could not be gotten up again; and that the King's People were better able to bear the Loſs, than their Maſter able to repair it.* But in the end (as Perſons capable of Reaſon) on both Sides they made rather a kind of Receſs, than a breach of Treaty, and concluded upon a Truce for ſome Months following. But the King of *Scotland*, tho' he would not formally retract his Judgment of *Perkin*, wherein he had engaged himſelf ſo far; yet in his private Opinion, upon often Speech with the *Engliſhmen*, and divers other Adverti ſements, began to ſuſpect him for a Counterfeit. Wherefore in a Noble faſhion he call'd him unto him, and recounted the benefits and favours that he had done him, in making him his Ally, and in provoking a Mighty and Opulent King by an Offenſive War in his Quarrel, for the ſpace of two Years together. Nay more, that he had refuſed an Honourable Peace, whereof he had a fair Offer, if he would have deliver'd him; and that to keep his Promiſe with him, he had deeply offended both his Nobles and People, whom he might not hold in any long Diſcontent. And therefore requir'd him to think of his own Fortunes, and to chooſe out ſome fitter Place for his Exile: Telling him withal, that he could not ſay, but the *Engliſh* had forſaken him before the *Scottiſh*; for that upon two ſeveral Trials, none had declar'd themſelves on his Side. But nevertheleſs he would make good what he ſaid to him at his firſt Receiving; which was, *That he ſhould not repent him, for putting himſelf into his Hands*; For that he would not caſt him off, but help him with Shipping and means to tranſport him where he ſhould deſire. *Perkin*, not deſcending at all from his Stage-like Greatneſs, anſwered the King in few Words, *That he ſaw his time was not yet come; But whatſoever his Fortunes were, he ſhould both think and ſpeak Honour of the King.* Taking his leave, he would not think on *Flanders*, doubting it was but hollow Ground for him, ſince the Treaty of the Arch-Duke concluded the Year before; but took his Lady, and ſuch Followers as would not leave him, and ſail'd over into *Ireland*.

This Twelfth year of the King, a little before this time, Pope *Alexander* (who loved beſt thoſe Princes that were furtheſt off, and with whom he had leaſt to do) taking very thankfully the King's late entrance into League for the Defence of *Italy*, did remunerate him with an Hallow'd Sword, and Cap of Maintenance ſent by his Nuncio. Pope *Innocent* had done the like, but it was not received in that Glory. For the King appointed the Mayor and his Brethren to meet the Pope's Orator at *London-bridge*, and all the Streets between the Bridge-foot and the Palace of *Paul's* (where the King then lay) were garniſh'd with the Citizens, ſtanding in their Liveries. And the Morrow after (being *All-Hallow's* Day) the King, attended with many of his Prelates, Nobles, and principal Courtiers, went in Proceſſion to *Paul's*, and the Cap and Sword were born before him. And after the Proceſſion, the King himſelf remaining ſeated in the Quire, the Lord Archbiſhop upon the Greece of the Quire made a long Oration, ſetting forth the Greatneſs and Eminency of that Honour, which the Pope (in theſe Ornaments and Enſigns of Benediction) had done the King; and how rarely, and upon what high Deſerts they uſed to be beſtowed. And then recited the King's principal Acts and Merits, which had made him appear worthy in the Eyes of his Holineſs of this great Honour.

1497. The Pope preſents *K. Henry* with a conſecrated Sword.

All this while the *Rebellion* of *Cornwall* (whereof we have ſpoken) ſeem'd to have no relation to *Perkin*; ſave that perhaps *Perkin's* Proclamation had ſtricken upon the right Vein, in promiſing to lay down Exactions and Payments, and ſo had made them now and then have a kind Thought on *Perkin*. But now theſe Bubbles by much ſtirring began to meet, as they uſe to do upon the Top of Water. The King's Lenity (by that time the *Corniſh* Rebels, who were taken and pardon'd, and (as it was ſaid) many of them ſold by them that had taken them, for Twelve-Pence and Two Shillings apiece, were come down into their Country) had rather imbolden'd them, than reclaim'd them. Inſomuch, as they ſtuck not to ſay to their Neighbours and Country men, That *the King did well to pardon them, for that he knew he ſhould leave few Subjects in* England, *if he hang'd all that were of their Mind:* And began whetting and inciting one another to renew the Commotion. Some of the ſubtilleſt of them, hearing of *Perkin's* being in *Ireland*, found mean to ſend to him to let him know, that if he would come over to them, they would ſerve him.

When *Perkin* heard this News, he began to take heart again, and adviſ'd upon it with his Council which were principally three; *Horne* a Mercer, that fled for Debt; *Skelton* a Taylor, and *Aſtley* a Scrivener: for Secretary *Frion* was gone. Theſe told him that he was mightily overſeen, both when he went into *Kent*, and when he went into *Scotland*: The one being a Place ſo near *London*, and under the King's Noſe; and the other, a Nation ſo diſtaſted with the People of *England*, that if they had lov'd him never ſo well, yet they would never have taken his part in that Company. But if he had been ſo happy as to have been in *Cornwall* at the firſt when the People began to take Arms there, he had been crown'd at *Weſtminſter* before this time. For, theſe Kings (as he had now Experience) would ſell poor Princes for Shoes: But he muſt rely wholly upon People; and therefore adviſed him to ſail over with all poſſible ſpeed into *Cornwall*. Which accordingly he did; ha-

(*f*) He arriv'd at *Cork* the 26th of *July*; where ſome out of Affection, others for Deſire of Change flock'd to him: among whom, 'tis ſaid, was *Maurice* Earl of *Deſmond*. The Mayor and Citizens of *Waterford* notify'd his Arrival to the King, and as they had bravely defended themſelves againſt *Simnel's* Adherents, ſo they did the ſame now againſt *Perkin*; for which they were taken into the King's eſpecial Favour. *Sir* J. W. *Cap.* XIII.

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1497. ving in his Company four ſmall Barks, with ſome Sixſcore or Seventſcore fighting Men. (g) He arriv'd in *September* at *Whitſand-Bay*, and forth with came to *Bodmin*, the Blackſmith's Town: where there aſſembled unto him to the number of Three Thouſand Men of the rude People. There he ſet forth a new Proclamation, ſtroaking the People with fair Promiſes, and humouring them with *Invectives* againſt the King and his Government. And, as it fareth with Smoke, that never loſeth it ſelf till it be at the higheſt; he did now before his end raiſe his Stile, intituling himſelf no more *Richard* Duke of *York*, but *Richard* the IVth, King of *England*. His Council adviſed him by all means, to make himſelf Maſter of ſome good walled Town; as well to make his Men find the Sweetneſs of rich Spoils, and to allure to him all looſe and loſt People, by like hopes of Booty; as to be a ſure Retreat to his Forces, in caſe they ſhould have any ill Day, or unlucky Chance in the Field. Wherefore they took heart to them, and went on, and beſieged the City of *Exeter*, the principal Town for Strength and Wealth in thoſe Parts.

When they were come before *Exeter*, they forbare to uſe any Force at the firſt; but made continual Shouts and Out-cries, to terrifie the Inhabitants. They did likewiſe in divers places call and talk to them from under the Walls, *to join with them*, and be of their Party; telling them, That the King would make them another *London*, if they would be the firſt Town that ſhould acknowledge him. But they had not the Wit to ſend to them, in any orderly faſhion Agents or choſen Men to tempt them, and to treat with them. The Citizens on their part ſhew'd themſelves ſtout and loyal Subjects. Neither was there ſo much as any Tumult or Diviſion amongſt them: but all prepar'd themſelves for a valiant Defence, and making good the Town. For well they ſaw that the Rebels were of no ſuch Number or Power, that they needed to fear them as yet: and well they hoped, that before their Numbers encreaſed the King's Succours would come in. And, howſoever, they thought it the extremeſt of Evils, to put themſelves at the Mercy of thoſe hungry and diſorderly People. Wherefore ſetting all things in good Order within the Town, they nevertheleſs let down with Cords, from ſeveral parts of the Walls privily, ſeveral Meſſengers (that, if one came to Miſchance, another might paſs on) which ſhould advertiſe the King of the State of the Town, and implore his Aid. *Perkin* alſo doubted that Succours would come ere long; and therefore reſolved to uſe his utmoſt Force to aſſault the Town: And for that purpoſe, having mounted Scaling-Ladders in divers places upon the Walls, made at the ſame inſtant an Attempt to force one of the Gates: But having no Artillery nor Engines, and finding that he could do no good by ramming with Logs of Timber, nor by the uſe of Iron Bars and Iron Crows, and ſuch other means at hand, he had no way left him but to ſet one of the Gates on Fire: which he did. But the Citizens, well perceiving the Danger, before the Gate could be fully conſumed, block'd up the Gate, and ſome ſpace about it on the inſide with Faggots and other Fuel: which they likewiſe ſet on fire, and ſo repuls'd Fire with Fire: And in the mean time, raiſed up Rampiers of Earth, and caſt up deep Trenches, to ſerve inſtead of Wall and Gate. And

Exeter beſieg'd by *Perkin.*

The Loyalty of the Citizens.

for the Eſcalades, they had ſo bad Succeſs; as the Rebels were driven from the Walls, with the Loſs of Two hundred Men.

The King when he heard of *Perkin*'s Siege of *Exeter*, made Sport with it, and ſaid to them that were about him, That *the King of Rake-hells was landed in the Weſt, and that he hoped now to have the Honour to ſee him, which he could never yet do.* And it appear'd plainly to thoſe that were about the King, that he was indeed much joy'd with the News of *Perkin*'s being in *Engleſh* Ground, where he could have no Retreat by Land; thinking now that he ſhould be cured of thoſe privy Stitches which he had long had about his Heart, and had ſometimes broken his Sleeps in the midſt of all his Felicity. And to ſet all Mens Hearts on fire, he did by all poſſible means let it appear, that thoſe, who ſhould now do him Service to make an end of theſe Troubles, ſhould be no leſs accepted of him, than he that came upon the Eleventh Hour and had the whole Wages of the Day. Therefore now (like the end of a Play) a great Number came upon the Stage at once. He ſent the Lord Chamberlain and the Lord *Brook*, and Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, with expedite Forces to ſpeed to *Exeter*, to the Reſcue of the Town, and to ſpread the Fame of his own following in Perſon with a Royal Army. The Earl of *Devonſhire* and his Son, with the *Carews*, and the *Fulfordes*, and other principal Perſons of *Devonſhire* (uncall'd from the Court, but hearing that the King's Heart was ſo much bent upon this Service) made haſt with Troops, that they had raiſed, to be the firſt that ſhould ſuccour the City of *Exeter*, and prevent the King's Succours. The Duke of *Buckingham* likewiſe, with many brave Gentlemen, put themſelves in Arms, not ſtaying either the King's or the Lord Chamberlain's coming on, but making a Body of Forces of themſelves, the more to indear their Merit; ſignifying to the King their Readineſs, and deſiring to know his Pleaſure. So that according to the Proverb, *In the coming down every Saint did help.*

1497. K. Henry calls *Perkin* King of Rake-hells.

Perkin hearing this Thunder of *Arms* and Preparations againſt him from ſo many parts, raiſed his Siege, and marched to *Taunton*; beginning already to ſquint one Eye upon the Crown, and another upon the Sanctuary: Tho' the *Corniſhmen* were become, like Metal often fir'd and quench'd, churliſh, and that would ſooner break than bow; ſwearing and vowing not to leave him, till the uttermoſt drop of their Blood were ſpilt. He was at his riſing from *Exeter* between Six and ſeven thouſand ſtrong, many having come unto him after he was ſet before *Exeter*, upon Fame of ſo great an Enterpriſe, and to partake of the Spoil; tho' upon the raiſing of his Siege, ſome did ſlip away. When he was come near *Taunton*, he diſſembled all Fear, and ſeemed all the Day to uſe Diligence in preparing all things ready to fight. But about Midnight, he fled with Threeſcore Horſe to *Bewley* in the *New-Forreſt*, where he and divers of his Company regiſtred themſelves Sanctuary-Men, leaving his *Corniſh* Men to the four Winds: But yet thereby eaſing them of their Vow, and uſing his wonted Compaſſion, *Not to be by when his Subjects blood ſhould be ſpilt.* The King, as ſoon as he heard of *Perkin*'s Flight, ſent preſently five hundred Horſe to purſue and apprehend him, before he ſhould get either to the Sea, or to that ſame little Iſland, call'd a *Sanctuary*. But they came too late for the latter of theſe. Therefore

In *Hampſhire.*

(g) His Wife came alſo with him.

1497. all they could do, was to beſet the Sanctuary and to maintain a ſtrong Watch about it, till the King's Pleaſure were further known. As for the reſt of the Rebels, they (being deſtituted of their Head) without Stroke ſtricken, ſubmitted themſelves unto the King's Mercy. And the King, who commonly drew Blood (as Phyſicians do) rather to ſave Life than to ſpill it, and was never cruel when he was ſecure; now he ſaw the Danger was paſt, pardon'd them all in the end, except ſome few deſperate Perſons which he reſerv'd to be executed, the better to ſet off his Mercy towards the reſt. There were alſo ſent with all ſpeed ſome Horſe to St. *Michael's Mount* in *Cornwall*, where the Lady *Katherine Gordon* was left by her Husband, whom in all Fortunes ſhe entirely loved; adding the Vertues of a Wife to the Vertues of her Sex. The King ſent in the greater Diligence, not knowing whether ſhe might be with Child; whereby the Buſineſs would not have ended in *Perkin*'s Perſon. When ſhe was brought to the King, it was commonly ſaid, that the King receiv'd her not only with Compaſſion, but with Affection; Pity giving more Impreſſion to her excellent Beauty. Wherefore comforting her (to ſerve as well his Eye as his Fame) he ſent her to his Queen to remain with her; giving her very honourable Allowance for the Support of her Eſtate: which ſhe enjoy'd both during the King's Life and many Years after. The Name of the *White-Roſe* (which had been given to her Husband's falſe Title) was continued in common Speech to her true Beauty.

The Lady *Katherine Gordon*, *Perkin's* Wife royally entertain'd by the King.

The King went forwards on his Journey, and made a joyful Entrance into *Exeter*, where he gave the Citizens great Commendations and Thanks; and taking the Sword he wore from his Side, he gave it to the Mayor, and commanded it ſhould be ever after carried before him. There alſo he cauſed to be executed ſome of the Ring-leaders of the *Corniſh-men*, in Sacrifice to the Citizens, whom they had put in fear, and Trouble. At *Exeter* the King conſulted with his Council, whether he ſhould offer Life to *Perkin* if he would quit the Sanctuary, and voluntarily ſubmit himſelf. The Council were divided in Opinion. Some adviſed the King to take him out of Sanctuary perforce, and to put him to Death, as in a Caſe of Neceſſity, which in it ſelf diſpenſeth with conſecrated Places and Things. Wherein they doubted not alſo, but the King ſhould find the Pope tractable to ratify his Deed, either by Declaration, or (at leaſt) by Indulgence. Others were of Opinion (ſince all was now ſafe, and no further Hurt could be done) that it was not worth the expoſing of the King to new Scandal and Envy. A third ſort fell upon the Opinion that it was not poſſible for the King ever, either to ſatisfie the World well touching the Impoſture, or to learn out the bottom of the Conſpiracy, except by Promiſe of Life and Pardon, and other fair Means, he ſhould get *Perkin* into his Hands. But they did all in their Preambles much bemoan the King's Caſe, with a kind of Indignation at his Fortune. That a Prince of his high Wiſdom and Vertue ſhould have been ſo long, and ſo oft exercis'd and vex'd with Idols. But the King ſaid, that it was the Vexation of God Almighty himſelf, to be vex'd with Idols, and therefore that that was not to trouble any of his Friends. And that for himſelf, he always deſpiſed them; but was griev'd that they had put his People to ſuch Trouble and Miſery. But (in Concluſion) he lean'd to the third Opinion, and ſo ſent ſome to deal with *Perkin*. Who ſeeing himſelf Priſoner, and deſtitute of all Hopes, having try'd Princes and People, Great and Small, and found all either Falſe, Faint, or Unfortunate, did gladly accept of the Condition. The King did alſo (while he was at *Exeter*) appoint the Lord *Darcy* and others, Commiſſioners, for the fining all ſuch as were of any Value, and had any Hand or partaking in the Aid or Comfort of *Perkin* or the *Cornuſh-men*, either in the Field or in the Flight.

K. *Henry* gives the Mayor of *Exeter* the Sword he wore to be carried before Him.

Divers Opinions of what was to be done with *Perkin*.

1498.

The Lord *Darcy*, Sir *Amias Paulet* and Dr. *Shaterne*.

Theſe Commiſſioners proceeded with ſuch Strictneſs and Severity, as did much obſcure the King's Mercy in ſparing of Blood, with the bleeding of ſo much Treaſure. *Perkin* was brought unto the King's Court, but not to the King's Preſence; tho' the King (to ſatisfie his Curioſity) ſaw him ſometimes out of a Window, or in Paſſage. He was in ſhew at Liberty, but guarded with all Care and Watch that was poſſible, and willed to follow the King to *London*. But from his firſt Appearance upon the Stage, in his new Perſon of a Sycophant or Juggler, inſtead of his former Perſon of a Prince, all Men may think how he was expoſed to the Deriſion, not only of the Courtiers, but alſo of the common People, who flock'd about him as he went along; that one might know afar off where the Owl was by the Flight of Birds. Some Mocking, ſome Wondring, ſome Curſing, ſome prying and picking Matter out of his Countenance and Geſture to talk of. So that the falſe Honour and Reſpects which he had ſo long enjoy'd, was plentifully repay'd in Scorn and Contempt. As ſoon as he was come to *London*, the King gave alſo the City the Solace of this May-Game. For he was conveigh'd leiſurely on Horſeback (but not in any ignominious faſhion) through *Cheapſide* and *Cornwall* to the *Tower*; and from thence back again unto *Weſtminſter*, with the Charm of a thouſand Taunts and Reproaches. But to amend the Show, there followed a little diſtance of *Perkin*, an inward Councellor of his, one that had been Serjeant-Farrier to the King. This Fellow, when *Perkin* took Sanctuary, choſe rather to take an holy Habit than a holy Place, and clad himſelf like a Hermit, and in that Weed wander'd about the Country till he was diſcover'd and taken. But this Man was bound Hand and Foot upon the Horſe, and came not back with *Perkin*, but was left at the *Tower*, and within few Days after executed. Soon after, now that *Perkin* could tell better what himſelf was, he was diligently examined; and after his Confeſſion taken, an Extract was made of ſuch Parts of them, as were thought fit to be divulged, which was printed and diſpers'd Abroad. Wherein the King did himſelf no Right. For as there was a laboured Tale of Particulars, of *Perkin*'s Father, and Mother, and Grandfire, and Grandmother, and Uncles, and Couſins, by Names and Sirnames, and from what Places he travell'd up and down; ſo there was little or nothing to purpoſe of any thing concerning his Deſigns, or any Practices that had been held with him; nor the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* her ſelf (that all the World did take knowledge of, as the Perſon that had put Life and Being into the whole Buſineſs) ſo much as nam'd or pointed at. So that Men miſſing of that they look'd for, look'd about for they knew not what, and were in more doubt than before. But the King choſe rather not to ſatisfie, than to kindle Coals. At that time alſo it did not appear by any new Examinations or Commitments, that any other Perſon of Quality was diſcover'd or appeach'd, tho' the King's Cloſeneſs made that a Doubt-Dormant.

Perkin ſubmits, and is brought to the King's Court.

About this time, a great Fire in the Night-time ſuddenly began at the King's Palace of *Shyne*, near unto the King's own Lodgings, whereby

The Palace at *Richmond* built.

1498. by a great part of the Building was conſumed, with much coſtly Houſhold ſtuff; which gave the King occaſion of Building from the Ground that fine Pile of *Richmond*, which is now ſtanding.

Somewhat before this time alſo there fell out a memorable Accident: There was one *Sebaſtian Gabato*, a *Venetian*, dwelling in *Briſtow*, a Man ſeen and expert in *Coſmography* and *Navigation*. This Man ſeeing the Succeſs, and emulating perhaps the Enterprize of *Chriſtopherus Columbus* in that fortunate Diſcovery towards the Southweſt, which had been by him made ſome ſix Years before; conceited with himſelf, that Lands might likewiſe be diſcover'd towards the Northweſt. And ſurely it may be he had more firm and pregnant Conjectures of it, than *Columbus* had of this at the firſt. For the two great Iſlands of the Old and New World, being (in the ſhape and making of them) broad towards the North, and pointed towards the South; it is likely, that the Diſcovery firſt began where the Lands did neareſt meet. And there had been before that time a Diſcovery of ſome Lands, which they took to be Iſlands, and were indeed the Continent of *America* towards the Northweſt. And it may be, that ſome Relation of this Nature coming afterwards to the Knowledge of *Columbus*, and by him ſuppreſs'd, (deſirous rather to make his Enterprize the Child of his Science and Fortune, than the Follower of a former Diſcovery) did give him better aſſurance, that all was not Sea, from the Weſt of *Europe* and *Africk* unto *Aſia*, than either *Seneca*'s Prophecy, or *Plato*'s Antiquities, or the Nature of the Tides, and Land-winds, and the like, which were the Conjectures that were given out, whereupon he ſhould have rely'd. Tho' I am not ignorant that it was likewiſe laid unto the caſual and wind beaten Diſcovery (a little before) of a *Spaniſh* Pilot, who died in the Houſe of *Columbus*. But this *Gabato* bearing the King in hand, that he would find out an iſland endued with rich Commodities, procur'd him to Man and Victual a Ship at *Briſtol*, for the Diſcovery of that Iſland; with whom ventur'd alſo three ſmall Ships of *London* Merchants, fraught with ſome groſs and ſlight Wares fit for Commerce with barbarous People. He ſail'd (as he affirm'd at his Return, and made a Card thereof) very far Weſtwards, with a Quarter of the North, on the North-ſide of *Terra de Labrador*, until he came to the Latitude of Sixty ſeven Degrees and a half, finding the Seas ſtill open. It is certain alſo, that the King's Fortune had a tender of that great Empire of the *Weſt-Indies*. Neither was it a Refuſal on the King's part, but a Delay by Accident, that put by ſo great an Acqueſt. For *Chriſtophorus Columbus* refuſed by the King of *Portugal* (who would not embrace at once both Eaſt and Weſt) imploy'd his Brother *Bartholomeus Columbus* unto King *Henry*, to negotiate for his Diſcovery. And it ſo fortun'd, that he was taken by Pirats at Sea; by which accidental Impediment he was long ere he came to the King. So long, that before he had obtain'd a Capitulation with the King for his Brother; the Enterprize by him was Atchieved, and ſo the *Weſt Indies* by Providence were then reſerv'd for the Crown of *Caſtilia*. Yet this ſharpen'd the King ſo, that not only in this Voyage, but again in the 16th Year of his Reign, and likewiſe in the 18th thereof, he granted forth new Commiſſions, for the Diſcovery and inveſting of unknown Lands.

Sebaſtian Gabot's Voyage for Diſcoveries.

Chriſtopher and *Bartholomew Columbus*, invite the King to a Diſcovery of the *Weſt-Indies.*

In this Fourteenth Year alſo (by God's wonderful Providence, that boweth things unto his Will, and hangeth great Weights upon ſmall Wyers) there fell out a trifling and untoward Accident, that drew on great and happy Effects. During the Truce with *Scotland*, there were certain *Scottiſh* Young Gentlemen that came into *Norham* Town, and there made merry with ſome of the *Engliſh* of the Town. And having little to do, went ſometimes forth, and would ſtand looking upon the Caſtle. Some of the Garriſon of the Caſtle, obſerving their doing twice or thrice, and having not their Minds purg'd of the late ill Blood of Hoſtility, either ſuſpected them, or quarrelled them for Spies. Whereupon they fell at ill Words, and from Words to Blows; ſo that many were wounded of either Side, and the *Scottiſh men* (being Strangers in the Town) had the worſt. In ſo much as ſome of them were ſlain, and the reſt made haſte Home. The Matter being complained on, and often debated before the Wardens of the Marches of both Sides, and no good Order taken, the King of *Scotland* took it to himſelf, and being much kindled, ſent a Herald to the King to make Proteſtation, That if Reparation were not done, according to the Conditions of the Truce, his King did denounce War. The King (who had often try'd Fortune, and was inclin'd to Peace) made Anſwer, 'That what had been done, was 'utterly againſt his Will, and without his Privity. 'But if the Garriſon Soldiers had been in fault, 'he would ſee them puniſh'd, and the Truce in 'all Points to be preſerv'd. But this Anſwer ſeem'd to the *Scottiſh* King but a Delay to make the Complaint breath out with time; and therefore it did rather exaſperate him, than ſatisfie him. Biſhop *Fox*, underſtanding from the King, that the *Scottiſh* King was ſtill diſcontent and impatient, being troubled that the Occaſion of breaking of the Truce ſhould grow from his Men, ſent many humble and deprecatory Letters to the *Scottiſh* King to appeaſe him. Whereupon King *James*, mollify'd by the Biſhop's Submiſs and Eloquent Letters, wrote back unto him, 'That tho' he were in part moved by his Let-'ters, yet he ſhould not be fully ſatisfied, except 'he ſpake with him, as well about the com-'pounding of the preſent Differences, as about 'other Matters, that might concern the good 'of both Kingdoms. The Biſhop adviſing firſt with the King, took his Journey for *Scotland*. The meeting was at *Melroſſe*, an Abbey of the *Ceſtercians*, where the King then abode. The King firſt roundly utter'd unto the Biſhop his Offence conceiv'd for the inſolent Breach of Truce, by his Men of *Norham-Caſtle*. Whereunto Biſhop *Fox* made ſuch an humble and ſmooth Anſwer, as it was like Oil into the Wound, whereby it began to heal. And this was done in the Preſence of the King and his Council. After, the King ſpake with the Biſhop apart, and opened himſelf unto him, ſaying, 'That 'theſe temporary Truces and Peaces were ſoon 'made, and ſoon broken: But that he deſir'd a 'ſtraiter Amity with the King of *England*, diſcovering his Mind; That if the King would give him in Marriage the Lady *Margaret*, his Eldeſt Daughter, that indeed might be a Knot indiſſoluble. That he knew well what Place and Authority the Biſhop deſervedly had with his Maſter. Therefore if he would take the Buſineſs to heart, and deal in it effectually, he doubted not but it would ſucceed well. The Biſhop anſwered ſoberly, 'That he thought him-'ſelf rather happy, than worthy, to be an In-'ſtrument in ſuch a Matter; but would do his beſt Endeavour. Wherefore the Biſhop returning to the King, and giving Account what had paſſed, and finding the King more than well-diſpoſed in it, gave the King Advice; firſt, to proceed

1498.

The Princeſs *Margaret* deſir'd in Marriage by the *Scots* King.

An Accident trivial in its ſelf, great in Effect.

1499.

1499. proceed to a Concluſion of Peace, and then to go on with the Treaty of Marriage, by degrees. Hereupon a Peace was concluded, which was publiſhed a little before *Chriſtmas*, in the Fourteenth Year of the King's Reign, to continue for both the Kings Lives, and the Outliver of them, and a year after. In this Peace there was an Article contained, that no *Engliſh* Man ſhould enter into *Scotland*, and no *Scottiſh* Man into *England*, without Letters Commendatory from the Kings of either Nation. This at the firſt Sight might ſeem a Means to continue a Strangeneſs between the Nations; but it was done, to lock in the Borderers.

The Kings third Son *Edmund* is born and dyes.

This Year there was alſo born to the King a third Son, who was chriſtened by the Name of *Edmund*, and ſhortly after dyed. And much about the ſame time came News of the Death of *Charles* the *French* King; for whom there were celebrated ſolemn and princely Obſequies.

It was not long, but *Perkin* (who was made of Quick-ſilves, which is hard to hold or impriſon) began to ſtir. For deceiving his Keepers, he took him to his Heels, and made ſpeed to the Sea Coaſts. But preſently all Corners were laid for him, and ſuch diligent purſuit and ſearch made, as he was fain to turn back, and get him to the Houſe of *Bethleem*, called the Priory of *Shyne*, (which had the privilege of Sanctuary) and put himſelf into the Hands of the Prior of that Monaſtery. The Prior was thought an Holy Man, and much reverenced in thoſe Days. He came to the King, and beſought the King for *Perkin*'s Life only; leaving him otherwiſe to the King's Diſcretion. Many about the King were again more hot than ever, to have the King to take him forth, and hang him. But the King (that had an high Stomach, and could not hate any that he deſpiſed) bid, *Take him forth, and ſet the Knave in the Stocks.* And ſo promiſing the Prior his Life, he cauſed him to be brought forth. And within two or three Days after, * upon a Scaffold, ſet up in the Palace Court at *Weſtminſter*, he was fettered and ſet in the Stocks, for the whole Day. And the next Day after, the like was done by him at the Croſs in *Cheapſide*, and in both Places he read his Confeſſion, of which we made mention before; and was from *Cheapſide*, conveyed and laid up in the Tower. Notwithſtanding all this, the King was (as was partly touch'd before) grown to be ſuch a Partner with Fortune, as no Body could tell what Actions the one, and what the other owned. For it was believed generally, that *Perkin* was betrayed, and that this Eſcape was not without the King's Privity, who had him all the time of his Flight in a Line; and that the King did this to pick a Quarrel with him to put him to Death, and to be rid of him at once. But this is not probable. For that the ſame Inſtruments who obſerved him in his Flight, might have kept him from getting into Sanctuary.

Perkin is put in the Stocks.

* On the 15th of *June*.

But it was ordained, that this winding Ivy of a *Plantagenet*, ſhould kill the true Tree it ſelf. For *Perkin*, after he had been a while in the Tower, began to inſinuate himſelf into the Favour and kindneſs of his Keepers, Servants to the Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir *John Digby*, being four in Number; *Strangways*, *Blewet*, *Aſtwood*, and *Long-Roger*. Theſe Varlets, with Mountains of Promiſes, he fought to corrupt, to obtain his Eſcape. But knowing well, that his own Fortunes were made ſo contemptible, as he could feed no Man's Hopes (and by hopes he muſt work, for Rewards he had none) he had contrived with himſelf a vaſt and Tragical Plot; which was, to draw into his Company *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *Warwick*, then Priſoner in the Tower; whom the weary Life of a long Impriſonment, and the often and renewing Fears of being put to Death had ſoftned to take any impreſſion of Counſel for his Liberty. This young Prince he thought theſe Servants would look upon, though not upon himſelf. And therefore after that by ſome Meſſage by one or two of them, he had taſted of the Earl's Conſent; it was agreed, that theſe four ſhould murder their Maſter the Lieutenant, ſecretly in the Night, and make their beſt of ſuch Money and portable Goods of his, as they ſhould find ready at Hand, and get the Keys of the Tower, and preſently let forth *Perkin* and the Earl. But this Conſpiracy was revealed in time, before it could be executed. And in this again the Opinion of the King's great Wiſdom did ſurcharge him with a ſiniſter Fame, that *Perkin* was but his Bait, to entrap the Earl of *Warwick*. And in the very inſtant while this Conſpiracy was in working (as if that alſo had been the King's induſtry) it was fatal, that there ſhould break forth a Counterfeit Earl of *Warwick*, a Cord-wainers Son, whoſe Name was * *Ralph Wilford*; a young Man, taught and ſet on by an *Auguſtine* Frier, called *Patriarch*. They both from the parts of *Suffolk*, came forwards into *Kent*, where they did not only privily and underhand give out, that this *Wilford* was the true Earl of *Warwick*, but alſo the Frier finding ſome light Credence in the People, took the Boldneſs in the Pulpit to declare as much, and to incite the People to come in to his Aid. Whereupon they were both preſently apprehended, and the young Fellow executed, * and the Frier condemned to perpetual Impriſonment. This alſo happening ſo opportunely, to repreſent the danger to the King's Eſtate, from the Earl of *Warwick*, and thereby to colour the King's Severity that followed; together with the Madneſs of the Frier, ſo vainly and deſperately to divulge a Treaſon, before it had gotten any manner of Strength; and the ſaving of the Frier's Life, which nevertheleſs was (indeed) but the Privilege of his Order; and the pity in the common People (which if it run in a ſtrong Stream, doth ever caſt up Scandal and Envy) made it generally rather talked, than believed, that all was but the King's device. But howſoever it were, hereupon *Perkin* (that had offended againſt Grace now the third Time) was at the laſt proceeded with, and by Commiſſioners of *Oyer* and *Determiner*, arraigned at *Weſtminſter*, * upon divers Treaſons committed and perpetrated after his coming on Land within this Kingdom (for ſo the Judges adviſed, for that he was a Foreigner) and condemned, and a few days after executed at *Tyburn*. Where he did again openly read his Confeſſion, and take it upon his Death to be true. This was the end of this little Cockatrice of a King, that was able to deſtroy thoſe that did not eſpy him firſt. It was one of the longeſt Plays of that kind, that hath been in Memory; and might perhaps have had another End, if he had not met with a King both Wiſe, Stout, and Fortunate.

1499.

A Counterfeit Earl of *Warwick*.

* A Shoemakers Son of *London*.

Hanged.

* On *Shrove-Tueſday*.

* On the 16th of *November*.

Perkin Warbeck hang'd at *Tyburn*.

As for *Perkin*'s three Counſellors, they had regiſtred themſelves Sanctuary-Men when their Maſter did. And whether upon Pardon obtained, or continuance within the Privilege, they came not to be proceeded with.

1409. *John Water.* The Mayor of Cork hanged.

There was executed with *Perkin*, the Mayor of *Cork* and his Son *(b)*, who had been principal Abettors of his Treaſons. And ſoon after were likewiſe condemned eight other Perſons, about the Tower-Conſpiracy, whereof four were the Lieutenant's Men. But of thoſe Eight but two were executed. And immediately after * was arraigned before the Earl of *Oxford* (then for the time High Steward of *England*) the poor Prince the Earl of *Warwick*; not for the Attempt to eſcape ſimply (for that was not acted; and beſides, the Impriſonment not being for Treaſon, the Eſcape by Law could not be Treaſon) but for conſpiring with *Perkin* to raiſe Sedition, and to deſtroy the King. And the Earl confeſſing the Inditement had Judgment, and was ſhortly after * beheaded on Tower hill.

* The 21ſt of *Novem.*

* On the 28th of *Novemb.* Earl of *Warwick* executed.

This was alſo the end not only of this noble and commiſerable Perſon *Edward* the Earl of *Warwick* eldeſt Son to the Duke of *Clarence*, but likewiſe of the Line Male of the *Plantagenets*, which had flouriſhed in great Royalty and Renown, from the time of the famous King of *England* King *Henry* the Second. Howbeit it was a Race often dipped in their own Blood. It hath remained ſince only tranſplanted into other Names, as well of the Imperial Line, as of other noble Houſes. But it was neither Guilt of Crime, nor Reaſon of State, that could quench the Envy that was upon the King for this Execution. So that he thought good to export it out of the Land, and to lay it upon his new Allie *Ferdinando* King of *Spain*. For theſe two Kings underſtanding one another at half a Word, ſo it was that there were Letters ſhewed out of *Spain*, whereby in the Paſſages concerning the Treaty of the Marriage, *Ferdinando* had written to the King in plain Terms, that he ſaw no Aſſurance of his Succeſſion, as long as the Earl of *Warwick* lived; and that he was loth to ſend his Daughter to Troubles and Dangers. But hereby, as the King did in ſome part remove the Envy from himſelf; ſo he did not obſerve, that he did withall bring a kind of Malediction and Inſtalling upon the Marriage, as an ill Prognoſtick. Which in Event ſo far proved true, as both Prince *Arthur* enjoyed a very ſmall time after the Marriage, and the Lady *Katherine* her ſelf (a ſad and a Religious Woman) long after, when King *Henry* the eight his Reſolution of a Divorce from her was firſt made known to her, uſed ſome Words; *That ſhe had not offended: but it was a Judgment of* God, *for that her former Marriage was made in Blood*; meaning that of the Earl of *Warwick*.

The laſt of the Race of the *Plantagenets.*

Blood not unrevenged.

This fifteenth Year of the King there was a great Plague, both in *London* and in divers parts of the Kingdom. Wherefore the King after often Change of Places (whether to avoid the danger of the Sickneſs, or to give occaſion of an Enterview with the Arch Duke, or both) ſail'd over || with his Queen to *Calice*. Upon his coming thither, the Arch-Duke ſent an honourable Ambaſſage unto him, as well to welcome him into thoſe Parts, as to let him know, that (if it pleaſed him) he would come and do him Reverence. But it was ſaid withal; That the King might be pleaſed to appoint ſome Place, that were out of any walled Town or Fortreſs, for that he had denied the ſame upon like Occaſion to the *French* King. And though he ſaid he made a great Difference between the two Kings, yet he would be loth to give a Preſident, that might make it after to be expected at his Hands, by another whom he truſted leſs. The King accepted of the Courteſie, and admitted of his Excuſe, and appointed the Place to be at St. *Peter's* Church without *Calice*. But withal he did viſit the Arch-Duke with Ambaſſadors ſent from himſelf, which were the Lord Saint *John*, and the Secretary; unto whom the Arch Duke did the Honour, as (going to Maſs at Saint *Omers*) to ſet the Lord Saint *John* on his right Hand, and the Secretary on his left, and ſo to ride between them to Church. The Day appointed for the || Enterview, the King went on Horſe back ſome diſtance from Saint *Peter's* Church, to receive the Arch-Duke. And upon their approaching, the Arch-Duke made haſt to light, and offered to hold the King's Stirrop at his alighting; which the King would not permit, but deſcending from Horſe-back, they embraced with great Affection, and withdrawing into the Church to a Place prepared, they had long Conference, not only upon the Confirmation of former Treaties, and the freeing of Commerce, but upon Croſs Marriages, to be had between the Duke of *York* the King's ſecond Son, and the Arch-Duke's Daughter; and again between *Charles* the Arch Duke's Son and Heir, and *Mary* the King's ſecond Daughter. But theſe Bloſſoms of unripe Marriages, were but Friendly wiſhes, and the Airs of loving Entertainment; though one of them came afterwards to concluſion in Treaty, though not in Effect. But during the time that the two Princes converſed and communed together in the Suburbs of *Calice*, the Demonſtrations on both ſides were paſſing hearty and affectionate, eſpecially on the part of the Arch-Duke. Who (beſides that he was a Prince of an excellent good Nature) being conſcious to himſelf, how dryly the King had been uſed by his Counſel in the matter of *Perkin*, did ſtrive by all means to recover it in the King's Affection. And having alſo his Ears continually beaten with the Counſels of his Father and Father-in Law, who (in reſpect of their jealous hatred againſt the *French* King) did always adviſe the Arch-Duke to anchor himſelf upon the Amity of King *Henry* of *England*; was glad upon this Occaſion, to put in Ure and Practice their Precepts, calling the King Patron, and Father, and Protector, (Theſe very Words the King repeats; when he certified of the loving Behaviour of the Archduke to the City) and what elſe he could deviſe, to expreſs his Love and Obſervance to the King. There came alſo to the King the Governour of *Picardy*, and the Bailiff of *Amiens*, ſent from *Lewis* the *French* King to do him Honour, and to give him Knowledge of his Victory and winning of the Dutchy of *Milan*. It ſeemeth the King was well pleaſed with the Honours he received from thoſe Parts, while he was at *Calice*. For he did himſelf certify all the News and Occurrences of them in every particular. from *Calice*, to the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, which (no doubt) made no ſmall Talk in the City. For the King, though he could not entertain the good Will of the Citizens, as *Edward* the fourth did; yet by Affability and other Princely Graces, did ever make very much of them, and apply himſelf to them.

1509.

Enterview between the King and Arch-duke.

|| Whitſun-Tueſday.

A great Plague.

|| In the beginning of *May*.

The Kings Affability and kindneſs to the Citizens of *London*.

This Year alſo died *John Morton*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Chancellor of *England*, and Cardinal. He was a wiſe Man, and an Eloquent, but in his nature harſh, and haughty; much accepted by the

Arch-Biſhop *Morton* dyed in the year 1500. *See Hal. p.* 788.

Cardinal *Morton's* Death and Character.

(b) As for *Philip*, *John Water's* Son, he was afterwards pardoned by the King's Clemency. The Citizens of *Cork* were alſo pardoned. *Sir J. Ware. Cap.* XV.

King,

1500. King, but envied by the Nobility, and hated of the People. Neither was his Name left out of *Perkin*'s Proclamation for any good will, but they would not bring him amongſt the King's Caſting-Counters, becauſe he had the Image and Superſcription upon him of the Pope, in his Honour of Cardinal. He won the King with Secrecy and Diligence, but chiefly becauſe he was his old Servant in his leſs Fortunes: And alſo for that (in his Affections) he was not without an inveterate Malice againſt the Houſe of *York*, under whom he had been in Trouble. He was willing alſo to take Envy from the King, more than the King was willing to put upon him. For the King cared not for Subterfuges, but would ſtand Envy, and appear in any thing that was to his Mind; which made Envy ſtill grow upon him more univerſal, but leſs daring. But in the Matter of Exactions, time did after ſhew, that the Biſhop in feeding the King's Humour, did rather temper it. He had been by *Richard* the Third committed (as in Cuſtody) to the Duke of *Buckingham*, whom he did ſecretly incite to revolt from King *Richard*. But after the Duke was engaged, and thought the Biſhop ſhould have been his chief Pilot in the Tempeſt, the Biſhop was gotten into the Cock-boat, and fled over beyond Seas. But whatſoever elſe was in the Man, he deſerveth a moſt happy Memory, in that he was the principal Mean of joining the two *Roſes*. He died of great Years, but of ſtrong Health and Powers. †

† He was ſucceeded by *Henry Dean* Biſhop of *Salisbury*.

The next Year, which was the ſixteenth Year of the King, and the Year of our Lord One thouſand five hundred, was the Year of Jubilee at *Rome*. But Pope *Alexander*, to ſave the Hazzard and Charges of Mens Journeys to *Rome*, thought good to make over thoſe Graces by Exchange, to ſuch as would pay a convenient Rate, ſeeing they could not come to fetch them. For which purpoſe was ſent into *England Jaſper Pons*, a *Spaniard*, the Pope's Commiſſioner, better choſen than were the Commiſſioners of Pope *Leo*, afterwards employ'd for *Germany*; for he carried the Buſineſs with great Wiſdom, and ſemblance of Holineſs. In ſo much as he levied great Sums of Money within this Land to the Pope's Uſe, with little or no Scandal. It was thought the King ſhared in the Money. But it appeareth by a Letter which Cardinal *Adrian*, the King's Penſioner, wrote to the King from *Rome* ſome few Years after, that this was not ſo. For this Cardinal, being to perſwade Pope *Julius* on the King's behalf, to expedite the Bull of Diſpenſation for the Marriage between Prince *Henry* and the Lady *Katherine*, finding the Pope difficile in granting thereof, doth uſe it as a principal Argument concerning the King's Merit towards that See, that he had touched none of thoſe Deniers, which had been levied by *Pons* in *England*. But that it might the better appear (for the Satisfaction of the common People) that this was Conſecrate Money, the ſame Nuntio brought unto the King a Brief from the Pope, wherein the King was exhorted and ſummoned to come in Perſon againſt the *Turk*. For that the Pope (out of the Care of an univerſal Father) ſeeing almoſt under his Eyes the Succeſſes and Progreſſes of that great Enemy of the Faith, had had in the Conclave, and with the Aſſiſtance of the Ambaſſadors of foreign Princes, divers Conſultations about an holy War, and a general Expedition of Chriſtian Princes againſt the *Turk*. Wherein it was agreed, and thought fit, that the *Hungarians*, *Polonians*, and *Bohemians* ſhould make a War upon *Thracia*; the *French* and *Spaniard* upon *Grecia*; and that the Pope (willing to ſacrifice himſelf in ſo good a Cauſe) in Perſon and in Company of the King of *England*, the *Venetians*, and ſuch other States as were great in maritime Power, would ſail with a puiſſant Navy through the *Mediterrane* unto *Conſtantinople*. And that to this end, his Holineſs had ſent Nuncio's to all Chriſtian Princes; as well for a Ceſſation of all Quarrels and Differences amongſt themſelves, as for ſpeedy Preparations and Contributions of Forces and Treaſure for this ſacred Enterprize.

A Jubilee at *Rome*.

The Pope invites the King to a holy War.

1500.

To this the King, (who underſtood well the Court of *Rome*) made an Anſwer rather ſolemn, than ſerious; Signifying,

'THAT no Prince on Earth ſhould be more forward and obedient, both by his Perſon, and by all poſſible Forces, and Fortunes, to enter into this ſacred War, than himſelf. But that the Diſtance of Place was ſuch, as that no Forces he ſhould raiſe for the Seas, could be levied or prepared, but with double the Charge, and double the Time (at the leaſt) that they might be from the other Princes, that had their Territories nearer adjoining. Beſides, that neither the Manner of his Ships (having no Gallies) nor the Experience of his Pilots and Mariners could be ſo apt for thoſe Seas as theirs. And therefore that his Holineſs might do well, to move one of thoſe other Kings, who lay fitter for the purpoſe, to accompany him by Sea. Whereby both all things would be ſooner put in Readineſs, and with leſs Charge, and the Emulation and Diviſion of Command, which might grow between thoſe Kings of *France* and *Spain*, if they ſhould both join in the War by Land upon *Grecia*, might be wiſely avoided. And that for his Part, he would not be wanting in Aids and Contribution. Yet notwithſtanding if both theſe Kings ſhould refuſe, rather than his Holineſs ſhould go alone, he would wait upon him, as ſoon as he could be ready. Always provided, that he might firſt ſee all Differences of the Chriſtian Princes amongſt themſelves, fully laid down and appeaſed (as for his own part he was in none.) And that he might have ſome good Towns upon the Coaſts in *Italy* put into his Hands, for the Retreat and ſafeguard of his Men.

With this Anſwer *Jaſper Pons* returned, nothing at all diſcontented. And yet this Declaration of the King (as ſuperficial as it was) gave him that Reputation abroad, as he was not long after elected by the Knights of *Rhodes*, Protector of their Order; all things multiplying to Honour in a Prince, that had gotten ſuch high Eſtimation for his Wiſdom and Sufficiency.

The Knights of *Rhodes* elect King *Henry* Protector of their Order.

1501. There were these two last Years some Proceedings against *Hereticks*, which was rare in this King's Reign, and rather by Penances, than by Fire. The King had (though he were no good Schoolman) the Honour to convert one of them by Dispute at *Canterbury*.

The King converts an Heretick by Dispute.

This Year also, though the King were no more haunted with Spirits, for that by the Sprinkling partly of blood, and partly of Water, he had chased them away; yet nevertheless he had certain Apparitions, that troubled him, still shewing themselves from one Region, which was the House of *York*. It came so to pass, that the Earl of *Suffolk*, Son to *Elizabeth* eldest Sister to King *Edward* the Fourth, by *John* Duke of *Suffolk*, her second Husband, and Brother to *John* Earl of *Lincoln*, that was slain at *Stock field*, being of an hasty and cholerick Disposition, had killed a Man in his Fury; whereupon the King gave him his Pardon. But either willing to leave a Cloud upon him, or the better to make him feel his Grace, produced him openly to plead his Pardon. This wrought in the Earl, as in a haughty Stomach it useth to do; for the Ignominy printed deeper than the Grace, wherefore he being discontent, fled secretly into *Flanders* unto his Aunt the Dutchess of *Burgundy*. The King startled at it. But being taught by Troubles, to use fair and timely Remedies, wrought so with him by Messages, (The Lady *Margaret* also growing by often failing in her *Alchymie*, weary of her Experiments, and partly being a little sweetned, for that the King had not touched her Name in the Confession of *Perkin*) that he came over again upon good Terms, and was reconciled to the King.

Prince *Arthur* married to the Princess *Katherine* of *Spain*.

In † the beginning of the next Year, being the seventeenth of the King, the Lady *Catherine*, fourth Daughter of *Ferdinando* and *Isabella*, King and Queen of *Spain*, arrived in *England*, at *Plymouth*, the second of *October* and was married to Prince *Arthur* in *Pauls*, the fourteenth of *November* following. The Prince being then about fifteen Years of Age *, and the Lady about eighteen. The Manner of her receiving, the Manner of her Entry into *London* ||, and the Celebrity of the Marriage were performed with great and true Magnificence, in regard of Cost, Shew, and Order. The chief Man that took the Care was Bishop *Fox*; who was not only a grave Counsellor for War or Peace, but also a good Surveyor of Works, and a good Master of Ceremonies, and any thing else that was fit for the Active Part, belonging to the Service of Court, or State of a great King. This Marriage was almost seven Years in Treaty; which was in part caused by the tender Years of the Marriage couple, especially of the Prince. But the true Reason was, that these two Princes, being Princes of great Policy and profound Judgment, stood a great time looking one upon another's Fortunes, how they would go; knowing well that in the mean time, the very Treaty it self gave abroad in the World a Reputation of a strait Conjunction, and Amity between them; which served on both Sides to many Purposes, that their several Affairs required, and yet they continued still free. But in the End, when the Fortunes of both Princes did grow every Day more and more Prosperous and Assured, and that looking all about them, they saw no better Conditions, they shut it up. 1501.

|| On the 12th of *November*.

The Marriage Money the Princess brought (which was turned over to the King by Act of Renunciation) was Two hundred thousand Ducats. Whereof One hundred thousand were payable ten Days after the Solemnization, and the other Hundred thousand at two Payments Annual; but part of it to be in Jewels and Plate, and a due Course set down to have them justly and indifferently prized. The Joynture or Advancement of the Lady, was the third Part of the Principality of *Wales*, and of the Dukedom of *Cornwall*, and the Earldom of *Chester*, to be after set forth in severalty. And in Case she came to be Queen of *England*, her Advancement was left indefinite, but thus; That it should be as great, as ever any former Queen of *England* had.

The Princess *Katherine's* Jointure or Dowry.

In all the Devices and Conceits of the Triumphs of this Marriage, there was a great deal of Astronomy. The Lady being resembled to *Hesperus*, and the Prince to *Arcturus*, and the old King *Alphonsus* (that was the greatest Astronomer of Kings, and was Ancestor to the Lady) was brought in to be the Fortune-teller of the Match. And whosoever had those Toys in Compiling, they were not altogether Pedantical. But you may be sure that King *Arthur*, the *Britton*, and the Descent of the Lady *Catherine* from the House of *Lancaster*, was in no wise forgotten. But (as it should seem) it is not good to fetch Fortunes from the Stars. For this young Prince (that drew upon him at that time not only the Hopes and Affections of his Country, but the Eyes and Expectation of Foreigners) after a few Months, in the beginning of *April*, deceased at *Ludlow* Castle, where he was sent to keep his Residance and Court, as Prince of *Wales*. Of this Prince in respect he dyed so young, and by Reason of his Father's manner of Education, that did cast no great Lustre upon his Children, there is little particular Memory. Only thus much remaineth, that he was very studious and learned, beyond his Years, and beyond the Custom of great Princes.

Devices at Prince *Arthur's* Marriage.

2d *April*, A. D. 1502.

He dies at *Ludlow* Castle.

King *Henry's* Behaviour towards his Children.

There was a Doubt ripped up in the Times following, when the Divorce of King *Henry* the Eighth from the Lady *Catherine* did so much busie the World, whether *Arthur* was bedded with his Lady or no, whereby that Matter in Fact (of Carnal Knowledge) might be made part of the Case. And it is true, that the Lady herself denied it, or at least her Council stood upon it, and would not blanch that Advantage, although the Plenitude of the Pope's Power of Dispensing was the main Question. And this Doubt was kept long open, in Respect of the two Queens that Succeeded, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, whose Legitimations were incompatible one with another, though their Succession was settled by Act of Parliament. And the Times that favoured Queen *Mary*'s Legitimation would have it believed, that there was no Carnal Knowledge between *Arthur* and *Katherine*. Not that they would seem to derogate from the Pope's absolute

† She arrived as *Stow* says on the 4th of *October*, which is not the beginning of the Year, she was married the 14th of *November*. *Sir J. Ware*.

* He was born according to the Lord *Bacon*, p. 8. in *September* 1486, and so he must be 15 Years and 2 Months old. According to *Hollinshead* he was born in *September* 1488, and then he was but 13 Years and 2 Months. *See Hol. p.* 769.

Power,

1502. Power, to diſpenſe even in that Caſe; but only in point of Honour, and to make the Caſe more Favourable and Smooth. And the Times that favoured Queen *Elizabeth*'s Legitimation (which were the longer, and the latter) maintained the contrary. So much there remaineth in Memory, that it was half a Year's time between the Creation of *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, and Prince *Arthur*'s Death; which was conſtrued to be, for to expect a full time, whereby it might appear, whether the Lady *Catherine* were with Child by Prince *Arthur*, or no. Again, the Lady her ſelf procured a Bull, for the better Corroboration of the Marriage, with a Clauſe of (*vel forſan cognitam*) which was not in the firſt Bull. There was given in Evidence alſo, when the Cauſe of the Divorce was handled, a pleaſant Paſſage, which was; That in a Morning Prince *Arthur*, upon his up-riſing from Bed with her, called for Drink, which he was not accuſtomed to do, and finding the Gentleman of his Chamber that brought him the Drink to ſmile at it, and to note it, he ſaid merrily to him; That he had been in the midſt of *Spain*, which was an hot Region, and his Journey had made him dry, and that if the other had been in ſo hot a Clime, he would have been drier than he. Beſides, the Prince was upon the point of Sixteen Years of Age when he died, and forward and able in Body.

A Doubt long in debate between two Parties.

The 18th of February. The *February* following, *Henry* Duke of *York* was created Prince of *Wales*, and Earl of *Cheſter* and *Flint*. For the Dukedom of *Cornwall* devolved to him by Statute. The King alſo being faſt handed, and loth to part with a ſecond Dowry, but chiefly being Affectionate, both by his Nature and out of politick Conſiderations, to continue the Alliance with *Spain*, prevailed with the Prince (though not without ſome Reluctation, ſuch as could be in thoſe Years, for he was not twelve Years of Age) to be contracted with the Princeſs *Katherine*. The ſecret Providence of God ordaining that Marriage to be the Occaſion of great Events and Changes.

Prince *Henry* contracted to the Princeſs *Katherine*.

The Princeſs *Margaret* married to *James* the 4th King of *Scotland*.

The ſame Year were the Eſpouſals of *James* King of *Scotland*, with the Lady *Margaret*, the King's eldeſt Daughter; which was done by Proxy, and publiſhed at *Pauls* Croſs, the Five and twentieth of *January*, and *Te Deum* ſolemnly ſung. But certain it is, that the Joy of the City thereupon ſhewed, by Ringing of Bells, and Bonfires, and ſuch other Incenſe of the People, was more than could be expected, in a Caſe of ſo great and freſh Enmity between the Nations; eſpecially in *London*, which was far enough off from feeling any of the former Calamities of the War. And therefore might be truly attributed to a ſecret Inſtinct and Inſpiring (which many times runneth not only in the Hearts of Princes, but in the Pulſe and Veins of People) touching the Happineſs thereby to enſue in time to come. This Marriage was in *Auguſt* following conſummate at *Edenburgh*. The King bringing his Daughter as far as *Colli-Weſton* on the Way, and then conſigning her to the Attendance of the Earl of *Northumberland*; who with a great Troop of Lords and Ladies of Honour, brought her into *Scotland*, to the King her Husband.

This Marriage had been in Treaty by the ſpace of almoſt three Years, from the time that the King of *Scotland* did firſt open his Mind to Biſhop *Fox*. The Sum given in Marriage by the King was Ten thouſand Pounds. And the Jointure and Advancement aſſured by the King of *Scotland*, was Two thouſand Pounds a Year after King *James* his Death, and one thouſand Pounds a Year in preſent, for the Lady's Allowance or Maintenance. This to be ſet forth in Lands, of the beſt and moſt certain Revenue. During the Treaty, it is reported, that the King remitted the Matter to his Council; and that ſome at the Table in the Freedom of Councellors (the King being preſent) did put the Caſe; that if God ſhould take the King's two Sons without Iſſue, that then the Kingdom of *England* would fall to the King of *Scotland*, which might be prejudice to the Monarchy of *England*. Whereupon the King himſelf replied; That if that ſhould be, *Scotland* would be but an Acceſſion to *England*, and not *England* to *Scotland*, for that the Greater would draw the leſs. And that it was a ſafer Union for *England*, than that of *France*. This paſſed as an Oracle, and ſilenced thoſe that moved the Queſtion.

1503. The Princeſs *Margaret*'s Jointure in *Scotland*.

The ſame Year was fatal, as well for Deaths, as Marriages, and that with equal Temper. For the Joys and Feaſts of the two Marriages, were compenſed with the Mournings and Funerals of Prince *Arthur* (of whom we have ſpoken) and of Queen *Elizabeth*, who died in Child-bed in the *Tower*, † and the Child lived not long after. There dyed alſo that Year Sir *Reginald Bray* who was noted to have had with the King the greateſt Freedom of any Councellor; but it was but a Freedom, the better to ſet off Flattery. Yet he bare more than his juſt Part of Envy, for the Exactions.

Queen *Elizabeth*'s Death.

† On the 11th of *February*.

At this time the King's Eſtate was very proſperous, ſecured by the Amity of *Scotland*, ſtrengthened by that of *Spain*, cheriſhed by that of *Burgundy*, all Domeſtick Troubles quenched, and all Noiſe of War (like a Thunder afar off) going upon *Italy*. Wherefore Nature, which many times is happily contained, and refrained by ſome Bands of Fortune, began to take place in the King; carrying (as with a ſtrong Tide) his Affections and Thoughts unto the gathering and heaping up of Treaſure. And as Kings do more eaſily find Inſtruments for their Will and Humour, than for their Service and Honour; He had gotten for his Purpoſe, or beyond his Purpoſe, two Inſtruments, *Empſon* and *Dudley*, (whom the People eſteemed as his Horſe-Leeches and Shearers) bold Men, and careleſs of Fame, and took Toll of their Maſter's Griſt. *Dudley* was of a good Family, Eloquent, and one that could put hateful Buſineſs into good Language. But *Empſon*, that was the Son of a Sieve-maker, triumphed always upon the Deed done, putting off all other Reſpects whatſoever. Theſe two Perſons being Lawyers in Science, and Privy Councellors in Authority (*as the Corruption of the beſt things is the worſt*) turned Law and Juſtice into Wormwood and Rapine. For firſt, their Manner was to cauſe divers Subjects to be indicted of ſundry Crimes, and ſo far forth to proceed in Form of Law; but when the Bills were found, then preſently to commit them. And nevertheleſs not to produce them in any reſonable time to their Anſwer, but to ſuffer them to languiſh long in Priſon, and by ſundry artificial Devices and Terrors, to extort from them great Fines and Ranſoms, which they termed Compoſitions and Mitigations.

Empſon and *Dudley* the King's Horſe-Leeches.

Neither

1504. Neither did they (towards the end) obſerve ſo much as the half Face of Juſtice, in proceeding by Indictment; but ſent forth their Precepts to attach Men, and convent them before themſelves and ſome others, at their private Houſes, in a Court of Commiſſion, and there uſed to ſhuffle up a Summary proceeding by Examination, without Trial of Jury; aſſuming to themſelves there, to deal both in Pleas of the Crown, and Controverſies Civil.

Then did they alſo uſe to enthrall and charge the Subjects Lands with Tenures in capite, by finding falſe Offices, and thereby to work upon them for Wardſhips, Liveries, Primier Seiſines, and Alienations, (being the Fruits of thoſe Tenures) refuſing upon divers Pretexts and Delays, to admit Men to traverſe thoſe falſe Offices, according to the Law. Nay, the King's Wards, after they had accompliſhed their full Age, could not be ſuffered to have Livery of their Lands, without paying exceſſive Fines, far exceeding all reaſonable Rates. They did alſo vex Men with Informations of Intruſion upon ſcarce colourable Titles.

How Outlawries are puniſhed.

When Men were out-lawed in perſonal Actions, they would not permit them to purchaſe their Charters of Pardon, except they paid great and intolerable Sums; ſtanding upon the ſtrict point of Law, which upon Outlawries giveth Forfeiture of Goods. Nay, contrary to all Law and Colour, they maintained, the King ought to have the half of Mens Lands and Rents, during the Space of full two Years, for a Pain in caſe of Out-lawry. They would alſo ruffle with Jurors, and inforce them to find as they would direct, and (if they did not) convent them, impriſon them, and fine them.

Theſe and many other courſes, fitter to be buried than repeated, they had of preying upon the People; both like tame Hawks for their Maſter, and like wild Hawks for themſelves; in ſo much as they grew to great Riches and Subſtance. But their principal working was upon Penal Laws, wherein they ſpared none, great nor ſmall; nor conſidered whether the Law were poſſible, or impoſſible, in uſe or obſolete: But raked over all old and new Statutes, though many of them were made with intention rather of Terror, than of Rigour; having ever a Rabble of Promoters, Queſtmongers, and leading Jurors at their Command, ſo as they could have any thing found either for Fact or Valuation.

The King's Diligence to get Money.

There remaineth to this Day a Report, that the King was on a time entertained by the Earl of *Oxford* (that was his principal Servant, both for War and Peace) nobly and ſumptuouſly, at his Caſtle at *Heningham*. And at the King's going away, the Earl's Servants ſtood (in a ſeemly Manner) in their Livery Coats, with Cogniſances, ranged on both ſides, and made the King a Lane. The King called the Earl unto him and ſaid; *My Lord, I have heard much of your Hoſpitality, but I ſee it is greater than the Speech. Theſe handſome Gentlemen and Yeomen, which I ſee on both ſides of me, are ſure your menial Servants.* The Earl ſmiled, and ſaid; *It may pleaſe your Grace, that were not for mine eaſe. They are moſt of them my Retainers, that are come to do me ſervice at ſuch a time as this, and chiefly to ſee your Grace.* The King ſtarted a little, and ſaid; *By my Faith (my Lord) I thank you for my good Chear, but I may not endure to have my Laws broken in my Sight. My Attorney muſt ſpeak with you.* And it is part of the Report, that the Earl compounded for no leſs than fifteen thouſand Marks. And to ſhew further the King's extreme Diligence; I do remember to have ſeen long ſince a Book of Accompt of *Empſon*'s, that had the King's Hand almoſt to every Leaf, by way of ſigning, and was in ſome places poſtilled in the Margent with the King's Hand likewiſe, where was this Remembrance. 1505.

The Earl of *Oxford* fin'd 15000 Marks for having Retainers.

> 'Item, received of ſuch a one, five Marks, 'for the Pardon to be procured; and if 'the Pardon do not paſs, the Money to 'be repaid; except the Party be ſome 'other ways ſatisfied.

A remarkable Memorandum of King *Henry*.

And over againſt this Memorandum (of the King's own Hand)

Otherwiſe ſatisfied.

Which I do the rather mention, becauſe it ſhews in the King a Nearneſs, but yet with a kind of Juſtneſs. So theſe little Sands and Grains of Gold and Silver (as it ſeemeth) helped not a little to make up the great Heap and Bank.

But mean while (to keep the King awake) the Earl of *Suffolk* having been too gay at Prince *Arthur*'s Marriage, and ſunk himſelf deep in Debt, had yet once more a Mind to be a Knight Errant, and to ſeek Adventures in Foreign Parts. And taking his Brother with him, fled again into *Flanders*. That (no doubt) which gave him Confidence, was the great Murmur of the People againſt the King's Government. And being a Man of a light and raſh Spirit, he thought every Vapour would be a Tempeſt. Neither wanted he ſome Party within the Kingdom. For the Murmur of People awakes the Diſcontents of Nobles, and again, that calleth up commonly ſome Head of Sedition. The King reſorting to his wonted and tried Arts, called Sir *Robert Curſon*, Captain of the Caſtle at *Hammes* (being at that time beyond Sea, and therefore leſs likely to be wrought upon by the King) to fly from his Charge, and to fain himſelf a Servant of the Earl's. This Knight having inſinuated himſelf into the Secrets of the Earl, and finding by him upon whom chiefly he had either Hope or Hold, advertiſed the King thereof in great Secrecy. But nevertheleſs maintained his own Credit and inward Truſt with the Earl. Upon whoſe Advertiſements, the King attached *William Courtney*, Earl of *Devonſhire*, his Brother-in-Law, married to the Lady *Katherine*, Daughter to King *Edward* the Fourth; *William De-la-Pole*, Brother to the Earl of *Suffolk*; Sir *James Tirrel*, and Sir *John Windham*, and ſome other meaner Perſons, and committed them to Cuſtody. *George* Lord *Abergavennie*, and Sir *Thomas Green*, were at the ſame time apprehended; but as upon leſs Suſpicion, ſo in a freer Reſtraint, and were ſoon after delivered. The Earl of *Devonſhire*, being intereſted in the Blood of *York*, that was rather Feared than Nocent; yet as one, that might be the Object of other Plots and Deſigns, remained Priſoner in the Tower, during the King's Life. *William De-la-pole* was alſo long reſtrained

Henry Earl of *Suffolk* flies into *Flanders*.

1504. Blood revenged.

Sir *James Tirrel* executed. *Hol.* says he was beheaded on the 6th of *May* 1503.

† It could not be about the time of the Executions, for they were Curſt the firſt Sunday in *November*. See *Hol. p.* 790.

The King's Enemies Curſt at *Paul's* Croſs.

† On the 25th of *January*. A Parliament call'd and *Dudley* choſen Speaker.

Foreign Manufactures prohibited.

ed, though not ſo ſtraitly. But for Sir *James Tirrel* (againſt whom the Blood of the Innocent Princes, *Edward* the Fifth, and his Brother, did ſtill cry from under the Altar) and Sir *John Windham*, and the other meaner ones, they were attainted and executed; the two Knights beheaded. Nevertheleſs, to confirm the Credit of *Curſon* (who belike had not yet done all his Feats of Activity) there was publiſhed at *Paul's* Croſs, about the time of the ſaid Executions, † the Pope's Bull of Excommunication and Curſe, againſt the Earl of *Suffolk*, and Sir *Robert Curſon*, and ſome others by Name, and likewiſe in general againſt all the Abettors of the ſaid Earl. Wherein it muſt be confeſſed, that Heaven was made too much to bow to Earth, and Religion to Policy. But ſoon after, *Curſon* (when he ſaw time) returned into *England*, and withall into wonted Favour with the King, but worſe Fame with the People. Upon whoſe Return the Earl was much diſmayed, and ſeeing himſelf deſtitute of Hopes (the *Lady Margaret* alſo by tract of Time, and bad Succeſs, being now become cool in thoſe Attempts) after ſome wandering in *France*, and *Germany*, and certain little Projects, no better than Squibbs of an exiled Man, being tired out, retired again into the Protection of the Archduke *Philip* in *Flanders*, who by the Death of *Iſabella*, was at that time King of *Caſtile*, in the Right of *Joan* his Wife.

This Year † (being the Nineteenth of his Reign) the King called his Parliament. Wherein a Man may eaſily gueſs, how abſolute the King took himſelf to be with his Parliament, when *Dudley* that was ſo hateful, was made Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. In this Parliament, there were not made any Statutes memorable, touching publick Government. But thoſe that were, had ſtill the Stamp of the King's Wiſdom and Policy.

There was a Statute made for the diſannulling of all Patents of Leaſe, or Grant, to ſuch as came not upon lawful Summons, to ſerve the King in his Wars, againſt the Enemies or Rebels, or that ſhould depart without the King's Licence; with an Exception of certain Perſons of the Long-robe. Providing nevertheleſs, that they ſhould have the King's Wages, from their Houſe, till their Return home again. There had been the like made for Officers, and by this Statute it was extended to Lands. But a Man may eaſily ſee by many Statutes made in this King's time, that the King thought it ſafeſt, to aſſiſt Martial Law by Law of Parliament.

Another Statute was made, prohibiting the bringing in of Manufactures of Silk wrought by it ſelf, or mixt with any other Thread. But it was not of Stuffs of whole piece (for that the Realm had of them no Manufacture in uſe at that time) but of knit-Silk, or Texture of Silk; as Ribbands, Laces, Caules, Points, and Girdles, *&c.* which the People of *England* could then well skill to make. This Law pointed at a true Principle: *That where foreign Materials are but Superfluities, foreign Manufactures ſhould be prohibited.* For that will either baniſh the Superfluity or gain the Manufacture.

There was a Law alſo of Reſumption of Patents of Gaols, and the Re-annexing of them to the Sherifwicks; privileged Officers being no leſs an Interruption of Juſtice, than privileged Places.

There was likewiſe a Law to reſtrain the By-laws or Ordinances of Corporations, which many times were againſt the Prerogative of the King, the Common-law of the Realm, and the Liberty of the Subject, being Fraternities in Evil. It was therefore provided, that they ſhould not be put in Execution, without the Allowance of the Chancellor, Treaſurer, and the two Chief-Juſtices, or three of them, or of the two Juſtices of Circuit where the Corporation was. 1505.

Another Law was (in effect) to bring in the Silver of the Realm to the Mint, in making all clipped, miniſhed, or impaired Coins of Silver, not to be current in Payments; without giving any Remedy of Weight, but with an Exception only of a reaſonable Wearing, which was nothing in reſpect of the Incertainty; and ſo (upon the Matter) to ſet the Mint on Work, and to give way to new Coins of Silver, which ſhould be then minted.

There likewiſe was a long Statute againſt Vagabonds, wherein two things may be noted; the one the Diſlike the Parliament had of Gaoling of them, as that which was chargeable, peſterous, and of no open Example. The other, that in the Statutes of this King's time, (for this of the Nineteenth Year is not the only Statute of that kind) there are ever coupled, the Puniſhment of Vagabonds, and the Forbidding of Dice, and Cards, and unlawful Games unto Servants and mean People, and the putting down and ſuppreſſing of Ale-houſes, as ſtrings of one Root together, and as if the one were unprofitable, without the other.

Retainers ſuppreſt by Act of Parliament.

As for Riot and Retainers, there paſſed ſcarce any Parliament in this time without a Law againſt them, the King ever having an Eye to Might, and Multitude.

A General Benevolence.

There was granted alſo that Parliament a Subſidy, both for the Temporalty and the Clergy. And yet nevertheleſs, ere the Year expired, there went out Commiſſions for a general Benevolence, though there were no Wars; no Fears. The ſame Year the City gave Five thouſand Marks, for Confirmation of their Liberties; a thing fitter for the Beginnings of King's Reigns, than the latter Ends. Neither was it a ſmall Matter, that the Mint gained upon the late Statute, by the Recoinage of Groats and Half Groats, now Twelve-pences and Six-pences. As for *Empſon* and *Dudley's* Mills, they did grind more than ever. So that it was a ſtrange thing, to ſee what golden ſhowers poured down upon the King's Treaſury at once. The laſt Payments of the Marriage Money from *Spain*; the ſubſidy; the Benevolence; the Recoinage; the Redemption of the Cities Liberties; the Caſualties. And this is the more to be marvelled at, becauſe the King had then no Occaſions at all of Wars or Troubles. He had now but one Son, and one Daughter unbeſtowed. He was Wiſe; He was of an high Mind; He needed not to make Riches his Glory. He did excel in ſo many things elſe; ſave that certainly Avarice doth ever find in it ſelf Matter of Ambition. Belike he thought to leave his Son ſuch a Kingdom, and ſuch a Maſs of Treaſure, as he might chooſe his Greatneſs where he would.

The *Londoners* purchaſe the Confirmation of their Liberty.

† On the 13th of *November* the Serjeants were, *Rob. Brudnell, Will. Grevill, Tho. Marrow, George Edgore, John Moor, John Cutler, Tho. Eliot, Guy Palmes, Lewis Pollard*, and *Will. Fairfax*.

This Year † was alſo kept the Serjeants Feaſt, which was the ſecond Call in this King's Days.

About * this time *Iſabella*, Queen of *Caſtile*, deceaſed; a right noble Lady, and an Honour to her Sex, and Times, and the Corner-ſtone of the Greatneſs of *Spain*, that hath followed. This Accident the King took not for News at large, but thought it had a great Relation to his own Affairs; eſpecially in two Points. The one, for Example; the other for conſequence. Firſt, he conceived that the Caſe of *Ferdinando* of *Arragon*, after the Death of Queen *Iſabella*, was his own Caſe, after the Death of his own Queen: and the Caſe of *Joan* the Heir unto *Caſtile*, was

† On the 26th of *November*.

the

1505. the Caſe of his own Son Prince *Henry*. For if both of the Kings had their Kingdoms, in the Right of their Wives, they deſcended to the Heirs, and did not accrew to the Husbands. And although his own Caſe had both Steel and Parchment, more than the other (that is to ſay, a Conqueſt in the Field, and an Act of Parliament) yet notwithſtanding, that natural Title of Deſcent in Blood, did (in the Imagination even of a wiſe Man) breed a Doubt, that the other two were not ſafe nor ſufficient. Wherefore he was wonderful diligent, to inquire and obſerve what became of the King of *Arragon*, in holding and continuing the Kingdom of *Caſtile*. And whether he did hold it in his own Right, or as Adminiſtrator to his Daughter; and whether he were like to hold it in Fact, or to be put out by his Son in Law. Secondly, he did revolve in his Mind, that the State of *Chriſtendom* might by this late Accident have a Turn. For whereas before time himſelf, with the Conjunction of *Arragon* and *Caſtile* (which then was one) and the Amity of *Maximilian* and *Philip* his Son the Arch-Duke, was far too ſtrong a Party for *France*; he began to fear, that now the *French* King (who had great Intereſt in the Affections of *Philip* the young King of *Caſtile*) and *Philip* himſelf, now King of *Caſtile*, (who was in ill Terms with his Father in Law about the preſent Government of *Caſtile*) And thirdly *Maximilian*, *Philip*'s Father (who was ever variable, and upon whom the ſureſt Aim that could be taken, was that he would not be long, as he had been laſt before) would, all three being potent Princes, enter into ſome ſtrait League and Confederation amongſt themſelves. Whereby though he ſhould not be endangered, yet he ſhould be left to the poor Amity of *Arragon*. And whereas he had been heretofore a kind of Arbiter of *Europe*, he ſhould now go leſs, and be over-topped by ſo great a Conjunction. He had alſo (as it ſeems) an Inclination to marry, and bethought himſelf of ſome fit Conditions abroad. And amongſt others, he had heard of the Beauty and virtuous Behaviour of the young Queen of *Naples*, the Widow of *Ferdinando* the younger, being then of Matronal Years of Seven and twenty. By whoſe Marriage he thought that the Kingdom of *Naples* (having been a Gaol for a time between the King of *Arragon*, and the *French* King, and being but newly ſettled) might in ſome part be depoſited in his Hands who was ſo able to keep the Stakes. Therefore he ſent in Ambaſſage or Meſſage three confident Perſons; *Francis Marſin*, *James Bray-brook*, and *John Stile*, upon two ſeveral Inquiſitions rather than Negotiations. The one touching the Perſon and Condition of the young Queen of *Naples*. The other touching all particulars of Eſtate, that concerned the Fortunes and Intentions of *Ferdinando*. And becauſe they may obſerve beſt who themſelves are obſerved leaſt, he ſent them under colourable Pretexts; giving them Letters of Kindneſs and Complement from *Katherine* the Princeſs, to her Aunt, and Niece, the old and young Queen of *Naples*, and delivering to them alſo a Book of new Articles of Peace; which notwithſtanding it had been delivered unto Doctor *de Puebla*, the Legier Ambaſſador of *Spain* here in *England*, to be ſent; yet for that the King had been long without hearing from *Spain*, he thought good thoſe Meſſengers, when they had been with the two Queens, ſhould likewiſe paſs on to the Court of *Ferdinando*, and take a Copy of the Book with them. The Inſtructions touching the Queen of *Naples* were ſo curious and exquiſite, being as Articles whereby to direct a Survey, or framing a Particular of her Perſon, for Complexion, Favour, Feature, Stature, Health, Age, Cuſtoms, Behaviour, Conditions, and Eſtate, as if the King had been young, a Man would have judged him to be Amorous; but being Ancient, it ought to be interpreted, that ſure he was very Chaſte, for that he meant to find all things in one Woman, and ſo to ſettle his Affections, without ranging. But in this Match he was ſoon cooled, when he heard from his Ambaſſadors, that this young Queen had had a goodly Jointure in the Realm of *Naples*, well anſwered during the time of her Unkle *Frederick*, yea, and during the time of *Lewis* the *French* King, in whoſe Diviſion her Revenue fell; but ſince the time that the Kingdom was in *Ferdinando*'s Hands, all was aſſigned to the Army, and Garriſons there, and ſhe received only a Penſion or Exhibition out of his Coffers. 1505.

The other part of the Inquiry had a grave and diligent Return, informing the King at full of the preſent State of King *Ferdinando*. By this Report it appeared to the King, that *Ferdinando* did continue the Government of *Caſtile* as Adminiſtrator unto his Daughter *Joan*, by the Title of Queen *Iſabella*'s Will, and partly by the Cuſtom of the Kingdom, as he pretended. And that all *Mandates* and Grants were expedited in the name of *Joan* his Daughter, and himſelf as Adminiſtrator, without mention of *Philip*, her Husband. And that King *Ferdinando*, howſoever he did diſmiſs himſelf of the name of King of *Caſtile*, yet meant to hold the Kingdom, without accompt, and in abſolute Command.

It appeareth alſo, that he flattered himſelf with hopes, that King *Philip* would permit unto him the Government of *Caſtile* during his Life; which he had laid his Plot to work him unto, both by ſome Counſellors of his about him, which *Ferdinando* had at his Devotion, and chiefly by Promiſe, that in caſe *Philip* gave not Way unto it, he would marry ſome young Lady, whereby to put him by the Succeſſion of *Arragon* and *Granada*, in caſe he ſhould have a Son. And laſtly, by repreſenting unto him that the Government of the *Burgundians*, till *Philip* were by continuance in *Spain* made as natural of *Spain*, would not be endured by the *Spaniards*. But in all thoſe things (though wiſely laid down and conſider'd) *Ferdinando* fail'd; but that *Pluto* was better to him, than *Pallas*.

In the ſame Report alſo, the Ambaſſadors being mean Men, and therefore the more free, did ſtrike upon a ſtring which was ſomewhat dangerous. For they declared plainly, that the People of *Spain*, both Nobles and Commons, were better affected unto the part of *Philip* (ſo he brought his Wife with him) than to *Ferdinando*; and expreſſed the Reaſon to be, becauſe he had impoſed upon them many Taxes, and Tallages, which was the King's own Caſe between him and his Son.

There was alſo in this Report a Declaration of an Overture of Marriage, which *Amaſon* the Secretary of *Ferdinando* had made unto the Ambaſſadors in great ſecret, between *Charles* Prince of *Caſtile* and *Mary* the King's ſecond Daughter; aſſuring the King, that the Treaty of Marriage then on Foot, for the ſaid Prince and the Daughter of *France*, would break; and that ſhe the ſaid Daughter of *France* ſhould be married to *Angoleſme*, that was the Heir Apparent of *France*.

There was a touch alſo of a ſpeech of Marriage between *Ferdinando* and Madam *de Foix*, a Lady of the Blood of *France*, which afterwards indeed ſucceeded. But this was reported as Learned in *France*, and ſilenced in *Spain*.

The

1505. The King by the Return of this Ambaſſage, which gave great light unto his Affairs, was well inſtructed, and prepared how to carry himſelf between *Ferdinando* King of *Arragon*, and *Philip* his Son-in-law, King of *Caſtile*; reſolving with himſelf, to do all that in him lay to keep them at one within themſelves; But howſoever that ſucceeded, by a moderate Carriage and bearing the Perſon of a Common-Friend, to loſe neither of their Friendſhips; but yet to run a courſe more entire with the King of *Arragon*, but more laboured and officious with the King of *Caſtile*. But he was much taken with the Overture of Marriage with his Daughter *Mary*; both becauſe it was the greateſt Marriage of *Chriſtendom*, and for that it took hold of both Allies.

But to corroborate his Alliance with *Philip* the Winds gave him an Enterview. For *Philip* chooſing the Winter-Seaſon, the better to ſurprize the King of *Arragon*, ſet forth with a great Navy out of *Flanders* for *Spain* in the Month of *January*, the One and Twentieth Year of the King's Reign. But himſelf was ſurprized with a cruel *Tempeſt*, that ſcatter'd his Ships upon the ſeveral Coaſts of *England*. And the Ship wherein the King and Queen were (with two other ſmall Barks only) torn, and in great peril to eſcape the Fury of the Weather, thruſt into *Weymouth*. King *Philip* himſelf, having not been uſed (as it ſeems) to Sea, all wearied and extream ſick, would needs land to refreſh his Spirits, tho' it was againſt the Opinion of his Council, doubting it might breed Delay, his Occaſions requiring Celerity.

The Rumour of the Arrival of a Puiſſant Navy upon the Coaſt, made the Country arm. And Sir *Thomas Trenchard* with Forces ſuddenly raiſed, not knowing what the Matter might be, came to *Weymouth*. Where underſtanding the Accident, he did in all Humbleneſs and Humanity invite the King and Queen to his Houſe, and forthwith diſpatched Poſts to the Court. Soon after came Sir *John Caroe* likewiſe, with a great Troop of Men well arm'd; uſing the like Humbleneſs and Reſpect towards the King, when he knew the Caſe. King *Philip* doubting that they, being but Subjects, durſt not let him paſs away again, without the King's notice and leave yielded to their Entreaties, to ſtay till they heard from the Court. The King as ſoon as he heard the News, commanded preſently the Earl of *Arundel*, to go to Viſit the King of *Caſtile*, and let him underſtand, That as he was very Sorry for his Miſhap, ſo he was glad that he had eſcap'd the Danger of the Seas, and likewiſe of the Occaſion himſelf had to do him Honour; and deſiring him, to think himſelf as in his own Land; and that the King made all haſt poſſible to come and imbrace him. The Earl came to him in great Magnificence, with a brave Troop of Three hundred Horſe; and (for more State) came by Torch-Light. After he had done the King's Meſſage, King *Philip* ſeeing how the World went, the ſooner to get away, went upon ſpeed to the King at *Windſor*, and his Queen follow'd by eaſy Journeys. The two Kings at their Meeting us'd all the Careſſes, and loving Demonſtrations that were poſſible. And the King of *Caſtile* ſaid pleaſantly to the King, *That he was now puniſhed, for that he would not come within his walled Town of* Calice, *when they met laſt*. But the King anſwer'd, *That Walls and Seas were nothing, where Hearts were open; and that he was here no otherwiſe, but to be ſerved.* After a Day or two's refreſhing, the Kings entred into Speech of renewing the Treaty; The King ſaying, 'That tho' King *Philip*'s Perſon were the 'ſame, yet his Fortunes and State were raiſed. In which Caſe a Renovation of Treaty was uſed amongſt Princes. But while theſe things were in handling, the King chooſing a fit time, and drawing the King of *Caſtile* into a Room, where they two only were private, and laying his hand civilly upon his Arm, and changing his Countenance a little from a Countenance of Intertainment, ſaid to him; *Sir, you have been ſaved upon my coaſt, I hope you will not ſuffer me to wrack upon yours.* The King of *Caſtile* ask'd him, *What he meant by that Speech? I mean it* (ſaith the King *by that ſame Harebrain wild Fellow, my Subject, the Earl of* Suffolk, *who is protected in your Country, and begins to play the Fool, when all others are weary of it.* The King of *Caſtile* anſwer'd, *I had thought (Sir) your Felicity had been above thoſe Thoughts. But if it trouble you, I will baniſh him.* The King reply'd, *Thoſe Hornets were beſt in their Neſt, and worſt when they did fly abroad, that his Deſire was to have him delivered to him.* The King of *Caſtile* herewith a little confuſed, and in a ſtudy, ſaid, *That can I not do with my Honour, and leſs with yours; for you will be thought to have uſed me as a Priſoner.* The King preſently ſaid, *Then the Matter is at an end. For I will take that Diſhonour upon me, and ſo your Honour is ſaved.* The King of *Caſtile* who had the King in great Eſtimation, and beſides remembred where he was, and knew not what Uſe he might have of the King's Amity, for that himſelf was new in his Eſtate of *Spain*, and unſettled, both with his Father in Law, and with his People, compoſing his Countenance, ſaid, *Sir, you give Law to me; but ſo will I to you. You ſhall have him, but upon your Honour) you ſhall not take his Life.* The King embracing him, ſaid, *I agreed.* Saith the King of *Caſtile*, *Neither ſhall it diſlike you, if I ſend to him in ſuch a faſhion as he may partly come with his own good Will.* The King ſaid, *It was well thought of; and if it pleaſed him, he would joyn with him, in ſending to the Earl a Meſſage to that purpoſe.* They both ſent ſeverally, and mean while they continued Feaſtings and Paſtimes. The King being (on his part) willing to have the Earl ſure before the King of *Caſtile* went; and the King of *Caſtile* being as willing to ſeem to be inforced. The King alſo with many wiſe and excellent Perſwaſions, did adviſe the King of *Caſtile* to be ruled by the Council of his Father in Law *Ferdinando*; a Prince ſo Prudent, ſo Experienced, ſo Fortunate. The King of *Caſtile* (who was in no very good terms with his ſaid Father in Law) anſwer'd, *That if his Father in Law would ſuffer him to govern his Kingdoms, he ſhould govern him.*

1506. Conference between K. Henry and Philip K. of Caſtile.

There were immediately *Meſſengers* ſent from both Kings to recall the Earl of *Suffolk*: Who upon gentle Words uſed to him was ſoon charmed and willing enough to return; aſſur'd of his Life, and hoping of his Liberty. He was brought through *Flanders* to *Calice*, and thence landed at *Dover*, and with ſufficient Guard delivered and received at the *Tower* of *London*. Mean while King *Henry* (to draw out the time) continued his Feaſtings and Entertainments, and after he had receiv'd the King of *Caſtile* into the Fraternity of the Garter, and for a Reciprocal his Son the Prince admitted to the Order of the *Golden-Fleece*, he accompany'd King *Philip* and his Queen to the City of *London*; where they were entertain'd with the greateſt Magnificence and Triumph, that could be upon no greater Warning. And as ſoon as the Earl of *Suffolk* had been convey'd to the *Tower* (which was the ſerious part) the Jollities had an end, and the Kings took leave. Nevertheleſs during their being here, they in Subſtance concluded

Earl of Suffolk returns.

1506. that Treaty, which the *Flemings* term *Intercurſus malus*, and bears Date at *Windſor*; for that there be ſome things in it more to the Advantage of the *Engliſh*, than of them; eſpecially, for that the Free-fiſhing of the *Dutch* upon the Coaſts and Seas of *England*, granted in the Treaty of *Undecimo*, was not by this Treaty confirmed. All Articles that confirm former Treaties being preciſely and warily limited and confirm'd to matter of Commerce only, and not otherwiſe.

The free fiſhing of the *Dutch* refus'd to be confirm'd.

It was obſerv'd, that the great Tempeſt which drove *Philip* into *England*, blew down the *Golden Eagle* from the Spire of *Paul*'s, and in the Fall it fell upon a Sign of the *Black Eagle*, which was in *Paul*'s *Church-Yard*, in the Place where the School-Houſe now ſtandeth, and batter'd it, and brake it down. Which was a ſtrange ſtooping of a Hawk upon a Fowl. This the People interpreted to be an Ominous Prognoſtick upon the *Imperial Houſe*, which was (by Interpretation alſo) fulfill'd upon *Philip* the Emperor's Son, not only in the preſent Diſaſter of the Tempeſt, but in that that follow'd. For *Philip* arriving into *Spain*, and attaining the Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Caſtile* without Reſiſtance, (inſomuch as *Ferdinando*, who had ſpoke ſo great before, was with difficulty admitted to the Speech of his Son in Law) ſickned ſoon after, and Deceaſed. Yet after ſuch time as there was an Obſervation by the wiſeſt of that Court, That if he had liv'd his Father would have gain'd upon him in that ſort, as he would have govern'd his Councils and Deſigns, if not his Affections. By this all *Spain* return'd into the Power of *Ferdinando* in ſtate as it was before; the rather, in regard of the Infirmity of *Joan* his Daughter, who loving her Husband (by whom ſhe had many Children) dearly well, and no leſs belov'd of him (howſoever her Father to make *Philip* ill beloved of the People of *Spain*, gave out that *Philip* us'd her not well) was unable in Strength of Mind to bear the Grief of his Deceaſe, and fell diſtracted of her Wits. Of which Malady her Father was thought no ways to endeavour the Cure, the better to hold his Regal Power in *Caſtile*. So that as the Felicity of *Charles* VIII. was ſaid to be a Dream; ſo the Adverſity of *Ferdinando* was ſaid likewiſe to be a Dream, it paſſed over ſo ſoon.

The King would have had *Henry* the 6th canoniz'd.

About this time the King was deſirous to bring into the Houſe of *Lancaſter* Celeſtial Honour, and became Suiter to Pope *Julius*, to canonize King *Henry* VI. for a Saint; the rather in reſpect of that his famous Prediction of the King's own Aſſumption to the Crown. *Julius* referred the Matter (as the manner is) to certain Cardinals, (*b*) to take the Verification of his holy Acts and Miracles. But it died under the Reference. The general Opinion was that Pope *Julius* was too Dear, and that the King would not come to his Rates. But it is more probable, That that Pope (who was extremely jealous of the Dignity of the See of *Rome*, and of the Acts thereof) knowing that King *Henry* VI. was reputed in the World abroad but for a Simple Man, was afraid it would but diminiſh the Eſtimation of that kind of Honour, if there were not a diſtance kept betwixt Innocents and Saints.

The ſame Year likewiſe there proceeded a Treaty of Marriage between the King and the Lady *Margaret* Dutcheſs Dowager of *Savoy*, only Daughter to *Maximilian*, and Siſter to the King of *Caſtile*; a Lady Wiſe, and of great good Fame. This Matter had been in Speech between the two Kings at their Meeting, but was ſoon after reſumed; and therein was employ'd for his firſt Piece the King's then Chaplain, and after the great Prelate *Thomas Wolſey*. It was in the end concluded, with great and ample Conditions for the King, but with Promiſe *De Futuro* only. It may be the King was the rather induced unto it, for that he heard more and more of the Marriage to go on betwen his great Friend and Ally *Ferdinando* of *Arragon*, and Madam *de Fois*, whereby that King began to piece with the *French* King, from whom he had been always before ſevered. So fatal a Thing it is, for the greateſt and ſtraiteſt Amities of Kings, at one time or other to have a little of the Wheel. Nay, there is a further Tradition (in *Spain* tho' not with us) That the King of *Arragon*, after he knew that the Marriage between *Charles*, the young Prince of *Caſtile*, and *Mary* the King's ſecond Daughter went roundly on (which tho' it was firſt moved by the King of *Arragon*, yet it was afterwards wholly advanced and brought to Perfection by *Maximilian*, and the Friends on that Side) entered into a Jealouſy, that the King did Aſpire to the Government of *Caſtilia*, as Adminiſtrator during the Minority of his Son in Law; as if there ſhould have been a Competition of Three for that Government; *Ferdinando*, Grandfather on the Mother's ſide; *Maximilian*, Grandfather on the Father's ſide; and King *Henry*, Father in Law to the young Prince. Certainly, it is not unlike, but the King's Government (carrying the young Prince with him) would have been perhaps more welcom to the *Spaniards*, than that of the other Two. For the Nobility of *Caſtilia*, that ſo lately put out the King of *Arragon*, in favour of King *Philip*, and had diſcover'd themſelves ſo far, could not be but in a ſecret Diſtruſt and Diſtaſte of that King. And as for *Maximilian*, upon twenty reſpects he could not have been the Man. But this Purpoſe of the King's ſeemeth to me (conſidering the King's ſafe Courſes, never found to be enterprizing or adventurous) not greatly probable, except he ſhould have had a Deſire to breath warmer, becauſe he had ill Lungs. This Marriage with *Margaret* was protracted from time to time, in reſpect of the Infirmity of the King, who now in the Two and twentieth of his Reign began to be troubled with the *Gout*. But the Defluxion taking alſo into his Breaſt, waſted his Lungs, in that thrice in a Year (in a kind of Return, and eſpecially in the Spring,) he had great Fits and Labours of the *Tiſſick*. Nevertheleſs, he continued to intend Buſineſs with as great Diligence, as before in his Health. Yet ſo, as upon this warning, he did likewiſe now more ſeriouſly think of the World to come, and of making himſelf a Saint, as well as King *Henry* the Sixth, by Treaſure better imploy'd, than to be given to Pope *Julius*. For this Year he gave greater Alms than accuſtomed, and diſcharged all *Priſoners* about the City, that lay for Fees or Debts under Forty Shillings. He did alſo make haſt with Religious Foundations; and in the Year following (which was the Three and Twentieth) finiſhed that of the *Savoy*. And hearing alſo of the bitter Cries of his People againſt the Oppreſſions of *Dudley* and *Empſon*, and their Complices; partly by Devout Perſons about him, and partly by Publick Sermons (the Preachers

1507.

The King gives great Alms.

(*b*) The Pope by his Bull committed the Examination of this Matter to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, and *Durham*; The Bull is in the *Collomais* Library. *Sir* J. W. *An.* Hen. *VII. Cap.* XX. 'Tis dated in *June* 1504.

doing

1508. doing their Duty therein) He was touch'd with great Remorse for the ſame. Nevertheleſs, *Empſon* and *Dudley*, tho' they could not but hear of theſe Scruples in the King's Conſcience; yet as if the King's Soul and his Money were in ſeveral Offices, that the one was not to intermeddle with the other, went on with as great Rage as ever. For the ſame Three and twentieth Year was there a ſharp Proſecution againſt Sir *William Capel* now the ſecond time; and this was for Matters of Miſgovernment in his Mayoralty. The great Matter being, that in ſome Payments he had taken Knowledge of falſe Moneys, and did not uſe Diligence to examine and beat it out who were the Offenders. For this and ſome other things laid to his Charge, he was condemn'd to pay Two thouſand Pounds; and being a Man of Stomach, and harden'd by his former Troubles refuſed to pay a Mite; and belike uſed ſome untoward Speeches of the Proceedings, for which he was ſent to the *Tower*, and there remain'd till the King's Death. *Kneſworth* likewiſe, that had been lately Mayor of *London*, and both his Sheriffs, were for Abuſes in their Offices, queſtion'd, and impriſon'd, and deliver'd upon One Thouſand four hundred Pounds paid. *Hawis* an Alderman of *London*, was put in Trouble, and died with Thought and Anguiſh before his Buſineſs came to an End. Sir *Lawrence Aylmer*, who had likewiſe been Mayor of *London* and his two *Sheriffs*, were put to the Fine of One Thouſand Pounds. * And Sir *Lawrence*, for refuſing to make Payment, was committed to Priſon, where he ſtay'd till *Empſon* himſelf was committed in his Place.

Sir *William Capell* fin'd a ſecond time. He was Mayor *An.* 1504.

He was Mayor in the Year 1505.

Sir *Lawrence Aylmer* was Mayor the year 1507. * *Hol.* writes, that they were impriſoned in the *King's-Bench* till they had paid 1400*l.* Fine, *p.* 796.

It is no Marvel (if the Faults were ſo light and the Rates ſo heavy) that the King's Treaſure of Store that he left at his Death, moſt of it in ſecret Places under his own Key and keeping, at *Richmond*, amounted (as by Tradition it is reported to have done) unto the Sum of near Eighteen hundred Thouſand Pounds *Sterling*; a huge maſſe of Money, even for theſe times.

K. *Henry* left behind him at his Death 1800000 pounds *Sterl.*

The laſt Act of State that concluded this King's temporal Felicity, was the Concluſion of a glorious Match between his Daughter *Mary*, and *Charles* Prince of *Caſtile*, afterwards the great Emperor, both being of tender Years. Which Treaty was perfected by Biſhop *Fox*, and other his Commiſſioners at *Calice*, the Year before the King's Death. In which Alliance, it ſeemeth he himſelf took ſo high Contentment, as in a Letter which he wrote thereupon to the City of *London* (commanding all poſſible Demonſtrations of Joy to be made for the ſame) he expreſſeth himſelf, as if he thought he had built a Wall of Braſs about his Kingdom. When he had for his Sons in Law, a King of *Scotland*, and a Prince of *Caſtile* and *Burgundy*. So as now there was nothing to be added to this great King's Felicity, being at the top of all worldly Bliſs, (in regard of the high Marriages of his Children, his great Renown throughout *Europe*, and his ſcarce credible Riches, and the perpetual Conſtancy of his proſperous Succeſſes) but an opportune Death, to withdraw him from any future Blow of Fortune. Which certainly (in regard of the great Hatred of his People, and the Title of his Son being then come to Eighteen Years of Age, and being a bold Prince, and liberal, and that gained upon the People by his very Aſpect and Preſence) had not been impoſſible to have come upon him.

To crown alſo the laſt Year of his Reign as well as his firſt, he did an Act of Piety rare and worthy to be taken into Imitation. For he granted forth a general Pardon as expecting a ſecond Coronation in a better Kingdom. He did alſo declare in his Will, that his Mind was, that Reſtitution ſhould be made of thoſe Sums, which had been unjuſtly taken by his Officers. 1509.

And thus this *Solomon* of *England* (for *Solomon* alſo was too heavy upon his People in Exactions) having lived Two and fifty Years, and thereof reigned Three and twenty Years, and Eight Months, being in perfect Memory, and in a moſt bleſſed Mind in a great Calm of a conſuming Sickneſs paſſed to a better World, the Two and twentieth of *April* 1508. † at his Palace of *Richmond*, which himſelf had built. K. Henry's Death.

A Deſcription of K. Henry VII.

'This King (to ſpeak of him in Terms equal to his deſerving) was one of the beſt ſort of Wonders; a Wonder for Wiſemen. He had Parts (both in his Virtues, and his Fortune) not ſo fit for a Common place, as for Obſervation. Certainly he was Religious, both in his Affection and Obſervance. But as he could ſee clear (for thoſe times) through Superſtition, ſo he would be blinded now and then) by Human Policy. He advanced Church men; he was tender in the Privilege of Sanctuaries, tho' they wrought him much Miſchief. He built and endowed many Religious Foundations beſides his memorable Hoſpital of the *Savoy*. And yet was he a great Alms-giver in ſecret; which ſhewed that his Works in Publick were dedicated rather to God's Glory, than his own. He profeſſed always to love and ſeek Peace; and it was his uſual Preface in his Treaties; *That when Chriſt came into the World, Peace was ſung; and when he went out of the World, Peace was bequeath'd.* And this Virtue could not proceed out of Fear or Softneſs; for he was Valiant and Active, and therefore (no doubt) it was truly Chriſtian and Moral. Yet he knew the way to Peace, was not to ſeem to be deſirous to avoid Wars. Therefore would he make Offers, and Fames of Wars, till he had mended the Conditions of Peace. It was alſo much, that one that was ſo great a Lover of Peace, ſhould be ſo happy in War. For his Arms (either in Foreign or Civil Wars) were never unfortunate; neither did he know what a Diſaſter meant. The War of his coming in, and the Rebellions of the Earl of *Lincoln* and the Lord *Awdley* were ended by Victory. The Wars of *France* and *Scotland* by Peaces ſought at his Hand. That of *Brittain*, by Accident of the Duke's Death. The Inſurrection of the Lord *Lovel*, and that of *Perkin* at *Exeter*, and in *Kent*, by flight of the Rebels before they came to Blows. So that his Fortune of Arms was ſtill inviolate. The rather ſure, for that in the quenching of the Commotions of his Subjects, he ever went in Perſon. Sometimes reſerving himſelf to back and ſecond his Lieutenants but ever in Action; and yet that was not merely Forwardneſs, but partly Diſtruſt of others.

His Piety.

He was a Lover of Peace.

His Arms Victorious.

'He did much maintain and countenance his Laws. Which (nevertheleſs) was no Impediment to him to work his Will. For it was ſo handled, that neither Prerogative, nor

He maintain'd and favour'd the Laws.

† Reckoning from the Day of his Victory of *Boſworth*, when Sir *William Stanley* crown'd him in the Field, which was the 22d of *Auguſt* 1485. to the 22d of *April* 1508. is but 22 Years and 8 Months; whereas he reigned 23 Years and 9 Months, and dy'd the 22d of *April* 1509.

1509. How he us'd his Prerogative.

Partial in administring Justice where Himself was concern'd. The Council-Table a Court of Justice in his Time.

He was Merciful.

'Profit went to Diminution. And yet as he would sometimes strain up his Laws to his Prerogative, so would he also let down his Prerogative to his Parliament. For Mint and Wars, and Martial Discipline, (things of Absolute Power) he would nevertheless bring to Parliament. Justice was well administred in his time, save where the King was Party: Save also, that the Council-Table intermedled too much with *Meum* and *Tuum*. For it was a very Court of Justice during his time, especially in the Beginning. But in that part both of Justice and Policy, which is the Durable Part, and cut (as it were) in Brass or Marble (which is the making of good Laws) he did excel. And with his Justice, he was also a merciful Prince. As in whose time there were but three of the Nobility that suffer'd; the Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Chamberlain*, and the Lord *Awdley*. Though the first two were instead of Numbers, in the Dislike and Obloquy of the People. But there were never so great Rebellions expiated with so little Blood, drawn by the Hand of Justice, as the two Rebellions of *Black Heath* and *Exeter*. As for the Severity used upon those which were taken in *Kent*, it was but upon a Scum of People. His Pardons went ever both before and after his Sword. But then he had withal a strange kind of interchanging of large and inexpected Pardons with severe Executions. Which (his Wisdom consider'd) could not be imputed to any Inconstancy, or Inequality; but either to some Reason which we do not now know, or to a Principle he had set unto himself, *That he would vary, and try both ways in turn*. But the less Blood he drew, the more he took of Treasure. And (as some construed it) he was the more sparing in the one, that he might be the more pressing in the other: for both would have been intolerable. Of Nature assuredly he coveted to accumulate Treasure, and was a little poor in admiring Riches. The People (into whom there is infused, for the Preservation of Monarchies, a natural Desire to discharge their Princes, tho it be with the unjust Charge of their Councellors and Ministers) did impute this unto Cardinal *Morton*, and Sir *Reginald Bray*. Who (as it after appear'd) as Counsellors of ancient Authority with him, did so second his Humours, as nevertheless they did temper them. Whereas *Empson* and *Dudley* that follow'd, being Persons that had no Reputation with him (otherwise than by the servile following of his Bent) did not give way only (as the first did) but shape him way to those Extremities, for which himself was touch'd with Remorse at his Death, and which his Successor renounc'd, and sought to purge. This Excess of his had at that time many Glosses and Interpretations. Some thought the continual Rebellions wherewith he had been vexed, had made him grow to hate his People. Some thought it was done to pull down their Stomachs, and to keep them low. Some, for that he would leave his Son a Golden Fleece. Some suspected he had some high Design upon Foreign Parts. But those perhaps shall come nearest the Truth, that fetch not their Reasons so far off; but rather impute it to Nature, Age, Peace, and a Mind fixed upon no other Ambition or Pursuit. Whereunto I should add, that having every day Occasion to take Notice of the Necessities and Shifts for Money of other great Princes abroad, it did the better (by Comparison) set off to him the Felicity of full Coffers. As to his expending of Treasure, he never spar'd Charge which his Affairs requir'd; and in his Buildings was magnificent, but his Rewards were very limited. So that his Liberality was rather upon his own State and Memory, than upon the Deserts of others.

His Avarice.

1509. Magnificent in his Building. Sparing in his Rewards.

'He was of an high Mind, and lov'd his own Will, and his own Way; as one that revered himself, and would Reign indeed. Had he been a private Man he wou'd have been termed proud. But in a wise Prince, it was but keeping of Distance, which indeed he did towards all; not admitting any near or full Approach, neither to his Power or to his Secrets. For he was govern'd by none. His Queen (notwithstanding she had presented him with divers Children, and with a Crown also, tho' he would not acknowledge it) could do nothing with him. His Mother he reverenced much, heard little. For any Person agreeable to him for Society (such as was *Hastings* to K. *Edward* IV. or *Charles Brandon* after to K. *Henry* VIII.) he had none: Except we should account for such Persons, *Fox*, and *Bray* and *Empson*; because they were so much with him: But it was but as the Instrument is much with the Workman. He had nothing in him of Vain-glory, but yet kept State and Majesty to the height; being sensible, That Majesty maketh the People bow, but Vain glory boweth to them.

He was of a high Mind, and loved to Reign indeed.

He was govern'd by none. His Queen had no Power over him, nor his Mother. He had no Favourites, but Three Ministers.

He was not Vain-glorious but Majestick.

'To his Confederates abroad he was constant and just, but not open. But rather such was his Inquiry, and such his Closeness as they stood in the Light toward him, and he stood in the Dark to them. Yet without Strangeness, but with a semblance of mutual Communication of Affairs. As for little Envies, or Emulations upon Foreign Princes (which are frequent with many Kings) he had never any; but went substantially to his own Business. Certain it is, that though his Reputation was great at Home, yet it was greater Abroad. For Foreigners that could not see the Passages of Affairs, but made their Judgments upon the Issues of them, noted that he was ever in strife, and ever a loft. It grew also from the Airs which the Princes and States abroad receiv'd from their Ambassadors and Agents here; which were attending the Court in great Number. Whom he did not only content with Courtesy, Reward, and Privateness; but (upon such Conferences as passed with them) put them in Admiration, to find his universal Insight into the Affairs of the World. Which tho' he did suck chiefly from themselves; yet that which he had gather'd from them all, seemed admirable to every one. So that they did write ever to their superiors in high terms, concerning his Wisdom and Art of Rule, nay, when they were return'd, they did commonly maintain Intelligence with him. Such a Dexterity he had to impropriate to himself all Foreign Instruments.

Just to his Treaties.

Mysterious.

His Fame.

The Respect paid him by Ambassadors, and his Usage to them.

'He was careful and liberal to obtain good Intelligence from all Parts abroad. Wherein he did not only use his Interest in the Liegers here, and his Pensioners which he had both in the Court of *Rome*, and other the Courts of Christendom; but the Industry and Vigilancy of his own Ambassadors in Foreign Parts. For which purpose, his Instructions were ever extream, curious, and articulate; and in them more Articles touching Inquisition, than touching Negotiation. Requiring likewise from his Ambassadors an Answer, in

He had good Intelligence.

'particular

1509. particular diſtinct Articles, reſpectively to his Queſtions.

'As for his ſecret Spialls, which he did imploy both at Home and Abroad, by them to diſcover what Practices and Conſpiracies were againſt him, ſurely his Caſe required it: He had ſuch Moles perpetually working and caſting to undermine him. Neither can it be reprehended. For if Spialls be lawful againſt lawful Enemies, much more againſt Conſpirators and Traytors. But indeed to give them Credence by Oaths or Curſes, that cannot be well maintained; for thoſe are too holy Veſtments for a Diſguiſe. Yet ſurely there was this further Good in his employing of theſe Flies and Familiars; That as the Uſe of them was Cauſe that many Conſpiracies were revealed, ſo the Fame and Suſpicion of them kept (no doubt) many Conſpiracies from being attempted.

His Affection to his Wife and Children.

'Towards his Queen he was nothing Uxorious, nor ſcarce indulgent; but Companiable and Reſpective, and without Jealouſy. Towards his Children † he was full of Paternal Affection, Careful of their Education, aſpiring to their High Advancement, regular to ſee that they ſhould not want of any due Honour and Reſpect, but not greatly willing to caſt any popular Luſtre upon them.

His Induſtry in Affairs of State.

'To his Council he did refer much, and oft in Perſon; knowing it to be the Way to aſſiſt his Power, and inform his Judgment. In which reſpect alſo he was fairly patient of Liberty, both of Advice, and of Vote, till himſelf were declar'd. He kept a ſtrait Hand on his Nobility, and choſe rather to advance Clergymen and Lawyers, which were more Obſequious to him, but had leſs Intereſt in the People; which made for his Abſoluteneſs, but not for his Safety. In ſo much as (I am perſwaded) it was one of the Cauſes of his troubleſome Reign: for that his Nobles, tho' they were loyal and obedient, yet did not co-operate with him, but let every Man go his own Way. He was not afraid of an able Man, as *Lewis* XI. was. But contrariwiſe, he was ſerv'd by the ableſt Men that were to be found; without which his Affairs could not have proſper'd as they did. For War, *Bedford*, *Oxford*, *Surry*, *Dawbeny*, *Brooke*, *Poynings*. For other Affairs, *Morton*, *Fox*, *Bray*, the Prior of *Lanthony*, *Warham*, *Urſwick*, *Huſſey*, *Frowick*, and others. Neither did he care how *Cunning* they were, that he did imploy; for he thought himſelf to have the Maſter-Reach: And as he choſe well, ſo he held them up well. For it is a ſtrange thing, that tho' he were a dark Prince, and infinitely ſuſpicious, and his Times full of ſecret Conſpiracies and Troubles; yet in Twenty four Years Reign, he never put down, or diſcompoſed Counſellor, or near Servant, ſave only *Stanley*, the Lord Chamberlain. As for the Diſpoſition of his Subjects in general towards him, it ſtood thus with him; That of the Three Affections, which naturally tie the Hearts of the Subjects to their Soveraigns; Love, Fear, and Reverence; he had the laſt in height, the ſecond in good meaſure, and ſo little of the firſt, as he was beholding to the other two.

He advanc'd Clergymen, and Lawyers.

Which was one of the Cauſes of his troubleſome Reign.

His Chief Officers Civil and Military.

No Counſellor or Servant but the Lord Chamberlain diſplaced in this reign.

In what terms he was with his Subjects as to love, Fear and Reverence.

'He was a Prince ſad, ſerious, and full of Thoughts and ſecret Obſervations and full of Notes and Memorials of his own Hand, eſpecially touching Perſons. As whom to employ, whom to reward, whom to enquire of, whom to beware of, what were the Dependencies, what were the Factions and the like; keeping (as it were) a Journal of his Thoughts. There is to this day a merry Tale; That his Monkey (ſet on as it was thought by one of his Chamber) tore his principal Note-Book all to pieces, when by chance it lay forth. Whereat the Court (which liked not thoſe penſive Accompts) was almoſt tickled with Sport.

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He was ſad, ſerious and thoughtful.

A pleaſant Story relating to the King.

'He was indeed full of Apprehenſions and Suſpicions. But as he did eaſily take them, ſo he did eaſily check them, and maſter them: whereby they were not dangerous, but troubled himſelf more than others. It is true, his Thoughts were ſo many, as they could not well always ſtand together; but that which did good one way, did hurt another. Neither did he at ſome times weigh them aright in their Proportions. Certainly that Rumour which did him ſo much Miſchief (*That the Duke of* York *ſhould be ſaved, and alive*) was (at the firſt) of his own nouriſhing; becauſe he would have more Reaſon not to reign in the Right of his Wife. He was affable, and both well and fair ſpoken; and would uſe ſtrange Sweetneſs and Blandiſhment of Words, where he deſired to effect or perſwade any thing that he took to Heart. He was rather ſtudious than learned; reading moſt Books that were of any worth, in the *French* Tongue. Yet he underſtood the Latin, as appeareth in that Cardinal *Hadrian*, and others, who could very well have written *French*, did uſe to write to him in Latin.

Suſpicious.

Why K. *Henry* Promoted the Rumour of the D. of *York*'s being alive.

Rather ſtudious than learned.

'For his Pleaſures, there is no News of them. And yet by his Inſtruction to *Marſin* and *Stile* touching the Queen of *Naples*, it ſeemeth he could interrogate well touching Beauty. He did by Pleaſures, as great Princes do by Banquets, come and look a little upon them, and turn away. For never Prince was more wholly given to his Affairs, nor in them more of himſelf. In ſo much, as in Triumphs of Juſts, and Tourneys, and Balls, and Masks (which they then called Diſguiſes) he was rather a Princely and Gentle Spectator, than ſeemed much to be delighted.

No Loves of Pleaſure.

'No doubt, in him as in all Men (and moſt of all in Kings) his Fortune wrought upon his Nature, and his Nature upon his Fortune. He attained to the Crown, not only from a private Fortune, which might endow him with Moderation; but alſo from the Fortune of an exiled Man, which had quickened in him all Seeds of Obſervation and Induſtry. And his Times being rather proſperous, than calm, had raiſed his Confidence by Succeſs, but almoſt marred his Nature by Troubles. His Wiſdom, by often evading from Perils, was turned rather into a Dexterity to deliver himſelf from Dangers, when they preſs'd him, than into a Providence to prevent and remove them a far off. And even in Nature, the Sight of his Mind was like ſome Sights of Eyes; rather ſtrong at Hand, than to carry a far off. For his Wit increaſed upon the Occaſion; and ſo much the

His general Character.

† He had by his Queen, *Elizabeth* Daughter to *Edward* the Fourth; four Sons and four Daughters, *Arthur* who died five Months after his Marriage to the Princeſs *Katherine* of *Spain*. *Henry* who married his Brother's Widow, and ſucceeded his Father, by the Name of *Henry* the Eighth, *Edmund* and another Son, who died young; *Margaret* Queen of the *Scots*, and *Mary*, who married the *French* King *Lewis* the Twelfth, and afterwards *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*. The other two Daughters died in their Childhood.

1509. more if the Occaſion were ſharpned by Danger. Again whether it were the Shortneſs of his Foreſight, or the Strength of his Will, or the Dazling of his Suſpicions, or what it was; certain it is, that the perpetual Troubles of his Fortunes (there being no more Matter out of which they grew) could not have been without ſome great Defects, and main Errors in his Nature, Cuſtoms, and Proceedings, which he had enough to do to ſave and help, with a thouſand little Induſtries and Watches. But thoſe do beſt appear in the Story it ſelf. Yet take him with all his Defects, if a Man ſhould compare him with the Kings his Concurrents, in *France* and *Spain*, he ſhall find him more politick than *Lewis* the Twelfth of *France*, and more entire and ſincere than *Ferdinando* of *Spain*. But if you ſhall change *Lewis* the Twelfth, for *Lewis* the Eleventh, who lived a little before; then the Conſort is more perfect. For that *Lewis* the Eleventh, *Ferdinando*, and *Henry*, may be eſteemed for the *Tres Magi* of Kings of thoſe Ages. To conclude, if this King did no greater Matters, it was long of himſelf; for what he minded, he compaſſed.

A Compariſon of him with other Princes.

His Perſon.

'He was a comely Perſonage, a little above juſt Stature, well and ſtraight limmed, but ſlender. His Countenance was Reverend, and a little like a Church Man: And as it was not ſtrange or dark, ſo neither was it winning or pleaſing, but as the Face of one well diſpoſed. But it was to the Diſadvantage of the Painter; for it was beſt when he ſpake. 1509.

'His Worth may bear a Tale or two, that may put upon him ſomewhat that may ſeem Divine. When the Lady *Margaret* his Mother had diverſe great Sutors for Marriage, ſhe dream'd one Night, *That one in the likeneſs of a Biſhop, in Pontifical Habit, did tender her* Edmund *Earl of* Richmond (*the King's Father*) *for her Husband.* Neither had ſhe ever any Child but the King, though ſhe had three Husbands. One day when King *Henry* the Sixth (whoſe Innocency gave him Holineſs) was waſhing his Hands at a great Feaſt, and caſt his Eye upon King *Henry*, then a young Youth, he ſaid; *This is the Lad, that ſhall poſſeſs quietly that, that we now ſtrive for.* But that that was truly divine in him, was, that he had the Fortune of a true Chriſtian, as well as of a great King, in living exerciſed, and dying Repentant. So as he had an happy Warfare in both Conflicts, both of Sin and the Croſs. Prognoſticks of his having the Crown.

'He was born at *Pembroke* Caſtle, and lyeth buried at *Weſtminſter*, in one of the ſtatelieſt and daintieſt Monuments of *Europe*, both for the Chappel, and for the Sepulcher. So that he dwelleth more richly dead, in the Monument of his Tomb, than he did alive in *Richmond*, or any of his Palaces. *I could wiſh* he did the like, in this Monument of his Fame.

The

The Remarkable Occurrences in the Reign of HENRY *the* VIIth.

IN his ſecond Year, *John Percival*, the Lord Mayor's Carver, was choſen one of the Sheriffs of *London* in this manner: Sir *Henry Collet* the Lord Mayor, took a Cup of Wine, and Drank to *John Percival*, who waited then at his Table ſtanding bare; the Lord Mayor drinking to him and Stiling him Sheriff of *London* for the enſuing Year, ſo far made uſe of his Privilege of Election that way, as to cauſe *Percival* to put on his Hat, and ſit down at the Table; accordingly the Carver ſat down, took on him the Office of Sheriff, and was afterwards Lord Mayor himſelf, and Knighted.

In his ſeventh Year, *Robert Fabian* was Alderman and Sheriff of *London*. He wrote a Hiſtory of *England* and *France*, from the Creation of the World to the third Year of the Reign of King *Henry* the 8th.

In his ninth Year, on the 28th of *April*, *Joan Broughton* a Widow was Burnt in *Smithfield* for Hereſie and profeſſing *Wickliff*'s Opinion. In this Year Wheat was ſold in *London* for four Shillings a Quarter, and *Bourdeaux* Wine or Claret, for thirty Shillings a Hogſhead.

In the tenth Year of his Reign, the Body of one *Alice Hackney*, which had been bury'd 175 Years, ever ſince the beginning of the Reign of *Edward* the 2d, was accidentally dug up in the Church of St. *Mary Hill*, *London*: The Skin of the Corps was whole, and the Joynts of the Arms pliable.

In his fifteenth Year, a Peſtilence rag'd in *England*, which ſwept away no leſs than 30000 Men, Women and Children in one Year in the City of *London*.

In the ſeventeenth Year of his Reign, Sir *John Shaw*, then Lord Mayor, firſt caus'd his Brethren the Aldermen to ride to the Water ſide when he went to the Exchequer-Bar by Water to be Sworn. He was alſo the firſt that had the Mayor's Feaſt in *Guild-Hall*, which was before done at *Grocer*'s or *Merchant Taylor*'s *Hall*. Alſo this Year *Sebaſtian Cabot* brought three *Indians* into *England*. They were Cloath'd in Beaſts Skins, and eat raw Fleſh. Two of them were ſeen two Years after dreſs'd like *Engliſh* Men, and not to be diſtinguiſh'd from them.

In the Year following, on the 18th Day of *January*, the firſt Stone of the Chappel known by the Name of *Henry the Seventh's Chappel* was laid within the Monaſtery of *Weſtminſter* by *John Iſlip* the Abbot, Sir *Reginald Bray* Knight of the Garter, Dr. *Barnes* Maſter of the Rolls, Sir *Edward Stanhope*, and others, aſſiſting at the Ceremonies. The Charges of this Building amounted to no more than fourteen Thouſand Pound, if we may believe our Author.

In the 22d Year of his Reign, the Sweating Sickneſs which happen'd in his firſt Year return'd; but the Cure being known, it was not ſo mortal as the Firſt was.

Beſides the famous Captains mention'd by the Noble Author of this Reign, in his diſcourſing of King Henry VII. *he had other Officers of great Valour and Conduct, as*

George Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *George* Lord *Strange*, *Edward* Lord *Woodville*, Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, the Lord *Morley*, and Sir *John Cheyney*. Thoſe that we name hereafter were Men of Courage and Experience; but being Enemies to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and taking hold of all Opportunities to diſturb King *Henry*'s Government, they periſhed all of them as Traytors.

John de la Pool Earl of *Lincoln*, *James Touchet* Lord *Audley*, the Lord *Lovel*, Sir *Humphry Stafford*, Sir *Thomas Broughton*, Sir *John Egremond*, and Sir *Simon Monfort*.

The Writers in King Henry VII. *time, were*

George Ripley a Carmelite Fryer of *Boſton*. He wrote ſeveral Mathematical Treatiſes, and was after his Death reckoned a Conjurer by the Populace.

Dr. *John Ergham* a black Fryer born in *York*, Profeſſor of Divinity at *Oxford*: He was fond of Prophecies.

John Percival a Carthuſian Monk.

Thomas Maillorie a Welſhman. He wrote of King *Arthur* and the Knights of the Round Table.

Thomas Scroop of the Noble Family of the *Scroops*: He affected to Preach in Sackcloath and bare-foot. He was ſometimes a Benedictine, ſometimes a Dominican, and ſometimes a Carmelite Fryer. He was at laſt made a Biſhop in *Ireland*, and liv'd to be near a Hundred Years old. The latter part of his Life he ſpent like an Anchorite.

John Tonneis an Auguſtine Fryer, wrote a Grammar, which was Printed by *Richard*

chard Pinſon one of the firſt Printers in *England.*

Geffery, Sirnamed the *Grammarian.*

John Alcock Biſhop of *Ely*, Founder of *Jeſus College* in *Cambridge.* It was formerly a Nunnery, but the Abbeſs and the Nuns were turned out for their diſſolute Lives.

Stephen Haws, Eſquire, one of the Gentlemen of the King's Privy Chamber.

William of *Bintree* in *Norfolk*, a Carmelite Fryer of *Burnham*, and a great Divine.

William Gallion of *Lyn*, Provincial of the Auguſtine Fryers.

William Celling of *Feverſham*, a Monk of *Canterbury.*

Cardinal *Thomas Bourchier* of the Noble Family of the *Bourchiers*, Earls of *Eſſex:* He was firſt Biſhop of *Ely*, then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.* He was advanced to the Purple by Pope *Paul* II.

Philip Bromierd, a Dominican Fryer a Divine.

Dr. *John Miles*, L. L. D. of *Brazen College* in *Oxford*; which College was founded in this Reign by *William Smith* Biſhop of *London.*

Richard Shireburn Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, fam'd for his Learning and Eloquence.

Robert Vidous Vicar of *Thaxſtead* in *Eſſex*, Canon of *Wells:* An excellent Poet ſays *Hol.*

Dr. *Kenighal.*

Cardinal *Morton*, of whom mention is frequently made in this Hiſtory.

Henry Midwel, his Chaplain.

Edmund Dudley, Eſquire, a Lawyer, once Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. He was a main Inſtrument of King *Henry*'s Exactions. He wrote a Book Intituled *Arbor Rei Publicæ.*

John Buckinham, an excellent Schoolman.

Dr. *William Blacknie*, a Carmelite Fryer, a Doctor of Divinity, and a Necromancer.

Robert Fabian, Alderman, whom we have elſewhere mentioned, an Hiſtorian.

Bernardus Andreas, who called himſelf Poet Laureat, and Hiſtoriographer Royal. He wrote the Life of King *Henry* VII.

The End of the Firſt VOLUME.

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